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WORKERS VANGUARD

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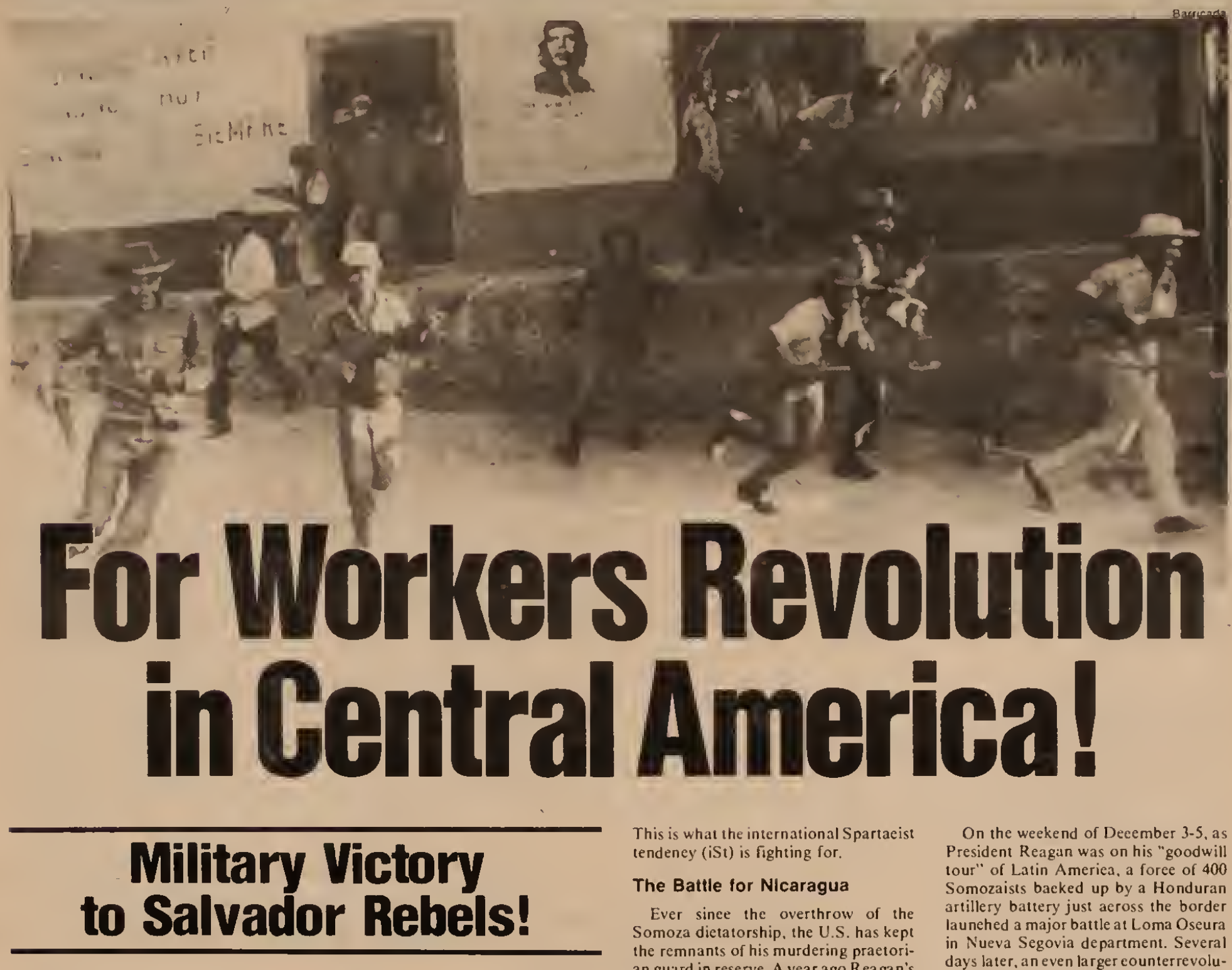
No. 321 14 January 1983

Smash Reagan's Nicaraguan "Bay of Pigs"!



Barricada

For Workers Revolution in Central America!

Military Victory to Salvador Rebels!

JANUARY 9—The battle for Central America is on. Since the beginning of December, Honduras-based counterrevolutionaries bought and paid for by the CIA have launched three invasion-force attacks against Sandinista Nicaragua. The "*contras*" were defeated in hard fighting by the Nicaragua army and people's militia. But with more than 650 people killed last year as a result of the border raids and terrorist actions, the U.S. is no longer waging a "silent war" of harassment. The popular insurrection which overthrew the bloody Somoza dynasty in 1979 opened up the prospect for social revolution throughout the region. And despite the efforts of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) to conciliate capitalist forces at home and abroad, U.S. imperialism is determined to crush the radical-nationalist regime in Managua. The issue is sharply posed: socialist revolution or bloody counterrevolution in Nicaragua. There is no "third road."

In El Salvador, for half a decade a civil war has raged pitting the mass of workers, peasants and radical intellectuals against the U.S.-backed oligarchy. Now a three-month-old offensive by the left-wing rebels of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) has pushed government troops out of the hills and back to the cities, consolidating a 1,000 square mile "arc of liberty" along the northern border. With the U.S.-backed government on the defensive, hardliners in the military linked with fascistic death squad leader (and constituent assembly president) D'Aubuisson have revolted against war minister General Garcia. Despite calls by leaders of the FMLN and the opposition Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) to call off the civil war in favor of a "political solution," the issue is sharply posed: either military victory for Salvadoran leftist insurgents, or a "peace" of 200,000 dead.

For the last two years, Reagan & Co. have drawn the front line of their war against Communism through the isthmus, "America's back yard": Nicaragua's a "Soviet surrogate," Salvadoran leftists are "cat's paws" for Cuba. American liberals, European social democrats, the Mexican government and a whole host of nationalists/reformists worry about "another Vietnam" in Central America. If the whole region is inflamed with revolt, they fear, it could threaten capitalist rule throughout the Americas. Their answer is to *end* the war, lay down the arms and the oppressed masses will be at peace with their exploiters. This is nothing short of suicidal. Genuine communists fight instead to *win* the war in which so many tens of thousands have already shed their blood. The Trotskyist program of permanent revolution is the only road to getting rid of the mass murderers and the oligarchs forever. This is what the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) is fighting for.

The Battle for Nicaragua

Ever since the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship, the U.S. has kept the remnants of his murdering praetorian guard in reserve. A year ago Reagan's National Security Council decided to unleash these dogs of war against the Cuban-backed Sandinistas. With millions of CIA dollars, gusano and Argentine "advisers," the Somozaist *guardias* stepped up their "destabilization." As the prospect of a Bay of Pigs II grew, however, even elements in the Reagan administration began worrying about being dragged into another fiasco. The 5,000 *contras* in Honduras planned to stage a full-scale invasion of Nicaragua behind the screen of U.S.-Honduran military exercises, scheduled to begin December 4, thus forcing direct American intervention. Cooler heads prevailed in Washington and the joint exercises were postponed, but the *contras* continued with their invasion plans.

On the weekend of December 3-5, as President Reagan was on his "goodwill tour" of Latin America, a force of 400 Somozaists backed up by a Honduran artillery battery just across the border launched a major battle at Loma Oscura in Nueva Segovia department. Several days later, an even larger counterrevolutionary force totaling 900 men launched a five-day attack (December 8-13) aimed at conquering the town of Jalapa and proclaiming it a "provisional capital." The *contras* were well entrenched, having constructed a command post and more than 1,500 yards of trenches within a couple miles of town. The Nicaraguans beat off the coordinated attack, eventually driving the invaders back to Honduras. For the first time the Sandinistas' Soviet-made T55 tanks and BTR-60 armored personnel carriers were deployed to defend Jalapa. And on December 15-16 a third force of 200 *guardias* was defeated in close fighting in the area of Terrerios, also in Nueva Segovia.

In the midst of this constant fighting

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Whither the SWP?

Barnes Denounces Trotskyism.....8

In Defense of Marshal Tukhachevsky

24 November 1981

Department of English
Montclair State College
Upper Montclair, New Jersey 07043

The Editor, *Workers Vanguard*

Dear Sir:

In your interesting article exposing *Solidarność* ("Pilsudski and Counterrevolution in Poland", *WV* 20 Nov. 1981, p. 7), you state that the failure of the Red Army's drive in July-August 1920 against Warsaw was due in part to "Stalin's insubordination."

This is not the opinion of the most recent scholar of the subject, Professor Norman Davies. In an article in the anti-communist journal *Soviet Studies* (Vol. 23, No. 4, April, 1972), Prof. Davies concluded that Stalin was not guilty of insubordination (p. 584). Davies also reveals that the "Stalin's insubordination" story is pushed today by current Soviet defenders of Marshal Tukhachevsky, who had been in overall command of the operation against Warsaw for the Red Army.

Soviet historians do not speak of it today, but Tukhachevsky was a well-known anti-Semite and right-wing Socialist, not at all unlike the Pilsudski portrayed in your article. Tukhachevsky's views were outlined by a friend and ex-comrade in German captivity, the former French officer Rémy Roure ("Pierre Fervacque"), in his book, *Le chef de l'armée rouge* ("Head of the Red Army"), 1928 (see pp. 24-5 for Tukhachevsky's attacks on Jews and Bolsheviks). Far from repudiating this account, Tukhachevsky kept up his friendship with Roure until shortly before his execution in the "military purges" of June, 1937 (see Fervacque's article in *Le Temps*, July 24, 1937, p. 3).

I think you should beware of repeating judgments that echo those of contemporary Soviet historians, even when, as in this case, the latters' views appear to correspond with those of Trotsky.

Respectfully yours,
Grover C. Furr III

WV Replies: We thank Professor Furr for his letter drawing our attention to the continuing circulation of certain timeworn falsehoods regarding Marshal of the Soviet Union Tukhachevsky. Tukhachevsky a "well-known anti-Semite and right-wing Socialist"? It is not surprising to find such defamation is still current—after all, lots of people still "know" that Lenin was the Kaiser's agent and Trotsky Hitler's. Underlying the questions of historic fact raised by Professor Furr is a crucial political issue: whether Stalin was justified in liquidating the senior cadres of the Red Army officer corps on the eve of Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union.

Mikhail Tukhachevsky, Red Army commander and Bolshevik since World War I, was executed by Stalin in 1937 as a German spy; his wife and brother died in prison. He was "rehabilitated" in the Soviet Union in the course of the 1956 Khrushchev revelations which exposed a fraction of Stalin's monstrous crimes against the October Revolution. Obviously only the Kremlin archives could lay bare the full depth and breadth of Stalin's murder and defamation of Marshal Tukhachevsky. We have drawn on the limited materials at our disposal to sort out historical fact from Stalinist falsehood; it seems sufficient for the point at hand. If other readers believe they have significant new information to offer on this question, we would be glad to discuss it further.

Trotsky, in *Stalin* (1941), wrote of the young Tukhachevsky:

> "Until the conquest of power by the Bolsheviks, he had been a lieutenant in the Tsarist Army. The October Revolution won him over heart and soul. He not only offered his services to the Red Army but became a Communist. He distinguished himself almost immediately at the front, and within a year had become a general of the Red Army. His brilliance as a strategist was acknowledged by admiring foes who were the victims of that very brilliance."

Trotsky, as Tukhachevsky's immediate commander during the 1920 Polish campaign, was certainly in a position to know what occurred then. Writing in October 1939, shortly after the Hitler-Stalin pact and the entry of Soviet troops into eastern Poland, Trotsky gives the following account of Stalin's earlier betrayal:

> "But Stalin also has his personal motive for the invasion of Poland, as almost always, a motive of vengeance. In 1920 Tukhachevsky, the future marshal, led the Red troops against Warsaw. The future Marshal Yegorov advanced toward Lemberg [Lwów]. With Yegorov was Stalin. When it became clear that Tukhachevsky was menaced on the Vistula by a counterattack, the Moscow command ordered Yegorov to turn north in the direction of Lublin, in order to help Tukhachevsky. But Stalin feared that Tukhachevsky, after having taken Warsaw, would 'seize' Lemberg, thus depriving him of this achievement. Hidden behind the authority of Stalin, Yegorov did not fulfill the order of the general staff. Only four days later, when the critical situation of Tukhachevsky became acute, did the armies of Yegorov turn north toward Lublin. But it was already too late. The catastrophe was at hand. In the high councils of the party and of the army, all knew that the person responsible for the crushing of Tukhachevsky was Stalin. The present invasion of Poland and the seizure of Lemberg is thus for Stalin a revenge for the grandiose failure of 1920."
>
> —Trotsky, *Portraits, Political and Personal*
> (reprint of an article dated 2 October 1939)

This is confirmed in Wollenberg's *The Red Army*, where both Tukhachevsky and Pilsudski are quoted in detail; their statements fully confirm Trotsky's account. We have previously written on the 1920 Polish campaign, in particular in our article "The Bolsheviks and the 'Export of Revolution'," in *Spartacist* No. 29, Summer 1980.

Professor Furr's letter cites as his "authority" the article in *Soviet Studies* by Norman Davies, an open admirer of Pilsudski's "iron will." But far from acquitting Stalin of insubordination, this article in fact *confirms* Stalin's deliberate defiance of the directives of Lenin and the Politburo. Davies acknowledges "the absence of coordination between the Soviet Western Command [under Tukhachevsky] and the three armies of the South-Western Command [led by Stalin and Yegorov]. Despite an order of 13 August to assist the Western Front, the South-Western Command played no significant part in the battle whatsoever...." He goes on to describe Stalin's opposition to a planned division of the South-Western Command which would have placed a major section under Tukhachevsky's command: "...there is definite proof that he accepted the Politburo's plan with bad grace. On 4 August, when Lenin informed him of the proposed division of the South-West Front, he cabled back: 'The Politburo ought not to bother with such trifles'." After vacillating under pressure from Stalin, Kamenev finally ordered the Twelfth Army and the First Cavalry Army (the "Konarmia") transferred on August 13—an order which Stalin, as political commissar, refused to sign. According to Davies, Stalin did not directly countermand this order, but instead "ordered the Konarmia on 12 August to besiege Lwów, knowing that it was due to be transferred to the West.... Was it to spite Tukhachevsky, as Trotsky and other more recent Soviet commentators have maintained? Was it to win

Crown

Marshal Mikhail Tukhachevsky, Red Army hero, victim of Stalin's terror and slander.

glory? Was it to enmesh the 'Konarmia' in an engagement from which no order of Kamenev's could extract it?... All one can say for certain is that Stalin was profoundly suspicious of the regrouping,... that he did nothing to help it but that he was not guilty of *open* insubordination" (our emphasis). No, not open insubordination—underhanded, treacherous sabotage and subterfuge! Davies concludes by blaming Tukhachevsky for having "angered Egorov and Stalin" and attributes the Red Army's defeat at Warsaw to this "cumulative friction"! (Perhaps Trotsky too was guilty of having "angered" Stalin, his exile and assassination on Stalin's orders also the result of "cumulative friction"?)

One of the principal architects of the mechanization and scientific modernization of the Red Army, Tukhachevsky's outstanding military career is well documented. Likewise are the myriad Stalinist lies invented to justify the murder of a brilliant Red Army officer whose only crime was to present a potential threat to Stalin's power. Tukhachevsky's early military victories included the rout of the anti-Bolshevik Kronstadt Uprising in 1921—hardly the act of a "right-wing Socialist." An improbable characterization as well of his political deviations: in fact, he bent the stick

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On the Revolutionary Tendency Amendment

11 January 1983

New York, NY

To the editor:

The last issue of *Workers Vanguard* [No. 320, 31 December 1982], boxed in the article "Barnestown, U.S.A.," reprinted a 1963 amendment by the Revolutionary Tendency [RT] in the Socialist Workers Party to an SWP Political Committee resolution, "Preparing for the Next Wave of Radicalism in the United States." Unfortunately, no explanation was given of the significance and the circumstances in which this amendment was presented.

The PC document was the SWP Majority's domestic resolution for the SWP National Convention. It was unexceptionable, bland, and devoid of any but the most routine propagandism. The real meat for the Majority at that convention lay elsewhere: tuning up internationally with the Pablo-Mandel revisionists of the "Fourth International" in good part to be a joint cheering section for the Cuban Fidelistas and guerrillaism generally. The Majority also passively enthused over the leaders of the then-current movement for black civil rights. And the Majority spent some time debating Arne Swabeck's pro-Maoism.

Meanwhile, Tim Wohlforth's Reorganized Minority Tendency—a bloc of American Healyites with the semi-syndicalist Art Philips—presented a *49-page* counterresolution advocating a half dozen massive agitational campaigns, that the party jump up and charge in all directions simultaneously. Organizing Mexicans in the Southwest, for instance, where we had absolutely zero points of contact.

So in the light of both of the other documents, the RT, as an amendment to the Majority document, took a small paragraph about a "general propaganda offensive" and replaced it with a significant implementation section: some factory sales, looking toward industrial fractions, attention to the black movement and orienting toward building branches in the South where we had been through a lot of exploration and contact with the sit-ins and the civil rights movement. But it was rejected out of hand by the Majority at the convention. Therefore, the RT rightly refused to support either.

In part, the Mage/Robertson/White amendment was a statement that we considered ourselves a real faction of the SWP, and were quite prepared—if the Majority accepted an amendment that might well be in the spirit of the document—to vote for Majority positions on particular issues. In other words, we were not for a faction war pure and simple, right or wrong. But the Majority had other ideas and followed up the convention by our expulsion from the SWP and YSA, in which they were aided and abetted by the Healyites Wohlforth and Mazelis.

The point of the amendment today is simply that our modest, serious amendment, then denounced as sheer adventurism, looks like and is such simple sanity and rational socialist determination as compared to the gyrations, excesses and irrational actions of the current Barnesian SWP.

Comradely,
James Robertson

Black Youths Killed in Cold Blood

Cop Terror in Miami Ghetto

Black Miami erupted in rage Tuesday, December 27 when the cops shot a young black man in the head. Twenty-one-year-old Nevell Johnson, Jr., a mail clerk, was playing Pac-Man in an arcade only blocks from his home that evening. After they gunned him down, the cops tried to frame him up on the usual charges of carrying a concealed weapon, claiming they "saw a bulge in his shirt pocket," and "he made a threatening move." But Jeffrey Hoskins, Johnson's friend, recounted the real story with horror, "He never had time to say a word. They just grabbed him, spun him around and shot him." Nevell Johnson died Wednesday night. It was cold-blooded murder.

Black residents of Overtown, scores of whom witnessed this racist killing, exploded in outrage. The cops moved in to seal off and occupy a 105-block area just north of downtown and only a couple of miles from Liberty City. Another youth, 17-year-old Alonso Singleton, was gunned down by the cops outside a frozen food warehouse, and when it was all over there were two dead, 26 injured and 44 arrests. Less than a week after the cop atrocities, about a dozen hooded and robed scum from the Ku Klux Klan and their leader, Bill Wilkinson, appeared distributing their race-hate filth at a busy Miami intersection. Cops out of the ghetto! Jail the killer cops! Free the victims of the racist roundup! Fight Klan terror!

Two years ago Liberty City went up in smoke when a lily-white jury acquitted four cops of the bludgeon murder of black businessman Arthur McDuffie. The cops and the National Guard sealed off Liberty City—15 died, 300 were injured and over 1,000 were arrested in a racist dragnet. When the courts acquitted the cops who killed McDuffie they gave the racists in blue a license to kill. And the Miami police are a particularly trigger-happy, unsavory bunch. Blacks become the targets as these killers are turned loose to "clean up" the city's image for the tourist industry.

Even the conservative London *Economist* recently noticed the obvious fact, "Miami is not a good city in which to be black." The massive influx of thousands who fled Castro's Cuba for the "promised land" has created a desperate competition for even low-paid menial jobs. Violence is a way of life on the streets as drug trafficking has become an "establishment" occupation, laundered through major banks. Overtown is only blocks from the opulent "miracle mile" shopping area. While the gusanos are greeted with open arms, black Haitians lucky enough to make it ashore in their rickety skiffs are carted off to the Krome Avenue detention center. Miami blacks are front-line victims of the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. As Archie Hardwick, a spokesman for a private black action group, noted, "the U.S. government wanted to show the world that it was better here than in a communist country like Cuba," so they gave $2 *billion* to the Cuban refugees and cut funds to the black community to a pittance.

After the 1980 explosion they bulldozed the rubble in Liberty City. Nothing has been done since. Small businesses took their insurance money and ran. Black youth unemployment in the ghetto is now 70 percent. Fed up, driven to the wall, blacks in Overtown exploded. However, what happened in Miami was not a social fight, but an elemental outburst. It is a measure of the despair of black America that blacks respond to injustice by putting the ghettos to the torch, even if this means getting shot, beaten and arrested by the cops. Marxists champion the defense of the black population against police terror. But mindless cheering by phony "socialists" like *Workers World* (31 December 1982), which hailed the Miami "rebellion," can only lead the black masses' struggle for freedom to a dead end. What's needed is a revolutionary program to lead the black masses in a conscious and organized political struggle aimed at destroying the root of race-terror: the capitalist system.

When Reagan was asked about Miami he replied, "Whether they're taking place there or Washington or in any place else, I just don't think there is any room for that, for violence in the streets." Well, the only violence we've seen in D.C. or Miami was the cops teargassing and beating anti-Klan demonstrators in front of the White House, killing a harmless old guy at the Washington Monument and shooting two kids in cold blood in Overtown. They were gunned down in a wanton fashion at a minimum, but *so* American. Reagan's warning is an ominous threat, asserting the bonapartist power of the imperialist presidency. He's saying cops can murder black youth and walk off scot-free, and the KKK race-hate terrorists can parade the streets from Washington to Miami... with the backing of the White House. And black people are just supposed to eat it.

But black people don't have to eat it. Reagan was incensed about November 27—the day thousands of black workers and youth, led by the Spartacist League (SL), stopped the Klan in Washington, D.C. The bourgeois politicians and the media have engaged in an orgy of violence-baiting because they didn't like what they saw—blacks and reds together in action, backed up by the power of the labor movement, winning an important victory against the race-terrorists. Their answer: "Shoot to kill."

The black ghettos in Miami are isolated and have been taking it from all sides. The mass, independent labor/black mobilization in Washington on November 27 shows the road to victory against racist attacks. To stop cop terror, to smash the Klan/Nazis, to build militant self-defense requires a break with the Democrats and building a workers party, based on the unions and fighting for the ghetto poor. That is the Trotskyist road of black-white class struggle to overturn the capitalist system and win justice against the racist killers who maintain it. ■

AP

Cops rampage in Miami's Overtown after blacks explode in fury over killing of youth—Cops out of the ghetto!

Jail LAPD Killers of Larry Morris!

LOS ANGELES—The racist LAPD killers of Larry Morris are being let off scot-free. In one of L.A.'s more grotesque cop killings, Morris, a 28-year-old black man, was strangled to death in his own bathroom on 17 June 1980. The police stormed Morris' house, beat his cousin David with their batons, broke into the bathroom and choked Larry Morris to death—all on the pretense of having heard gun shots. No gun was ever found. The "shots" turned out to be firecrackers.

A county coroner's inquest ruled 9-to-0 that Morris died of strangulation "at the hands of another other than by accident"—a legal euphemism for cold-blooded murder. But in an unprecedented move the coroner vetoed his own inquest and certified that Morris died of heart failure. Now after two and a half years of "investigation" designed to whitewash this cop lynching, the DA's office made it official January 3: the killer cops will not be prosecuted.

The LAPD has a well-deserved reputation for racist slaughter. Larry Morris, Eulia Love, Larry Wilkins and countless others—all killed by the police in a city run by ex-cop, black mayor Tom Bradley. Impotent civilian police review boards, such as proposed by the reformist Communist Party, have changed and will change nothing. LAPD chief "Choke-hold" Gates now brazenly admits that he personally ordered massive police spying on all political "enemies," from the ACLU and Mayor Bradley to the Maoist RCP. But when ordered to destroy intelligence files the cops simply moved them from police headquarters to their homes.

What's necessary is a massive mobilization of labor and blacks against racist terror, whether it comes from the cops in blue or their friends in white sheets. The Spartacist League-initiated anti-Klan demonstration in Washington, D.C. November 27th points the way to ending cop killings and Klan terror once and for all, through socialist revolution! Jail the cop killers of Larry Morris!

OFFICIAL L.A.P.D. REVOLVER

Which innocent black will become the next notch of LAPD terror?

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 321 14 January 1983

Ed Kartsen Speaks on National Black Radio

How We Stopped the KKK November 27

WV Photo

Ed Kartsen, chairman of November 27 Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK.

Last month the National Black Network radio program, "Night Talk," discussed the November 27 demonstration in Washington, D.C. which stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in the nation's capital. Moderator Bob Law spoke with Ed Kartsen, a spokesman for the Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK, and a member of Transport Workers Union Local 100 (NYC transit).

The discussion, which lasted three hours, touched on subjects ranging from black leadership and the role of labor to the need for a multi-racial revolutionary workers party. In order to alibi the black Democrats who wanted to let the KKK march, moderator Law resorted to scurrilous baiting of the "white left"—directed at black trade-union militants and black communists. In this he was echoing the red-baiting, race-baiting remarks by D.C. delegate Walter Fauntroy who denounced "Tarzan Trotskyites" for bringing out black trade unionists and youth November 27. But for many thousands of black Washingtonians and opponents of racist terror everywhere the mobilization that stopped the KKK was a proud victory.

We print below excerpts from the December 3 program.

* * * * *

Law: I'm Boh Law, the program is "Night Talk," and we're going to talk to Ed Kartsen. He's the chairman of the rally to stop the Ku Klux Klan, and he's a member of TWU Local 100.

We want to talk about the rally that took place in Washington, D.C. We have discussed that somewhat here on "Night Talk," after looking at the press coverage of the rally and the confrontations in the street that followed the rally. We want to know what happened in the street there Saturday. But maybe we'll start back before that and talk about some of the things that were done to plan the rally. How was it that people were told about it? Who were the groups that participated, just how was the rally put together?

Kartsen: The rally was initiated by the Spartacist League. The main movement behind it initially was from the unions down in Norfolk and Newport News, Virginia. They in particular, since they're so close to the Washington area, were some of the first unions to drive very hard behind it.

Law: Now, the Spartacist League is a coalition of unions?

Kartsen: No, the Spartacist League is a labor/socialist organization that started the ball rolling. The Spartacist League has taken a position as part of their political program that the fascists must be stopped, that you cannot rely on any other political force to do that except labor and black people, the mobilization of the people who are the Klan's intended victims. They had been driving for a mobilization of all the labor/black organizations involved around the Washington area. In my own union, as well, there was an attempt to mobilize forces to get down to Washington to prevent this Klan rally.

The result is that we got an enormous amount of labor and black support that mobilized that day the Klan said they were going to march, early on, [where] the Klan said they were going to start their rally. The Klan was going to demonstrate for extermination of black people, for smashing unions and centrally that day, demonstrating against foreign workers. Behind that is the [program] which they carried out ever since Reconstruction, which is to drive black people back into conditions of slavery.

The reports had been that the Klan had come out in their suits and ties, stuffing their white sheets inside of bags somewhere, and came out to show they could be on the streets with the police surrounding. It was finally announced—the police found it would be impossible for them to march down the streets with the Ku Klux Klan, with so many people out there outraged against the Ku Klux Klan. So they announced the Ku Klux Klan was not going to march. That sense of victory captured the whole crowd—it was indescribable—I've never seen it before in any rally.

WV Photo

Overwhelmingly black protest of 5,000 initiated by SL stops the KKK in Washington, D.C.

Law: What happened then? People did not just go home? What happened at that point?

Kartsen: As I said, a sense of enthusiasm grabbed the whole crowd, which decided, the streets of Washington don't belong to the Klan, the streets of Washington belong to us. The police left the barricades and people just went into the streets and marched right up to the hill where they thought the Klan was. Then somebody said, let's go where the Klan said they were going to end their march. We felt, we've stopped their march, we stopped them at their rally site, let's march their route and make sure they're not rallying even at the end point. At that point there was a march all along the streets. The head of the rally was the Labor/Black Mobilization Against the Klan; it was a spontaneous march all the way up to Lafayette Park.

Law: You were up to the point where the confrontations broke out. Now, precisely why did that happen?

Kartsen: The march was enthusiastic and chanting all the way, "We Stopped the Klan!" We got to the rally site and continued to chant there. The only violence that I saw was on the part of the police firing tear gas in the perimeters of the demonstration. You see, the point is really that the main success was ignored, which was the Klan was stopped from marching down the streets of Washington. That was something that they hadn't been able to do since 1925. To allow them to do it today, when Reagan is carrying out the Klan program in the White House, would have meant a tremendous escalation of violence in this country.

Law: Okay, we're going to open the phones. We're going to take a call from Passaic, New Jersey.

Caller: I'm 31, so I basically grew up with the knowledge of the violence and the genocide the Klan plans against our people. I was very disturbed over what I saw on the media. And knowing the media and how they cover us and our problems, I was at least intelligent enough to say, wait a minute, there's another side to this, they're not showing the positiveness. What can we really do to educate our young people to know this is serious business? We're talking about life and death here.

Kartsen: The young black people who came to that rally learned some history there, learned from their own actions what has to be done to stop the Klan. They saw the cops protecting the Klan, they saw the government allowing known race-terrorists to march down the streets. They wouldn't allow any other terrorists to walk down the streets, believe me, but the Klan terrorists were allowed to do that. That's an educational experience. And it has to be codified in the organizing of a revolutionary party, organizing a workers party that will fight for a workers government in this country.

Law: We'll take another call, from New York City. This is "Night Talk," you're on the air.

Caller: I'm with the Spartacus Youth League, and I was at the demonstration in Washington. A point that has to be made is that black people in this country can't count on the Democratic Party, whether it's a black face in the Democratic Party or a white face. Because you have a black mayor, Marion Barry, and this black Congressman in Washington, Fauntroy, and these people just stood by and did nothing....

Law: Let me ask you this, what would you have had the mayor do? What did his powers allow him to do?

Caller: Well, what he did was send out the cops in order to surround the anti-fascist fighters, and protect the Klansmen. And the program of Fauntroy was to ignore the Klan.

Law: I understand that. I'm saying, what would you have had a Congress-

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man do, what can a Congressman do about the Klan marching in Washington?

Caller: Here's the point. These people are tied in with the system, okay? They're the people that were in power when Greensboro happened and these Klan killers got off scot-free. It's the Democratic Party which these people are a part of and the point I'm trying to make is that you need independent mobilizations. And you have the other example, of Coleman Young in Detroit. Now, we organized a demonstration a couple of years ago in Detroit, and Coleman Young did everything to harass and threaten arrests of the anti-Klan demonstrators.

Law: Since Marion Barry is not here, or Coleman Young, let me just raise some of the opposition to white leftist organizations coming into the black community.... The left has a history of involvement in the black community that has been characterized by many as exploitation of black workers. If you're talking about Coleman Young, if you look at a black mayor, there are a number of people in the country who say that one of the things that we should do in the cities where we can is to elect black mayors. That there's still some goods and services that come through the mayor's office, there's still some decisions that are being made by elected officials that affect the quality of life for black folk, and where we ought to have a black mayor. And everybody's pretty much agreed and understands that the position of black mayor is one of limited power. So the question becomes, do we go to Detroit and then act like we are surprised when the mayor acts like a mayor, is that a legitimate criticism?

Kartsen: I'd say one thing about this question of Coleman Young: how far do you have to sell your black political soul to the Democratic Party?

Law: If you ignore the white left, does that constitute selling your soul to the Democratic Party?

Kartsen: When you say white and black left, already we're getting involved in accepting the categories of white and black separation. Which is a reality, this is a segregated country. The only time that black and white people mostly get together, and have to work in tight dependence upon each other, is in the factories. These are the points of integration. And these are the points about which blacks and whites have to struggle together and unite in a disciplined fashion, otherwise be divided and crushed separately. I think the question is not black or white left, I think the real question is one of the elimination of black oppression, of segregation. And doing that not in terms of accepting the already existing power structure, which is what the black elected officials must do if they join the Democratic Party, which is controlled by white, multi-billion dollar outfits. That's the thing that constrains the black politician in the Democratic Party, he must fight for the political and economic interests of capitalism in this country.

You notice that Metzger, who was Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan, won the Democratic Party nomination in California. How is it possible that on the one hand you can have the Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan running and at the same time have somebody claiming to defend black people in the same political organization. The Democratic Party is an obstacle. That's the problem with these black elected officials. They have betrayed black people by opposing these demonstrations.

Law: The point is that when you make a political analysis of where the failures are, the failure's in the system not responding to the question of justice. It's not a black failure. The criticism of elected officials, as though it is black politicians who are responsible for the system not responding correctly, is not simply unfair, it is politically incorrect.

Lustig/Washington Post

WV Photo

Washington Mayor Marion Barry (left) ran out of town when Klan arrived. Congressman Walter Fauntroy baited anti-Klan protesters as "Tarzan Trotskyites."

Kartsen: Maybe that's something that gets to the core of where we differ. I would say, a betrayer of black people is someone who betrays the interests of the people who they've asked for their votes and said they would fight for. Now, a white member of the left, or a white worker, or for that matter Latino or any other, who united around the interests of us all—that is the interests of the exploited, working-class people and oppressed people—you're talking about fighting for the interests of black people. And the program of fighting for the interest of the oppressed—black liberation through socialist revolution—captures exactly what the strategy has to be. Those who want some moderation of that must find themselves in political betrayal, inevitably. The [Congressional] Black Caucus for example, many members have found themselves opposing anti-Klan demonstrations.

You see, what happened in Washington was something that was new altogether on the 27th. Different from what happened in the civil rights movement, in the sense that not only did you have black people on the streets, but you had organized labor out there with tremendous social force and social power. You talk about turning around the situation in this country—labor during the '30s, as we all know, took over whole factories, whole cities, provided the spark for what could have been a complete social overturn of capitalism in this country. So when we talk about a leadership, we're talking about a political organization that can back up a program that fights for the interests and rights of working-class people and all the oppressed. That's what this demonstration in Washington is the spark for. As one of the callers said, it doesn't stop there and it can't stop there.

Law: We're going to take a call from KPRF in Kansas City. Ed Kartsen is on your phone, you're on the air.

Caller: First of all, I agree with the aim of his organization here, of "Stop the Klan," this type of thing. Your guest is a member of TWU, which is a labor union. I look at the effect of labor unions on black people. If you look at the executive structure of IAM there are very few blacks, probably none. So I think that black people are being misled by the Democratic Party, they're also being misled by labor unions.

Kartsen: I'd agree with you that the leadership of the trade-union movement has been willfully inadequate with respect to not only taking a stand on black issues, which involve a tremendous number of their membership, but they have also shown contempt toward the interests of their white members as well. You must have heard about so many of the sellouts and givebacks that have occurred throughout this country. It is pitiful. There has to be a fight for the correct leadership inside the trade unions, the election of leaders that are going to stand on defense of the interests of workers against the bosses and to utilize the power.

Caller: Too many blacks in this country feel that there's a split between management and labor. They don't realize that the president of the TWU or the IAM on weekends plays golf with the president of General Electric. And I still think that black people in this country are still pawns, no matter whether you're in management, no matter whether you're in the union.

Kartsen: There I disagree strongly. What you've got in this country between labor and management is a sharp difference, a sharp clash. And I'm talking about the interests of the massive numbers of exploited workers versus management, which have taken a beating lately, particularly under Reagan. The attacks on unemployment, the destruction of PATCO, can be viewed as nothing else but war on labor.

Law: Let me just ask this, though. PATCO, before Reagan double-crossed them, thought that they had a lot in common. They didn't see any difference between what Reagan stood for and what they stood for, and they in fact were supportive of him.

Kartsen: There's a difference in the mentality of the politically backwards leadership of the trade-union movement and the trade-union movement itself. In other words, these guys, although they're corrupt and may play golf with people on the executive boards of the corporations, nonetheless, the existence of the trade unions is an organization of protection of the workers against what would otherwise be nothing but brutal exploitative attacks by the company against labor. What we need is a militant leadership of the trade unions, which has to center on the blacks in the industrial trade unions. Because the blacks happen to have a political sense and a political history of the exploitation in this country, much less illusions about the American Dream.

Law: We'll take a call from Newark, New Jersey. This is "Night Talk," you're on the air.

Caller: To me, if you want to talk about terrorism, you have the FBI in this country, you got the Mafia, you got the Ku Klux Klan. And in every town you will go into in the United States of America, the police attempt to put fear, especially into people of color. It's odd to me that an organization would like to stop the KKK, when you have other terrorists....

Law: What would you have him do instead?

Caller: Well, you can't stop the Klan, because as long as you are living in this integrated society, it's racism. We will never be able to stop the Klan, so therefore what we have to do is separate. If they don't want to send us back to Africa where we come from, like the Messenger said, let us live in separation, give us some land and territory even in this country.

Kartsen: The Ku Klux Klan cannot be stopped? Well, I'll tell you something, they were stopped on November 27. They did not march down the streets of Washington. The value of that demonstration can be measured in terms of lives, of black people's lives, of trade-union organizers' lives. I reject this concept of defeatism which can only perpetuate black people's sense of impotency, of inability to fight and struggle.

Caller: Well, you had the Black Panthers in the '60s, correct? All right, the United States government with all its police forces went to the extreme to stop their movement. And as far as any other black organizations that were about liberation for black people—they have been destroyed. Well, why should we want to continue to be Americanized, brother?

Kartsen: Why should we continue to be the victims of racial oppression, or victims of racist terror? What I'm saying is what is needed most urgently today is the sense that you can fight to change things. You don't have to accept the Ku Klux Klan. You don't have to accept exploitation. You don't have to accept Reagan and Reaganomics. You don't have to accept a future of extermination.

Law: It seems to me what Ed Kartsen is saying is that the Klan exists right now, 1982, the Klan exists and the Klan is participating in racist murderous acts. And we cannot tolerate another murder, we cannot tolerate another hour of terrorism. There is an absolute need to protect our communities right now. And I don't think that need can be ignored. I mean, these brothers didn't "want" to be in Washington on November 27. That wasn't a hip idea, that was a requirement of history.

We're going back to the phone, we'll take a call from New York City.

Caller: You know, they're pouring all this money into the military. And it's obvious to me, it should be obvious to a duck, this society just can't support 10-11 million people unemployed. Consequently, we're going to be involved in a war to cut down some of the numbers

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SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Ann Arbor
c/o SYL
P.O. Box 8364
Ann Arbor, MI 48107
(313) 662-2339

Berkeley/Oakland
P.O. Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 835-1535

Boston
Box 840, Central Station
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Champaign
c/o SYL
P.O. Box 2009
Champaign, IL 61820

Chicago
Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 427-0003

Cleveland
Box 91954
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 621-5138

Detroit
Box 32717
Detroit, MI 48232
(313) 961-1680

Houston
Box 26474
Houston, TX 77207

Los Angeles
Box 29574
Los Feliz Station
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 663-1216

Madison
c/o SYL
Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701
(608) 251-3398

New York
Box 444
Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk
P.O Box 1972
Main P.O.
Norfolk, VA 23501
(804) 543-4300

San Francisco
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.
210 7th St. S.E., Suite E12
Washington, D.C. 20003
(202) 636-3537

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Vancouver
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C. V6C 2L8
(604) 681-2422

Moral Majority Witchhunt Against Gay Activists

Defend NAMBLA!

The FBI, the repressive apparatus of the state, is leading the "Legions of Decency"—the anti-homosexual bigots and bashers from the local vice squad, the Moral Majority bible-thumpers and a titillated media, the liberal moralizers of every sort and feminist book-burners along with the self-appointed arbiters of "healthy and unhealthy sex"—in a vengeful crusade against a small group of homosexual activists. The witch-hunters have whipped up a campaign of smear, set-up for violence, arrests and worse against NAMBLA—the North American Man/Boy Love Association. NAMBLA proclaims its purpose as defending the civil rights of "men and boys involved in consensual sexual and other relationships with each other." For the witchhunters this makes NAMBLA and its members easy targets for persecution and prosecution on "kidnapping" slanders and phony charges of "child molestation" as the reactionary age-of-consent laws recognize *no* possibility of consensual sex between men and youth.

As is often the case, the reactionaries have launched this dangerous and vicious COINTELPRO-type operation under the banner of protecting children. It is a banner used most spectacularly for similar purpose in Anita Bryant's anti-homosexual "Save Our Children" campaign a few years ago. And in Reagan's America the crusade against teenage sexuality goes on at fever pitch: attacks on the availability of birth control, abortion and even the miserable sex education provided in some schools. The right-to-lifers and fundamentalists see themselves as front-line soldiers in the sexual "counterrevolution" to restore the public morality of the family allegedly so disrupted during the "liberated" 1960s.

WV Photo

SL opposes reactionary age-of-consent laws.

Over the last month the ongoing harassment and persecution of NAMBLA members has increased sharply. Members have been arrested on wild, trumped-up charges. The cops have broken into their homes. They have been beaten. Documents have been seized. It is all part of what the FBI calls its "investigation" of NAMBLA.

On December 3, Massachusetts and New Jersey cops burst into a private Cape Cod cottage in Wareham, Massachusetts and arrested three NAMBLA members. David Groat (28), Brett Portman (26) and Harold Baker (17) were charged with having sex with "minors" (a 13-year-old who was visiting the cottage and a 16-year-old youth). Also, the cops made phony "child pornography" charges. Groat and Baker have been jailed, Portman is out on bail. Harold Baker just 18 months ago was named as an "innocent victim" in another case, now he is by law a "dirty old" teenage criminal.

NAMBLA reports that Groat, who is the former coordinator of NAMBLA, has been set up by the jail guards to be repeatedly beaten by inmates who were told he was a "child molester." Once he was beaten to unconsciousness, and had his teeth knocked out. At the request of Groat's attorney, in response to the beatings, he has been transferred to a psychiatric hospital (*Gay Community News*, 18 December 1982).

To justify this witchhunt, the cops and feds concocted a phony "connection" between NAMBLA and the much-publicized disappearance of six-year-old Etan Patz, missing since May 1979 from his home in the SoHo section of New York City. The cops claimed that in the December 3 raid on the private home they and the press call a "NAMBLA chapter," they discovered a photograph that "looked like" Etan Patz.

The media swung into slanderous action on the Etan Patz disinformation. "Did Sex Club Trap This Boy?" asked Boston's *Herald American* (20 December 1982) in two-inch headlines. The *New York Post* (29 December 1982) did its part headlining a quote from a Long Island D.A.: "Man-Boy Network Preys on Kids." And it wasn't only the scandal-mongering tabloids which pushed the lie of "porno ring" and prostitution-kidnapping "network" against NAMBLA. The hysteria found a shrill voice in the respectable *New York Times* (28 December 1982) in a particularly vile piece by Sydney Schanberg. He tries to frame up NAMBLA for the Etan Patz kidnapping with a sinister picture painted with pure bigotry:

> "And if Etan who would now be 10, has been drawn underground, as is suspected, into a homosexual organization known as the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA), he could have been moved clandestinely by now to any city or town in the country.... Does this support network include kidnapping 6-year-olds? In the name of what twisted idea of sexual freedom can anyone justify as 'benevolent' the criminal taking of a first-grade boy from his parents?"

"What was Mr. Groat doing with the picture that so mirrors Etan?" demands Schanberg. The beaten and jailed Groat must know something. "Since Mr. Groat refused to help find Etan, perhaps someone should lose the key to his cell forever."

At a December 28 press conference in

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Return Kid to Leftist Mother!

Anti-Communist Kidnapping

On December 21, San Mateo County (California) Superior Court judge Gerald Regan ruled that Tina Stevenson, a supporter of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), would get her 11-year-old daughter Riva back at the end of the school year after a two year custody battle. Regan's ruling reversed an August 1981 decision by commissioner James Browning that granted the father, Ted Fishman, temporary custody because of alleged neglect. This was a government-sanctioned kidnapping in pursuit of an anti-communist legal vendetta against a left-wing political activist. It should never have happened in the first place! Riva should be returned to her mother immediately!

Tina Stevenson and her youngest daughter Riva lived in Chicago. Fishman, Stevenson's ex-husband, who already has custody of an elder daughter, hid his plan to file for a change of Riva's custody until she was in California for a visit two years ago. Judge James Browning approved Fishman's request to grant him temporary custody on the grounds that "an emergency situation due to neglect does exist." The motivation was explicitly political. Tina Stevenson was declared an "unfit" mother because of her radical political beliefs. Fishman's petition states:

> "Ernestine has become more and more involved in political activities, specifically those of the Revolutionary Communist Party of the U.S.A., a Chicago based political organization advocating the violent overthrow of the present government of this country. Ernestine's political activities of recent date have all been to the detriment of our daughter..."

And attached to the petition was an article about the felony charges against Tina stemming from the Washington, D.C. "Mao Defendants" case.

In his ruling Browning admitted that Riva, a straight-A student, was "unquestionably well cared for." But he argued that Tina Stevenson had withheld the more "intangible aspects of parenting," has "a preoccupation with interests other than parenting," and that the court could take Riva away simply because her mother faced felony charges. Judge Browning's message is clear: a woman's place is in the home... and certainly not in a cell meeting! Browning rejected the testimony of a court-appointed social worker who argued no emergency situation existed and instead allegedly based his decision chiefly on the testimony of Riva. This after a previous ruling which awarded Stevenson custody in the first place noted Fishman's attempts to line up the children against their mother!

The state has tried to deny the political character of this punitive campaign and claims that it is the amount of time Tina spends away from home that makes her an unfit mother. But what really bugs them is what she does when she's away from home. If Ms. Stevenson spent her time with the PTA, the girl scouts, or the church there'd be no custody case. Jack Murphy, Fishman's attorney, laid the cards on the table: "The woman can't be trusted because she has no values; she doesn't believe in the system." The threat to take children away from left-wing, homosexual or interracial households is a particularly vicious form of blackmail. If they can take Tina Stevenson's child, any parent could be next. Keep the bourgeois state out of people's private affairs!

The legal kidnapping of Riva Fishman is a direct outgrowth of the "Mao Defendants" case. In January 1979, Tina Stevenson was arrested along with 78 others after a clash with the police at a demonstration in Washington, D.C. protesting the state visit of Chinese deputy prime minister Deng Xiaoping, only days after the RCP's adventurist/provocative attack on the Chinese embassy. Tina and ten others faced trial on federal felony charges. Bob Avakian, the megalomaniacal leader of the politically berserk Mao loyalists of the RCP, fled to France and sought (unsuccessfully) political refugee status. After a three-and-a-half-year legal battle the government dropped all charges against Avakian (who remains in France), and Tina and the other defendants pleaded guilty to misdemeanor charges. Tina was fined $50 and given three months probation. After the D.C. trial one of the federal prosecutors told her, "You'll pay in your own flesh and blood for this."

This is clearly a political vendetta orchestrated by the government. In the custody hearing, collaboration between Fishman's attorney and the federal prosecutors of the "Mao Defendants" was admitted. Judge Browning, who initially ruled in Fishman's favor, was an active agent in COINTELPRO operations against left-wing organizations in the 1970s, including the Revolutionary Union (RU), predecessor of the RCP. As Nixon's head U.S. attorney in Northern California he prosecuted draft resisters, tried to send Panther leader David Hilliard to prison for allegedly threatening the life of President Nixon, and presided over the FBI break-in operations which targeted the RU. Browning was eventually forced to disqualify himself from this case because he was "too close." In October 1981, Tina's probation officer was removed because he wrote a brief against taking the child. The newly assigned officer, Dan Daugherty, made clear the political motives of the government in his interrogation of Tina: "Are you second in command of the RCP, if not who is? What is the guarantee that you won't take Riva and go to France, after all Bob Avakian is in France and he is your leader?"

The government-sanctioned kidnapping of Tina Stevenson's child is an outrage. There's a history to this politically motivated child snatching. In 1980, the U.S. government grabbed 12-year-old Walter Polovchak (the freckle-faced baby dissident who didn't want to leave his bicycle) from his parents when they wanted to return to the Soviet Union, and made him a cause célèbre in its anti-Soviet campaign. Ordinarily the bourgeois state tries to enforce the values and norms of the nuclear family on everybody. But when it comes to reds, they break up the family as a cruel means of victimization. ■

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of Canada

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Toronto, Ontario Phone (416) 593-4138

The Strange Case of Provocateur Alan Gelfand

Healyite Slanders and SWP Cowards

We reprint below an exchange of correspondence between the Spartacist League (SL) and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The SWP was for 35 years the Trotskyist organization in this country, but in the early 1960s it abandoned Trotskyism in all but name and, passing rapidly through centrism, transformed itself into an eccentric reformist formation.

In our last issue, *WV* explored the internal wrangling now at an advanced stage in the SWP (see "Barnestown, U.S.A.," *WV* No. 320, 31 December 1982). We laid particular emphasis on SWP head Jack Barnes' ongoing purge of survivors of the old revolutionary party, noting that the SWP's decisive break from Trotskyism did not automatically expunge all aspects of human and organizational continuity with the old party:

> "Long after the Trotskyist content was gone, some elements of basic organizational competence and professionalism still functioned...something that could still organize a demonstration, write a polemic, co-opt an opponent, run a defense case...."

We noted that the "age purge" process unleashed by Barnes, particularly following the death of SWP revisionist theoretician Joseph Hansen in 1979, had systematically destroyed those residues, citing in particular "the very strange case of Alan Gelfand" as a demonstration of the hard-to-believe ineptness of today's SWP.

Alan Gelfand is a lawyer and a political agent of the Gerry Healy group, an unstable and sinister British-based tendency which after years of shamelessly opportunist political banditry jumped from the ranks of the workers movement into the political service of certain Arab governments. In 1979 Gelfand sued the SWP in federal court.

The very strange case of Alan Gelfand began in 1977 when Gelfand surfaced in the Los Angeles SWP as a mouthpiece for Healy's "Security and the Fourth International" slander campaign against the SWP. The campaign, launched in the Healyite press in 1975, claimed the central leaders of the SWP were actually long-time agents of the capitalist and Stalinist secret police. In particular, the slander campaign targeted Joseph Hansen, who had served as secretary to Leon Trotsky in Mexico, as an "accomplice" to the assassination of Trotsky by the Stalinist GPU in 1940.

Healy's loathsome lies—echoing the discredited Stalinist tales that Trotsky's murder was carried out by his own people—were an assault not only against the SWP of today but against the revolutionary past of the SWP whose Trotskyist work we claim as part of our own history. So the Spartacist League campaigned actively against Healy's slanders, including picketing Healyite meetings with signs demanding, "Who Gave Healy His Security Clearance?"

Much of Healy's smear campaign centered on Hansen's role as a main SWP contact with the bourgeois authorities in the investigation of Trotsky's murder. This confidential work, testifying to Hansen's position of trust in the Trotskyist movement, constituted the core of Healy's "evidence." In 1975-76 Hansen published point-by-point refutations of Healy's claims as well as statements of support from prominent left political spokesmen (including Spartacist national chairman James Robertson), veterans of the Trotskyist movement of Trotsky's time, etc. These materials effectively laid Healy's baseless slanders to rest.

Indeed Healy's "evidence," where there is any, itself refutes Healy's claims. For example, prominently featured in the Healyites' press was a letter from Hansen to the American Consul in Mexico City (regarding the Trotskyists' attempts to unravel the identity of Trotsky's assassin). Healy claims that this shows secret contact between Hansen and the FBI behind the backs of the SWP. Unfortunately for Healy, Hansen's letter gives as his return address 116 University Place in New York—which was at the time the SWP's own national headquarters!

The Gelfand lawsuit is the latest round in Healy's scurrilous, paranoid vendetta. In January 1979 the SWP discovered to its horror that Gelfand had filed a "friend of the court" brief in the SWP's own lawsuit against the FBI. Gelfand was hastily expelled from the SWP on January 11. He then brought suit against the SWP charging the expulsion resulted from FBI control of the party, and citing all of Healy's crazy lies to "prove" it. Gelfand's suit claims the government has the right to intervene in the internal life of left organizations, ostensibly to enforce their adherence to their own rules. It would be difficult to overstate the danger posed by this case, which if upheld would give the capitalist state a license to "regulate" the internal life of working-class organizations. That in this case the disgruntled ex-"member" was from the outset evidently a Healyite plant only adds insult to injury.

Socialist Workers Party
14 Charles Lane, New York, NY 10014 • 212/242-5530

October 28, 1982

Spartacist League
c/o Rachel Wolkenstein
299 Broadway
New York, N.Y.

This is in response to your letter, postmarked October 21, which has been referred to me for reply.

The Socialist Workers Party will not provide any assistance to the Spartacist League.

Craig Gannon

Craig Gannon
Socialist Workers Party

SWP stonewalls on Gelfand provocation.

Nothing to Cover Up, But SWP Covers Up Anyway

The uninformed observer might imagine that the SWP, in elementary self-defense, would seek broad support for its rights and its good name in this important legal case, much as Hansen did when Healy's "accomplice" smear first started. But the uninformed observer would be reckoning without Jack Barnes' singular capacity for political stupidity. Incredibly, the SWP's public press has said *not one single word* about the Gelfand case since it began! Apparently Barnes & Co. made a deliberate decision to treat the lawsuit as some kind of guilty secret—as if Healy's threadbare lies were impossible to answer. This is a crime not only against the members of the SWP but against the late Joe Hansen and all the founding Trotskyist leaders whose reputations are being dragged through the mud. The SWP's failure to mount a vigorous public counterattack aimed at mobilizing support against Gelfand's provocation is equally a crime against all working-class organizations, who have the right and duty to smash Gelfand's precedent for government snooping and witchhunting against the left.

In August 1982, the newspaper of the American Healyites, the *Bulletin*, gleefully reported that the SWP's motion for summary judgment in the Gelfand case had been denied. In October 1982 attorney Rachel Wolkenstein on behalf of the SL wrote to the SWP asking for information enabling us to cover the lawsuit in our own press. We think the letter speaks for itself, as does the SWP's two-sentence reply to us.

The SL's expressed interest in the case probably helped the SWP to figure out that the issue could not be buried forever. In any case, the SWP National Committee plenum held in early December was embarrassedly self-critical about the public silence. The SWP finally made some public acknowledgment of the case at the convention of its youth group held in Chicago over New Year's. But incredibly, the report did not mention the Healyites at all, much less their years-long slander campaign against Hansen. If ever a policy were guaranteed to lend credence to Healy's baseless slanders, this is it.

Instead of covering over the "Healy connection," the SWP should acquaint the American radical public with Healy's long and sordid history of going to the capitalist courts against his political opponents. In England right now, Healy is pursuing a vicious two-year legal effort to muzzle and bankrupt a small socialist current on the fringes of the Labour Party, the "Socialist Organiser" grouping of Sean Matgamna. Taking exception to some hostile political characterizations of the Healy organization which appeared in a January 1981 *Socialist Organiser* article, Healy simply sued for "libel" under Britain's draconian libel laws. When Matgamna complained, the Healyites gave the rich man's answer, coyly suggesting the little group should hire itself some good barristers.

The SWP is unfortunately not unique in its criminally sectarian refusal to mount an aggressive public defense against legal provocation. Progressive Labor (PL), the target of a vicious civil suit by the Los Angeles police, similarly rejects the support of other left organizations, all of whom have a stake in a PL victory over this assault on their existence and rights.

One doesn't have to agree with or even like the SWP or PL to recognize the need for substantial and urgent support in these important cases. In this spirit, we are publishing the Wolkenstein letter and the SWP's reply for the information of our readers.

Rachel H. Wolkenstein
Attorney at Law
299 Broadway
New York, New York

October, 1982

Shelly Davis
Attorney at Law
Socialist Workers Party
410 West Street
New York, New York

Re: *Gelfand vs. SWP et al.*

Dear Ms. Davis:

In my telephone conversation with you on 5 October 1982 I requested access to and a copy of the public court record of *Gelfand vs. SWP, et al.* This request was made on behalf of the Spartacist League/U.S. and the international Spartacist tendency (iSt). Although this record is available to the public from the federal court clerk in Los Angeles, California, given the location and volume of the file, I thought it expeditious to try to secure access to and a copy of the court record from your office. Additionally, I have since learned that permission is needed from one of the attorneys on the lawsuit to gain access to the depositions taken of the Socialist Workers Party defendants. Of course, I offered to pay all costs for copying.

Your response, after consultation with your client, was to inform me that the request must be "made in writing, on official letterhead, containing the reasons for the request." Since those reasons were given to you in our phone conversation, I am perplexed as to the rationale for this prerequisite to determining whether you will assist the Spartacist League/iSt in obtaining access to the *Gelfand* court record. However, because of the seriousness of the issues posed by this lawsuit, compelling the Spartacist League/iSt to take a stand, the reasons for this request are restated herein.

The Spartacist League/iSt became aware of the gravity of this lawsuit after the appearance of an article in the August 6, 1982 issue of the *Bulletin* stating that a Federal District Court judge denied the Socialist Workers Party defendants' motion for summary judgment. Reportedly, the court held this case for trial after finding factual support for Gelfand's claim that his expulsion from the SWP was due to government manipulation and control of the SWP.

It is apparent that Gelfand's case was instituted and is financed by the Workers League/Workers Revolutionary Party/International Committee of the Fourth International. This lawsuit is a continuation of Gerry Healy's vicious slander campaign against Joseph Hansen, accusing him of having been an

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Whither the SWP?

Barnes Denounces Trotskyism

"Trotskyism, that term itself, I predict, none of us will call ourselves before this decade's out. In fact, if I'm right that what Trotskyism originated as was a fake term by the Stalinists...Trotskyism as such doesn't have much value as a term."

—Jack Barnes,
31 December 1982

On New Year's eve, at a Socialist Workers Party (SWP) public meeting in Chicago, SWP head Jack Barnes finally declared outright what has been the reality for two decades: the SWP is not the Trotskyist party in this country. Barnes announced that "80 percent of those on a world scale who call themselves Trotskyists...are hopeless, irreformable sectarians." Barnes' two and a half hour speech, delivered as the highlight of the annual convention of the SWP's youth group, centered on a barrage of attacks on the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution: "The permanent revolution, if these things are true, is not a correct generalization, or an adequate one, or one that doesn't open up more problems than it solves...." By "these things," Barnes referred to his idea of a "fusion" with the "revolutionaries" of the Nicaraguan Sandinistas, the Grenadan New Jewel Movement, the Salvadoran and Cuban Communist Parties (CPs). "We are not Trotskyists..." Barnes revealed, and truer words have never passed his lips.

We must stop here to alert our readers to the fact that our quotations from Barnes' speech cannot be up to our usual standard of accuracy, thanks to the SWP having excluded our known observers from the meeting. For the first time in years, the SL was not permitted an observer in the youth conference; one of the first points on the agenda was a proposal to exclude the SL, lumping us together with the dubious Workers League (which presently subordinates itself to squalid anti-working-class Near Eastern military and religious dictatorships and which is presently engaged in attacking the SWP through the capitalist courts—see material on the Alan Gelfand case in this issue). The exclusion was motivated by the claim the SL had tried to "disrupt the convention by passing out their leaflet and selling their newspaper"! Barnes' public talk was attended by about 1200, about 400 more than participated in the youth convention itself.

Like the Stalinists, SWP falsifies Leninism to attack Trotskyism.

It will not be news to regular readers of *WV* that the reformist SWP is not Trotskyist. The Spartacist League, as the authentic Trotskyists of this country, has dealt extensively in our press with the key programmatic positions defining the SWP politically as a reformist party, from its calls for U.S. aid to Nicaragua (fully in harmony with the imperialist liberals who fear Reagan's intransigence will force the Sandinistas down "the Cuban road") to its opposition to militant mobilizations based on the power of labor and minorities to stop fascist terror here at home. But we have been rather negligent in commenting on the "theoretical" disputes of SWP ideologues over "Trotskyism," which have about the character of Stalinist discussions about Leninism—the grotesque perversion of the revolutionary thrust in the service of reformist appetite.

But for any party the explicit renunciation of long-standing "isms" is a significant event and an unusual one. Organizations whose lip-service to Marxist tradition has been long since emptied of content nonetheless shy away from outright renunciation of their claims to "continuity." Take the furor of the last several years inside various West European CPs over the explicit dropping of the "dictatorship of the proletariat." In real political line, displayed a thousand ways, the craven reformist CPs have had for decades utterly nothing to do with the Leninist program of proletarian class power. Yet the repudiation of "d of the p" by the Spanish CP, for example, was nevertheless a real political event, brought on by the heightening of Cold War tensions which made pro-Moscow parties, no matter how slavishly reformist and social-patriotic in fact, unacceptable participants in capitalist "coalition" governments.

Even an organization on a vastly smaller scale, like the SWP, ordinarily possesses a considerable stake in its historic "labels," particularly since the SWP has been in the Trotskyist business—first in political fact and then as an empty label—for upwards of 50 years. The explicit anti-Trotskyism of the living thought of Jack Barnes will cost something. In the SWP right now there are two distinct, substantial right-wing minorities looking for a way out of Barnestown. Perhaps Barnes welcomes their further alienation as saving him the trouble of some expulsions. But even among the hardened Barnesite reformists of the majority, now rather desperately tailing after local Stalinists and radical-nationalists, some elements surely maintain a programmatically empty sentimental attachment to Trotskyism; there are Pathfinder Publishers' Trotsky books which have brought in considerable revenues; there are surely some older ex-members who have continued supporting the SWP financially under the illusion it maintained some continuity with the organization they remember.

Then there's the tricky question of the SWP's relations with its European bloc partners of the "United Secretariat" (USec), with whom the SWP has been in an almost constant state of war during the 20 years of SWP/USec fraternal association. Hostilities are presently at fever pitch, and Barnes now explicitly writes the USec off in declaring that 80 percent of the world's "Trotskyists" are hopeless sectarians. While Barnes certainly shouldn't mind splitting with these "hopeless" people, his explicit attack on Trotskyism provides them with unhoped-for polemical ammunition.

"The Transition Years"

Jack Barnes has ruled the SWP with an increasingly iron hand since the mid-1960s. He has consolidated his control particularly against remaining party old-timers, with tactics ranging from the use of "emeritus" status to get older leaders off the National Committee to conspicuous sneering at the idea of listening to party veterans' reservations about his organizationally adventurist ideas of union "tactics."

As the SWP's machine-boss leader, Barnes' first contributions to SWP "theory" tended to consist mainly of slogans systematizing the SWP's reformist program, along the lines of "if you like feminism, you'll love socialism." But following the death of Joseph Hansen in 1979, Barnes emerged as the international "theoretician" of his party. Now Barnes' "new" creative contributions (actually, they are old, old menshevist/Stalinist attacks on Trotskyism) are making their appearance in earnest.

Earlier signs included especially the recent articles by Barnesite hack Doug Jenness denouncing Trotsky's analysis of the 1917 Russian October Revolution, as well as some provocative symbolic acts. For example, the list of revolutionaries in the youth convention brochure was: Marx, Engels, Lenin—no Trotsky. Or take Barnes' description (SWP *Internal Bulletin* No. 1 in 1982, September 1982) of upcoming titles in Farrell Dobbs' series on "Revolutionary Continuity": according to Barnes, Part III covering the years through 1959 is to be titled "The Trotskyist Years," while the next volume will be "The Transition Years."

Transition to what, you may well ask. In exchange for what influence, to conciliate what allies, does Barnes undertake the tricky business of explicitly disavowing Trotskyism? "Every time a party fuses with other parties it itself changes, and that's the road forward," says Barnes. That Barnes' eccentric, shrinking formation is in the mood for a "fusion" we don't doubt—but with whom?

Barnes' target, according to his New Year's eve speech, is Central America, "where the most important thinking in the world is going on." Barnes' modest proposal is for a "common world Marxist movement" comprising the SWP and the Central American "revolutionary" forces. And who are they? Well, there's the government of Nicaragua, the radical-nationalist Sandinistas whose program of conciliating the "anti-Somoza capitalists" in a "mixed economy" runs smack up against the necessity to break the social power of the capitalist class in Nicaragua, particularly in the face of U.S. provocation and

Preserve the Trotskyist Heritage!

Dear archivally-minded comrades in and around the SWP,

Our research library has substantial archival holdings of the early American Communist Party and American Trotskyism, but with significant gaps. We are highly interested in obtaining more of and preserving this material, especially since much of it was originally published only in poor-quality mimeograph or faint carbon copy.

Our collection of early Trotskyist Political Committee and Plenum minutes is fairly complete from 1931-1936, but has major gaps in the 1936-1956 period. From 1956-1964 our collection is substantial, but with significant omissions. While the library has 95+ percent of the English-language Internal and International bulletins of the Trotskyist movement, we are missing some, especially in the 1940-1942 period. We have a selection of the letters exchanged between Cannon, Dunne and Cochran in 1938 concerning key trade-union issues. We lack the mimeographed material which was circulated by American Trotskyists from March to August 1937, during the entry into the SP.

Xeroxes of the originals are for us nearly as satisfactory as the originals themselves. Please contact us.

Prometheus Research Library
Box 185, Canal St. Station
New York, NY 10013

the regionalization of the Central American insurgency. Then there's the Castro regime in Cuba, which as an article of Barnesite faith is defined as bearing no resemblance to the Stalinist sellouts in Russia—this despite the fact that the Cuban and Russian Stalinist regimes demonstrably agree on just about everything. And let's not forget El Salvador, where Barnes' "revolutionaries worthy of the name" are the CP: a month ago, the SWP announced internally Barnes' discovery that the BPR faction of Cayetano Carpio (which the SWP, along with the Mareyites and others, had been assiduously courting all this time) was less "proletarian" than the CP wing.

The question of power is posed in Central America as the sadistic oligarchies backed to the hilt by U.S. imperialism are confronted in one country after another with popular rebellions. The Nicaraguan leaders temporize with the "patriotic" bourgeoisie and seek to placate the Pentagon by refusing to provide arms to the Salvadoran insurgents; the Salvadoran leaders' perspective is a negotiated "political solution" which would rob the plebeian masses of the victory they are fighting and dying for; the Cuban leaders alibi their support to "progressive" military juntas from Peru to Brazil with the argument that Latin America is not "ready for socialism." These nationalists and Stalinists, in the illusion of pacifying U.S. imperialism, are only setting the Central American masses up for popular-frontist tragedies like Allende's "peaceful road" in Chile, which infuriated the domestic capitalists and militarists (and the multinationals and the CIA) without decisively breaking their power, thereby paving the way for General Pinochet's bloodbath. To be sure, American imperialist warmongering has the Central American left ideologues talking out of both sides of their mouths; along comes the SWP, selectively quoting like mad, and voilà, new "revolutionaries of action" are revealed.

For authentic Trotskyists, the revolutionary struggles in Central America, the heroic resistance of the masses, the arguments over strategy present a crucial opportunity to win subjective revolutionaries in the region to the perspective of working-class independence from all wings of the bourgeoisie, the only road to victory. Our strategy is the construction of Leninist vanguard parties to lead the proletariat, at the head of the poor peasant masses, to the seizure of power (this is the core of the theory of "permanent revolution"). For Barnes & Co., this is precisely the time to formally denounce permanent revolution, smear Trotsky and relegate the struggles of the Fourth International explicitly to the "old days" before Castro.

Permanent Revolution: "Sectarian and Ultra-Left"

Barnes began his speech with extensive paraphrases from the recent works of one Schafik Jorge Handal, general secretary of the Salvadoran CP. But most of the talk had a more familiar ring—familiar, that is, to anyone who has ever read or heard the classical reformist arguments against Trotskyism. Barnes' recitation of the early Trotsky's errors as a left Menshevik in opposition to Bolshevism, for the purpose of dismissing Trotsky the Leninist revolutionary, might have been lifted outright from Carl Davidson's "exposé" of Trotskyism ("left in form, right in essence") which appeared some years back in the *Guardian*. Barnes then castigates the theory of permanent revolution as flawed in 1905, wrong in 1917 and flatly "ultra-left" in China in 1928.

The theory of permanent revolution was tested first and foremost in the Russian Revolution. The theory anticipated the change in Lenin's own thinking as he made the transformation, under the pressure of events, from revolutionary social-democrat to communist. By the time of the Prague Congress of 1912, Lenin was a communist on the organizational question. But his views on the precise class character of the revolution in Russia were still evolving. Prior to April 1917, Lenin sought to oppose the old Menshevik (subsequently, Stalinist) schema that Russia required a "two-stage revolution"—first a "democratic" revolution under the leadership of the "democratic bourgeoisie," and only after a period of *capitalist* development, a "socialist" stage. But his formula for drawing the line against Menshevik reformism was the inadequate formula of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry," postulating the class rule of two classes. Lenin's greatness was precisely that he did not pare down his revolutionary program to fit an inadequate formula, but seized the possibility presented in life to lead the proletariat to the conquest of state power, through the revolutionary combat party he had built for that purpose.

Novosti

Permanent Revolution in action: Russian workers march in Petrograd, 1917. Bolshevik banner reads: "Down with the War! Down with the Capitalist Ministers!"

In so doing he confirmed the theory of permanent revolution, which had predicted that in the period of imperialist decay the weak ruling classes of the backward nations could not and would not play the progressive role associated with the bourgeois revolutions of the earlier epoch. Thus the "democratic tasks" once addressed by the old "enlightenment" bourgeoisie—e.g., national self-determination, destruction of feudal class relations in the countryside, abolition of the monarchy, universal suffrage, etc.—could be achieved in countries like Russia only under the class rule of the revolutionary proletariat, which itself had become more powerful, being now concentrated in large industrial enterprises and sectors.

For Barnes, the theory of permanent revolution is "sectarian" and "ultra-left," and was never accepted by Lenin in word or deed. Indeed, Barnes goes so far as to delicately accuse Trotsky of lying about Lenin's positions: "This is the only thing I can remember Trotsky ever writing which I believe is factually false"! To explore this question, some review of the debates surrounding the Russian Revolution is in order.

In his introduction to the first Russian edition of *The Permanent Revolution*, Trotsky noted that for Stalin & Co. the theory of permanent revolution "represents the original sin of 'Trotskyism'." He placed the debate in its distinct historical context. In his "Three Concepts of the Russian Revolution" (August 1939), a work of crystalline precision, he defined three major arguments on "the historical nature of the Russian Revolution and its future course of development." These were:

1) *The Menshevik view:* "the victory of the Russian bourgeois revolution was possible only under the leadership of the liberal bourgeoisie and must put the latter in power. Later the democratic regime would let the Russian proletariat, with incomparably greater success than heretofore, catch up with its elder Western brothers on the road of the struggle for Socialism."

2) *Lenin's perspective:* "the backward Russian bourgeoisie is incapable of completing its own revolution! The complete victory of the revolution, through the intermediacy of the 'democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry,' would purge the land of medievalism, invest the development of Russian capitalism with American tempo, strengthen the proletariat in the city and village and make really possible the struggle for socialism. On the other hand, the victory of the Russian revolution would give tremendous impetus to the socialist revolution in the West, while the latter would not only protect Russia from the dangers of restoration but would also enable the Russian proletariat to come to the conquest of power in a comparatively brief historical period."

3) *Permanent Revolution:* "the complete victory of the democratic revolution in Russia is conceivable only in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, leaning on the peasantry. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which would inevitably place on the order of the day not only democratic but socialistic tasks as well, would at the same time give a powerful impetus to the international socialist revolution. Only the victory of the proletariat in the West could protect Russia from bourgeois restoration and assure it the possibility of rounding out the establishment of socialism."

In 1917, "Lenin was obliged to alter his perspective, in direct conflict with the old cadres of his party." The October Revolution was the historic test, and confirmed Trotsky's prognosis. There ceased to be "debate" on the character of the Revolution after 1917 because the question was solved by the revolution's course. When Lenin appeared before the Petrograd Soviet several days after the insurrection, he announced, "We shall now proceed to construct the Socialist order!"

Lenin vacated his algebraic "democratic dictatorship" theory in April 1917. His "Letters on Tactics" states:

> "We have side by side, existing together, simultaneously, *both* the rule of the bourgeoisie (the government of Lvov and Gruchkov) and a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, which is *voluntarily* ceding power to the bourgeoisie, voluntarily making itself an appendage of the bourgeoisie....
>
> "This 'second government' has *itself* ceded the power to the bourgeoisie, has chained *itself* to the bourgeois government.
>
> "Is this reality covered by Comrade Kamenev's old-Bolshevik formula, which says that 'the bourgeois-democratic revolution is not completed'?
>
> "It is not. The formula is obsolete. It is

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WV Photo

Failing reformist party seeks Havana/ Managua/ Grenada franchise: will alter principles to suit Sandinista Daniel Ortega, New Jewel Movement's Maurice Bishop and Fidel Castro (below). Contact Jack Barnes (left).

Perspectiva Mundial

SWP...

(continued from page 9)

> no good at all. It is dead. And there is no use trying to revive it...."

Adolph Joffe's final letter to Trotsky, quoted in Trotsky's *My Life*, also verified Lenin's adherence to permanent revolution:

> "This [decades of joint work and friendship] gives me the right to tell you in parting what I think you are mistaken in. I have never doubted the rightness of the road you pointed out, and as you know I have gone with you for more than twenty years, since the days of 'permanent revolution.' But I have always believed that you lacked Lenin's *unbending will*, his *unwillingness to yield*, his readiness even to remain alone on the path that he thought right in the anticipation of a future majority.... I told you repeatedly that with my own ears I had heard Lenin admit that even in 1905 *you, and not he*, were right."

China and Permanent Revolution

The rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Russia, its acquisition of counterrevolutionary consciousness codified in the slogan of "socialism in one country" and the Stalinization of the Communist International resulted in defeat after defeat for the world proletariat. In China, Stalin's policy was not the ambiguous "revolutionary democratic dictatorship" but the Menshevik theory of "stages." It could hardly be otherwise, as 1917 had resolved once and for all the question of whether there could be any genuinely democratic solution short of proletarian rule. In *The Permanent Revolution* Trotsky had summarized:

> "The great historic significance of Lenin's formula lay in the fact that, under the conditions of a new historical epoch, it probed to the end one of the most important theoretical and political questions, namely the question of the degree of political independence attainable by the various petty-bourgeois groupings, above all, the peasantry. Thanks to its completeness, the Bolshevik experience of 1905-17 firmly bolted the door against the 'democratic dictatorship'."

Elsewhere in the book, Trotsky quotes Lenin:

> "...the whole history of revolution, the whole history of political development throughout the nineteenth century, teaches us that the peasant follows the worker or the bourgeois.... The economic structure of capitalist society is such that the ruling forces in it can only be capital or the proletariat which overthrows it."
>
> —"The Deception of the People by Slogans of Freedom and Equality," May 1919

Permanent revolution, confirmed positively in 1917, was confirmed in the negative in the defeat of the Chinese proletariat in 1927-28 at the hands of their bourgeois Kuomintang "allies." The debate on China was simply over whether or not to subordinate the Chinese workers and peasants to the native bourgeoisie, a debate in which Barnes says Trotsky "bent the stick to the left." Since 1924, in the China debate and up to the present day, the debate over "permanent revolution" between Stalinism (Menshevism) and Trotskyism (Bolshevism) has been the struggle between the advocates of "alliances" with the bourgeoisie ("anti-fascist," "anti-feudal," "anti-imperialist" to be sure) and those who struggled for the independent mobilization of the proletariat, the vanguard of all the exploited and oppressed, against all wings of the class enemy.

Communist beheaded in 1927 by Kuomintang in Shanghai. Barnes denounces Trotskyism as "ultra-left" for warning that coalition with "progressive" nationalist Chiang Kai-shek would lead to massacre.

In *The Permanent Revolution*, Trotsky imagines a conversation between a Communist from the East and an apologist for the Stalinized Comintern over the question of what is the "democratic dictatorship":

> "'But won't you please tell us what this slogan looks like in actuality? How was it realized in your country?'
>
> 'In our country it was realized in the shape of Kerenskyism in the epoch of dual power.'
>
> 'Can we tell our workers that the slogan of the democratic dictatorship will be realized in our country in the shape of our own national Kerenskyism?'
>
> 'Come, come! Not at all! No worker will adopt such a slogan; Kerenskyism is servility to the bourgeoisie and betrayal of the working people.'
>
> 'But what, then, must we tell our workers?' the Communist of the East asks despondently.
>
> 'You must tell them,' impatiently answers [the Stalinist] Kuusinen, the man on duty, 'that the democratic dictatorship is the one that Lenin conceived of with regard to the future democratic revolution.'
>
> If the Communist of the East is not lacking in sense, he will seek to rejoin: 'But didn't Lenin explain in 1918 that the democratic dictatorship found its genuine and true realization only in the October Revolution which established the dictatorship of the proletariat? Would it not be better to orient the party and the working class precisely toward this prospect?'
>
> 'Under no circumstances. Do not even dare to think about it. Why, that is the per-r-r-manent r-r-r-evolution! That's Tr-r-r-otskyism!'"

Barnes' attack on Trotsky's 1928 China position is a fundamental statement of anti-Trotskyism. In the year 1928, the Left Opposition issued its *Criticism of the Draft Program of the Comintern*, which marked the decisive extension of Trotskyism from a revolutionary opposition to the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union into an international political tendency. It was over China that Trotsky first put forward the theory of permanent revolution not as particular to Russian conditions but as generally applicable to the whole colonial world. In dismissing Trotsky as some kind of ultra-leftist on China, therefore, Barnes is actually attacking Trotsky's program for all the countries under the yoke of imperialism.

The refusal of reformist working-class leaderships to break with the bourgeoisie and struggle for proletarian state power has led to bloody defeat from Spain to Indonesia to Chile. Less frequently, under certain exceptional conditions (including centrally the absence of the organized working class as a contender for power in its own right), Stalinist- or petty-bourgeois-led peasant-based guerrilla movements have come to power in countries like China, Cuba, Vietnam. The result has been new bureaucratized workers states on a national-Stalinist program—i.e., counterrevolutionary in their policies beyond their own borders, thus minimizing the shift in the world balance of forces. Yet these deformed social revolutions are themselves partial confirmations of the theory of permanent revolution, as these leaderships were forced—in opposition to their stated programs—to go over to the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the adoption of the socialized property forms first established by the victory of the October Revolution, as the only way to achieve genuine national liberation and to address classically bourgeois-democratic tasks like land reform.

The applicability of permanent revolution to the struggles of today has never been more urgent, or more obvious. Take for example the struggle of the Palestinian masses against class and national oppression. For as long as we can remember, the SWP and its USec allies have hailed something called "the Arab Revolution" as a great anti-imperialist struggle embracing the hideously oppressed Arab workers and peasants *and their rulers*. Has it ever been clearer than it is today that the "anti-Zionist" oil sheiks, the nationalist colonels, etc. who rule the Arab states are not "allies of the Palestinian struggle" but grotesquely subservient to imperialism? The road to Palestinian liberation lies through united class struggle by the Arab, Hebrew-speaking and other toilers of the Near East against Zionism and against all the Arab exploiters, and the creation by the proletariat of a Socialist Federation of the Near East.

Fidel Castro or Judge Griesa?

Whatever emotional satisfaction Barnes may derive from sneering at those who "read Comintern documents through permanent revolution eyes," denouncing Trotsky still doesn't make the SWP much of a candidate for the Sandinista or Fidelista franchise. The SWP's yearning for reformist "respectability" necessarily conflicts with its passion for Castro when push really comes to shove—Fidel Castro or Judge Griesa? An early indicator of the already rotted fibre of the SWP was the party's response nearly 20 years ago to the assassination of John F. Kennedy, mortal enemy of the Cuban Revolution, architect of the Bay of Pigs invasion, whose CIA buddies made numerous attempts on Castro's life. When Kennedy was shot, allegedly by Lee Harvey Oswald, publicly identified as a member of the SWP's "Fair Play for Cuba" Committee, the SWP wrote: "We extend our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Kennedy and the children in their personal grief.... Political terrorism, like suppression of political freedom, violates the democratic rights of all Americans...." (*Militant*, 2 December 1963). The same issue of the *Militant* approvingly featured a statement by Chief Justice Earl Warren, with the SWP adding the headline, "At the Moment of Crisis There Were Voices of Sanity." To his credit, Castro did not send condolences; in fact, he used the occasion to remind the world that the U.S. imperialist chief had acted in "a spirit of aggression and hostility" to Cuba.

On the 20th anniversary of the Cuban Revolution, Barnes displayed his unique brand of Castroism: "The Castro leadership began their struggle not by taking up arms, but by doing something we emulated 20 years later—they filed suit against the government. When Batista made his coup in 1952, Fidel went to court...."

Or take the question of the arms race, not a small matter in a period of frenzied anti-Soviet war drive. In 1977 Joe Hansen excoriated the Russians: "it is clear that Brezhnev must be blamed for failing to seize the initiative on disarmament." In a 1980 speech on Afghanistan, Barnes suggested Brezhnev "go on television and announce that the USSR is destroying a big part of its nuclear arsenal and propose to Washington a schedule to destroy the rest." If the SWP's counsels of unilateral disarmament for the Russians had been heeded by the Kremlin, who can doubt that Cuba would already have been smashed or reduced to irradiated rubble? That's "defense of the Cuban Revolution," SWP style.

But the real question is: what does Barnes think he has to offer the Central American and Cuban CPs that anybody could possibly want? We are reminded of a diplomatic mission made by Mikoyan to Cuba after Castro's revolution, at a time that both Russia and China were bidding for Cuba's allegiance. What Mikoyan told the Cubans was, roughly: look, we can supply you with all kinds of things—petroleum, grain, machine tools from Czech factories, the most advanced weaponry, you name it. And what can you get from the Chinese? Only an unlimited supply of human blood plasma.

Well, at least the Chinese had something to offer—after all, they do have state power in China. What does Barnes have? Now if the SWP were the dominant force in a major wing of the Democratic Party, that could be worth something to the Cubans and Central Americans looking down the Americans' gunsights—they might believe the SWP's influence in leading bourgeois circles could mitigate the drive toward American military intervention. But the main asset the SWP has is the copyrights on some of Trotsky's books.

Fidel is unlikely to pay much attention to Barnes' speech. Somebody who surely will pay attention is Ernest Mandel, leading spokesman for the SWP's not-so-fraternal fraternal buddies of the European USec. The USec has been fuming as the SWP tears up Mandel's English section; meanwhile, the USec has been monkeying around among the SWP minorities and expellees. Particularly in this context, we can

Corrections

The selection of names for the buses going to the November 27 Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Washington, D.C. was more accurately described in *Young Spartacus* No. 105 (December 1982-January 1983) than in *Workers Vanguard*. *YSp* noted that the contingent from New York was somewhat facetiously dubbed the Yuri Andropov Brigade "as a sardonic jibe at the rather large number of ex-SL members headed for D.C." *WV* (No. 319, 10 December 1982) had called it a "factional jibe." We were, of course, pleased to see so many former Spartacist League members, without however making political concessions to them.

In the article "Why They Lie" (*WV* No. 320, 31 December) we wrote that "We strongly suspect that the RWL [Revolutionary Workers League] was not even in Washington on November 27." But no. Even though they got even the date of the anti-Klan demonstration wrong (*twice* referring to November *25*), and simply invented their account about the SL, the RWL was there. In *Workers World* (3 December 1982) we saw a picture of an All-Peoples Congress goon squad, and there in the second row was none other than leading RWL supporter Shanta Driver. Apparently Shanta was too busy holding back the outraged militants and ghetto youth who wanted to leave the Marcyite liberal talkathon to get at the Klan to notice that several thousand anti-KKK militants had marched up to and occupied Lafayette Square—the Klan's advertised rally site—with the Spartacist League in the lead.

Hundreds of Blacks on Death Row

Executioners Go to Work in Reagan's America

"He's got plenty of good veins," the prison "doctor" said approvingly. And so the medical technicians strapped the black prisoner to a table, inserted a catheter needle into a vein of each arm, and injected him with a triple dose of lethal drugs. Seven minutes later 40-year-old Charlie Brooks, Jr. was pronounced dead. The scene was not in a Nazi concentration camp 40 years ago but a Texas prison last month. It was still state murder.

Ominously, Brooks was the first black prisoner to be executed since the 1976 Supreme Court decision which declared the death penalty to be constitutional (reversing the previous 1972 Court decision). And Brooks was not a Gary Gilmore, who "wanted to die" in 1977, but a man who fought his execution to the end, and told his would-be wife to "be strong" moments before his death. Outside the building where he lay dying, a bunch of racist white students cheered the legal lynching with signs like "Kill 'em in vein." They didn't need white sheets because it was all "legal."

Brooks' execution may have opened the floodgates for an orgy of racist state-enforced murders. According to the NAACP Legal Defense Fund's statistics, of the 1,138 prisoners now sitting on death row across the country, a disproportionate 43 percent are black—a reflection of racist "justice" in capitalist America.

A Legal Lynching

Liberal lawyers have complained about the government's rush to execute Brooks, although they have failed to explain it. "If you go to the Fifth Circuit [Court] you will find a live appeal and a dead plaintiff," remarked Texas ACLU director John Duncan. The normal process of appeal was abruptly cut short despite the fact that the state never even bothered to prove whether it was Brooks or his partner Woodie Loudres who committed the murder which they were both convicted of. Loudres had a separate trial and escaped the death penalty, and will be eligible for parole in about six years.

The liberals focus on the disparity of sentences, the arbitrariness. What they won't recognize is that the whole purpose of the death penalty is not to mete out justice but to terrorize the population by demonstrating the state's *monopoly of violence*. The mushrooming unemployment lines threaten mass upheaval, fueling the racist fears of the ruling class, who cry for a stronger state apparatus. The 1976 Supreme Court decision opened the legal gates for the executions, but so far only white prisoners have been sent to the chair.

The government wanted to get past the hurdle of actually executing a black man—and not during a "long hot summer." The Brooks case gave them their chance, and they grabbed it. In quick succession, his appeal for a stay of execution was turned down by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, the State Board of Pardons and Paroles, Texas Governor Clements and finally the U.S. Supreme Court. "What [Texas Attorney General] Mark White has done through this is manage to conduct a judicial lynching," said Duncan.

"The situation is ripe for the nation to witness executions at the rate approaching the three a week that prevailed during the 1930's," remarked one federal official recently, pointing to the real reason for the sudden escalation of executions. When the capitalist economy falls apart and people lose faith in the ruling class and its government—as happened in the 1930s and is happening again today—then all the government has left is naked force, applied with a racist edge in the "American way." Needless to say, the death penalty never deterred crime—from the daily hangings of 17th century England to the gas chamber and electric chair of FDR's America to the present-day "humane" lethal injections. Its purpose is to maintain the power of the criminal ruling class.

Abolish the Death Penalty

Liberal papers like the *New York Times* (8 December 1982) hypocritically sermonize against "the thirst of a frustrated public for vengeance against criminals." But they of course staunchly defend the system of unemployment, poverty, racism which give rise to lynching—both the KKK's and the legal kind carried out by the state. In fact it was the Democratic liberals like Jimmy Carter who paved the way with attacks on busing for integration and other minimal gains of the civil rights movement. Reagan merely carried the attack forward into an all-sided assault on the working class, blacks and poor. What unites all the bourgeois politicians is the desperate desire to save the faltering capitalist system, primarily through a new war drive aimed at counterrevolution in the Soviet Union.

We stand with the original Bolshevik revolution of 1917, which banned both torture and the death penalty in the USSR. "No tortures and torments!" insisted even the Cheka, who ran the prison camps holding counterrevolutionaries, in the time of Lenin and Trotsky. The world socialist revolution led by Trotskyist vanguard parties will carry forward the Bolshevik banner. As we wrote in our article, "State Butchers Gilmore" (*WV* No. 141, 21 January 1977):

> "The reinstitution of the death penalty is not just another legal argument lost before an increasingly reactionary Supreme Court. It is one among many proofs of the failure of capitalism in its death agony to fulfill its promise of a decent life.... Only the victorious proletarian revolution that overthrows the bourgeois state will abolish the death penalty for good and smash the prisons, in the course of rooting out the whole vicious cycle of crime, punishment and repression caused by capitalism." ■

Secret trials threaten lives of Iran socialists

THE MILITANT

Socialists demand massive U.S. aid to Nicargagua

Launch 1980 presidential campaign

Counterrevolutionary and illiterate: SWP calls on U.S. imperialism to buy off revolution in "Nicargagua."

expect some erudite reams from Mandel in defense of "Trotskyism" against the SWP.

Of course the USec has already shown itself equally willing to junk the "Trotskyist" label in pursuit of bigger-time alliances. In 1976 Mandel, envisioning a maneuver with the social-democratic PSU group in France, declared:

> "What difference do labels make? If in the political arena we encountered political forces which agreed with our strategic and tactical orientation and which were repulsed only by the historical reference and the name we would get rid of it in 24 hours."

What difference do labels make? Trotsky once replied simply to this question, "In politics, the 'name' is the 'banner'" (*Writings*, 1935-36).

To be sure, the SWP for 20 years has had about as much use for Trotskyism as a blind man for eyeglasses—that is, it can serve some functions, but none involving the purpose for which it was intended: the making of proletarian revolution. Still, Barnes' explicit disavowal of Trotskyist pretensions signals new heights of instability for Barnes' party. For our part, we welcome Barnes' speech as a step toward clarity on the American left, tending to resolve the competing claims to Trotskyist continuity. And we hope that among the SWP old-timers, degenerated long since into practicing social-democrats, a few may still be found who won't follow Barnes as he spits on the revolutionary activism of their younger days. We urge them to instead make their experiences accessible to the Trotskyists of today (see archival letter in this issue of *WV*).

The international Spartacist tendency was born as the Revolutionary Tendency of the SWP, expelled in 1963 for defending the authentic revolutionary program of Trotskyism. This is our label, and we wear it proudly, confident of its future decisive victory through international proletarian revolution. ■

Healyite Slander...

(continued from page 7)

agent of the GPU/FBI, implicated in the assassination of Leon Trotsky. It has been and continues to be the position of the Spartacist League/iSt that those charges are manifestly groundless. This slander campaign against Joseph Hansen constitutes an attack on the entire SWP leadership around Trotsky and Cannon, posing directly the question of Healyism versus Trotskyism.

The Spartacist League/iSt is publicly on record in vehement opposition to those slanders. James Robertson, National Chairman of the Spartacist League signed a statement circulated by the SWP in 1976, entitled, "A Shameless Frame-Up." Since 1975 the Spartacist League/iSt has held demonstrations against the Workers League/RWP asking, "Who Gave Healy His Security Clearance?". Thus, it is with the utmost concern and outrage that the Spartacist League/iSt views this most recent addition to the Healyite frame-up campaign, this time invoking the government's courts against the Socialist Workers Party.

While the Spartacist League/iSt takes no position on the question of whether Gelfand's rights as a member of the SWP were violated in the expulsion process, it is clear that asking the courts to make that determination is a violation of workers democracy. This case presents dangerous precedent for all working class organizations.

The Spartacist League/iSt believes that a vigorous, aggressive counter-attack must be made against the Gelfand lawsuit. However, to date, the available information on this case has been in the press of the Workers League. There does not appear to have been any information on or excerpts from this lawsuit in the pages of the *Militant* or *Intercontinental Press*.

The Spartacist League/iSt is necessarily interested in examining the "evidence" submitted by Gelfand in support of his allegations of government dominion over the Socialist Workers Party as well as examining the development of the legal defense and counteroffensive taken by the SWP defendants. To the extent the Spartacist League/iSt has concrete information in hand, particularly the court record, then to that extent it will be able to be more categorical in publicly dealing with the vital issues of workers democracy involved. The deliberate introduction of the bourgeois state into the life of private political organizations does have a history; this has been used in England by racist/fascist organizations during their quarrels and splits. Is it now to be imported into socialist organizations in the United States? This must be fought.

I trust that an expeditious reply will be given to this request (in writing).

Yours truly,
Rachel H. Wolkenstein

cc: Spartacist League/iSt

* * * * *

October 28, 1982

Spartacist League
c/o Rachel Wolkenstein
299 Broadway
New York, N.Y.

This is in response to your letter, postmarked October 21, which has been referred to me for reply.

The Socialist Workers Party will not provide any assistance to the Spartacist League.

Craig Gannon
Socialist Workers Party

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January 22 El Salvador Protests

Anti-Imperialism Abroad, Class Struggle at Home

A joint El Salvador solidarity demonstration is scheduled to take place along the Mexican-American border at Tijuana on January 22, anniversary of the 1932 massacre of 30,000 Salvadoran workers and peasants known as *La Matanza*. The protest, decided upon at the First Mexico-U.S. Border Conference in Solidarity with the Salvadoran People last October, will also emphasize the plight of Central American refugees. According to the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the orientation is toward "a movement of workers in solidarity with the totality of the revolutionary anti-imperialist movement taking place in the region" (*Perspectiva Mundial*, 3 January).

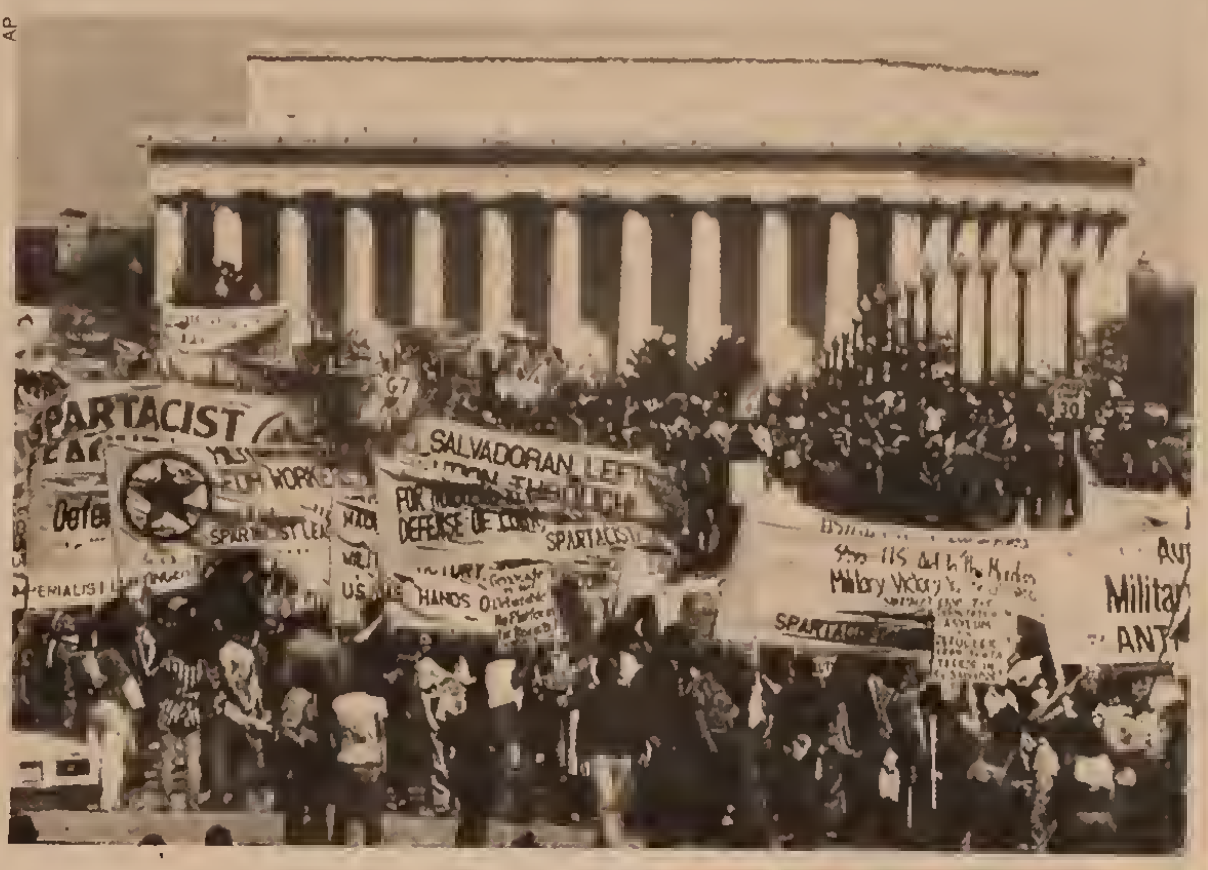
Not so. In the first place, the sponsoring organizations do *not* call for solidarity with revolution in Central America. Rather they seek to pressure their "own" bourgeoisies into adopting "peace-loving" foreign policies. The Mexican Committee in Solidarity with the Salvadoran People had previously held an international solidarity forum in Mexico City last March which supported the French-Mexican communiqué calling for a negotiated settlement to the Salvadoran conflict. This attempt of two capitalist governments to *prevent* the revolutionary contagion from spreading beyond El Salvador means calling off the war and leaving the death squads and generals free to kill again. The pseudo-Trotskyist Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT), another of the participants, explicitly hailed the "progressive role" of the plan of Mexican president López Portillo.

In the U.S., the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) not only hailed the French-Mexican communiqué, it has consistently supported proposals by liberal Democratic Congressmen to cut military (but *not* economic) aid to El Salvador. Yet U.S. economic aid has been crucial in keeping the Salvadoran junta in power. The SWP went even further in expressing confidence in the imperialist government, calling in 1979 for "Massive U.S. Aid to Nicargagua" (sic). In contrast, the revolutionary Trotskyists of the Spartacist League (SL/U.S.) call for "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador!" The SL-organized Anti-Imperialist Contingent brought out 500 militants supporting this program in Washington, D.C. on 3 May 1981 (see photo below). But the reformists were so frenzied about "reds" scaring off their liberal Democrat patrons that they organized a goon squad to keep people from attending the SL rally.

Nor do the reformists seek to build a "movement of workers." To the extent they talk at all about labor, which is only recently, they mean forming political blocs with the pro-capitalist union bureaucrats. In Mexico this means appealing to the corrupt "*charro*" labor fakers headed by Fidel Vázquez, who acts as a watchdog over the workers movement for the ruling PRI. Vázquez & Co. have been instrumental in preventing a general strike against the Mexican government's draconian austerity measures. In the U.S. the SWP et al. look to the reactionary Meanyite AFL-CIO bureaucracy which stands politically to the right of the mainstream Democratic Party. In particular, the AFL-CIO is a principal advocate of the racist anti-immigrant Simpson-Mazzoli bill aimed at victimizing Mexican and Central American workers in the U.S.

Real anti-imperialist solidarity with Central American workers and peasants means militant revolutionary struggle at home, mobilizing the powerful Mexican proletariat against its rulers and above all in the belly of the Yankee imperialist beast. And this enrages the reformists, who even call on the capitalist cops to exclude the Trotskyists (as occurred last March 27 in the U.S. capital). The SL and our trade-union supporters have been the only ones in the United States to fight for a labor boycott of arms to El Salvador. We have also taken the lead in protesting against the deportation of Salvadoran refugees from the U.S. And when the Reagan administration launched raids against immigrant workers last May, the SL mounted well-publicized emergency protest demonstrations from coast to coast.

Above all the reformists try to duck the Russian question. Reagan declares that Central America is the front line of his war against Communism, and the El Salvador popular frontists go to incredible lengths to eliminate any mention of the Soviet Union from their demonstrations. Pseudo-Trotskyist charlatan Nahuel Moreno goes even further in his Stalinophobia, claiming that the Stalinists are... more counterrevolutionary than the bourgeois nationalists! While denouncing the Stalinists from Havana to Moscow for their policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, and demanding "Leftist rebels need Russian guns!" the Spartacist tendency forthrightly proclaims, "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador!" The only genuine solidarity with revolution in Central America is militant anti-imperialism abroad and class struggle at home.



Washington, D.C., 3 May 1981: SL-organized Anti-Imperialist Contingent called for military victory to Salvadoran leftists while reformists/liberals called for negotiated sellout.

Central America...

(continued from page 1)

along the northern border, a Nicaraguan air force helicopter crashed on December 9 in a zone of counterrevolutionary activity, resulting in the tragic deaths of 75 children passengers. The victims were from the Miskito Indian tribe, several thousand of whom were being evacuated from the border area where they had been subjected to attacks and a blockade by the *contras*. Whether the crash was an accident or the helicopter transporting the children was shot down, in either case responsibility for the slaughter falls on the Somozaists and their paymasters in Washington who have unleashed the very overt "covert" war against Sandinista Nicaragua. In a country where tens of thousands of youths, "los muchachos" (the kids), were murdered fighting Somoza, the deaths caused angry mourning. Twenty-five thousand people marched in Managua chanting, "We're going to the battlefields for the children!" In contrast, the imperialist press barely mentioned the tragedy. They have to keep up their worldwide slander campaign attempting to pin senseless atrocities against the Miskitos on the FSLN.

The most dangerous front in the war against Somozaist subversion is the internal political front. For the counterrevolutionaries have a powerful pro-capitalist "fifth column" inside Nicaragua. There are the private businessmen, who still control 60 percent of the economy and are opposed to any steps toward socialist revolution. Even within the Sandinista regime there are disguised counterrevolutionaries, as revealed by the defection to the imperialists last year of former "Comandante Zero," Edén Pastora. He was followed by the resignation of the head of the National Bank, and of Nicaraguan ambassador to Washington Arturo Cruz (one of the original members of the Sandinista governing junta). Now Cruz' replacement as ambassador, Francisco Fiallos, has also gone over to Pastora's camp, taking with him almost $700,000 of Nicaraguan government funds.

Meanwhile, the imperialists are using the Catholic church hierarchy as a potent force for reaction, as they are doing also in Poland. A billboard campaign announcing "Christ is coming," the apparition of a counterrevolutionary virgin in Cuapa (recalling the 1917 anti-Bolshevik "Lady of Fátima" in Portugal), provoking incidents between church and state such as the arrest last summer of an aide to Archbishop Ovando y Bravo (and the publication of a nude photograph of the cleric). The conflict is aggravated by a split between a grassroots "people's church" favorable to the FSLN and the anti-Sandinista Catholic hierarchy. The impetus for mobilizing the church against the regime has come straight from the Vatican, as the counterrevolutionary Polish pope John Paul Wojtyla ordered all Catholic priests in Nicaragua to leave high government jobs. The several clerical cabinet ministers refused, and now the pope is threatening to boycott Nicaragua on his upcoming Central American tour.

The political strength of the church and Pastora supporters would not be so great but for the fact that the FSLN made a political alliance with the so-called "anti-Somoza bourgeoisie" and the church the basis of the political revolution that overthrew the "jackal of Managua." The price exacted by the bourgeois forces for this "popular front" was a government program pledged to maintaining the foundations of capitalist rule. However, the main guarantor of that rule, the National Guard, disintegrated even before the Sandinistas entered Managua. Now, under pressure from the Reagan administration which (wrongly) accuses Nicaragua of following the "Cuban path," the class-collaborationist coalition is on the rocks. The result could be to force the Sandinistas to go much further than they planned along the road of social revolution, at most creating a bureaucratically deformed workers state à la Castro's Cuba. But FSLN leaders are certainly right in saying that this has not been their intention or program. Sandinista interior minister Tomás Borge responded to a question from a correspondent of the Paris newspaper *Le Monde* ("Is Reagan perhaps trying to radicalize you?"):

> "If so, he has understood nothing about our Revolution. Whatever he does, we will be neither more nor less radical. We don't speak of political pluralism and a

mixed economy to please the Americans. It is our program and we will uphold it whatever Reagan's policies."
—*Barricada*, 19 December 1982

Today, as the counterrevolutionary threat against Sandinista Nicaragua mounts, what is needed is not conciliation of the capitalists/imperialists but a revolutionary upheaval. The FSLN's main slogan, "*No pasarán*" (They shall not pass), is borrowed from the Spanish Civil War where the People's Front alliance with the shadow of the bourgeoisie was a barrier to proletarian revolution, and thus allowed the counterrevolutionaries to pass. Mass organizations such as the Sandinista Defense Committees, the unions and the People's Militia must throw off bureaucratic control to become the basis for organs of soviet democracy. Pro-bourgeois traitors must be ruthlessly purged from the Sandinista regime. Rather than reliance on the petty-bourgeois nationalists who conciliate the bourgeois liberals, the future of the revolution depends on the forging of a communist (Trotskyist) workers party. Instead of a narrow nationalist perspective, even offering to help the Yankee imperialists dismantle Salvadoran leftist bases in Nicaragua, such a leadership must become the vanguard of the Central American revolution, fighting for workers and peasants governments throughout the isthmus. Without such a proletarian internationalist program, an isolated Nicaragua will be mortally threatened by U.S.-sponsored counterrevolution, and far more vulnerable than Cuba which at least had 90 miles of ocean between it and the *gusanos* headquartered in Miami.

El Salvador: A New Vietnam?

The FMLN offensive "Heroes and Martyrs of October 1979-80" sent government troops fleeing from a string of garrison towns and villages across the northern tier of El Salvador, establishing for the first time an open liberated zone. The *Washington Post* (28 December 1982) quoted a U.S. official who admitted: "The guerrillas have made real territorial gains.... You have to say their offensive has been a success." Beginning on October 10 the leftist insurgents quickly occupied 20 municipalities in the provinces of Chalatenango, Morazán, Usulatán and La Unión. Except for a brief, ten-day counteroffensive by the Salvadoran and Honduran armies in late November, the FMLN has remained in control of the hill regions. General García, following U.S. advice, kept his forces on the plains and in the cities, both to prevent disruption of the economy and to head off a possible coup by ultra-rightists in the military. But this has not stopped the army from taking a beating: more than 1,000 soldiers killed, wounded or captured since the beginning of the rebel offensive.

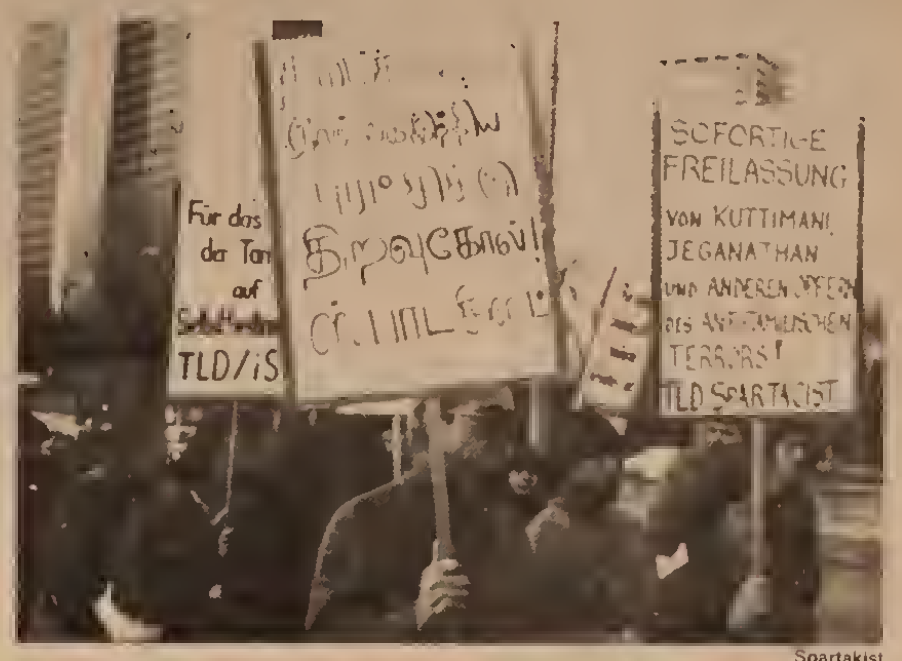
The *pronunciamiento* by Colonel Sigifredo Ochoa is a reflection of divisions within the Salvadoran ruling class. His nemesis, General García, has for the last several years been Washington's man in the army, also linked to the middle-class professionals of the Christian Democrats. Ochoa is associated with D'Aubuisson's "tropical fascist" ARENA party and the professional killers of the jackbooted Treasury Police and National Guard. While ARENA and its allies won a "majority" in the March 1982 sham elections, the American proconsul last fall engineered a split in one of the rightist coalition parties, laying the basis for ousting D'Aubuisson as assembly president. García then began removing ultras from key military commands. But U.S. military intervention and the landed oligarchy in El Salvador naturally tend toward the domination of mass murderers—e.g., General Maximiliano Hernández, who introduced half a century of military rule by massacring the communist-led uprising in 1932. And whoever wins this test of strength, the outcome will make liberal/reformist talk of a "negotiated settlement" to the civil war more of a pipedream than ever.

Yet this dangerous notion of a compromise with the death squads, the generals, the latifundists and the imperialists is the declared aim of the Salvadoran opposition leaders! A statement by the FDR-FMLN mission in Mexico put it succinctly:

> "Briefly, the insurgent military offensive, considered the most important since 1981, gives solid backing to the offers of dialogue and peace recently put forward by the top leadership of the FDR-FMLN."
> —"Comentario Informativo Semanal," 10 October-9 November 1982

Likewise, FDR leader Guillermo Ungo recently "dismissed the possibility of an outright military victory for the opposition FMLN guerrilla forces as 'wishful thinking'" (*Latin American Weekly Report*, 8 October 1982). In other words, the fighting is a pressure tactic to force negotiations, so that an Ungo or Zamora can sit down and bargain with General García, their old friend from the October 1979 "reform" junta—exchanging hard-won battlefield victories for empty ministerial portfolios. Many of the Salvadoran insurgents fighting in the field are certainly not in favor of this treacherous policy.

And what do the FDR/FMLN proposals call for? The latest (October 5) offer looks to the Catholic church to mediate—in which case it would play no less a counterrevolutionary role than in Nicaragua—and no longer calls even for a purge of genocidal elements of the armed forces or a "democratic" government. No wonder some rebels reportedly criticize this as complete surrender. There are reports that sectors of the guerrilla coalition, specifically Cayetano Carpio's Fuerzas Populares de Liberación Farabundo Martí (FPL), signed the proposals only under duress. But they have no principled objection to a *negotiated sellout*—the FPL has endorsed all the offers to date, and Cayetano went out of his way to stress that their goal was "not for a Socialist government" but rather a "democratic revolutionary government" including everyone from "large businessmen to small farmers and merchants" (*New York Times*, 9 February 1982). The FPL only objects that the deal isn't "sweet" enough.



Spartakist

Smash Anti-Tamil Terror in Sri Lanka!

FRANKFURT, West Germany—"Smash Anti-Tamil Terror! Free Kuttimani and Jeganathan Now!" chanted a hundred demonstrators here last month. They were protesting the latest wave of repression against the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka and demanding freedom for two young Tamil activists framed up as "terrorists," forced to sign confessions under police torture and sentenced to death. Scores of Tamil militants have been arrested and "disappeared" at the hands of the bloody Sinhala-chauvinist regime of Reagan-backed rightist J.R. Jayewardene under the draconian Prevention of Terrorism Act and a permanent state of emergency.

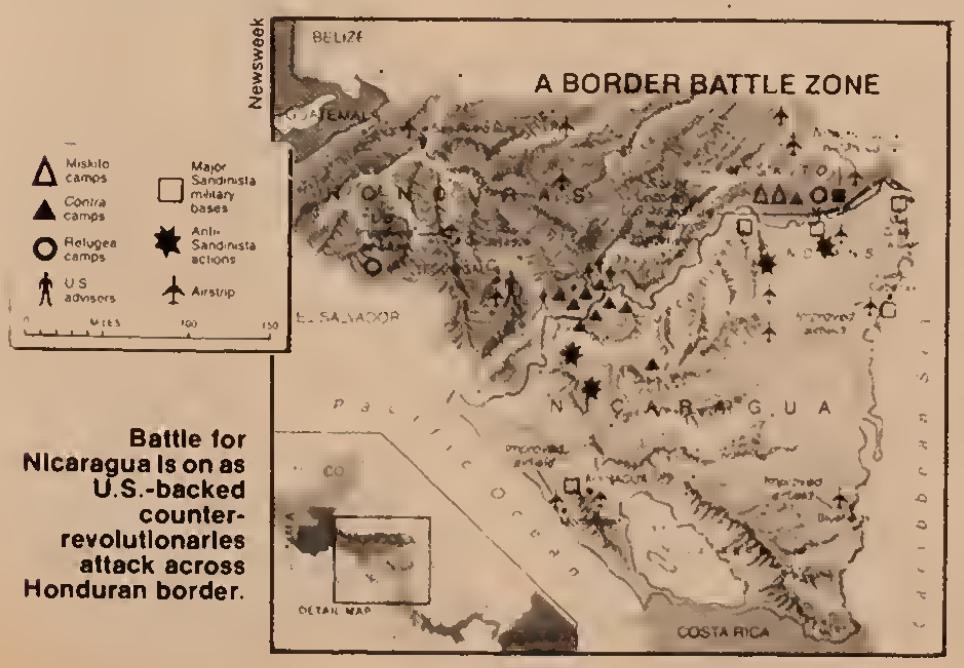
The December 19 protest, organized by Tamil exile groups, was joined by a contingent of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD), German section of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt). TLD placards demanded "Immediate Release of Kuttimani, Jeganathan and Other Victims of Anti-Tamil Terror!" "For the Right of Tamil Self-Determination!" and "For a Sinhala/Tamil Workers and Peasants Government!" The Spartacist sign in Tamil (above) reads: "Tamil Workers Key to Indian/Lankan Revolution!" Other TLD slogans included "Political Asylum for Tamils! Stop the Deportations!" "U.S. Imperialism: Hands Off Trincomalee, Diego Garcia! Defend USSR/Vietnam!" and "Workers—Sinhala/Tamil, Men/Women: Build the Bolshevik Party!"

Literature sales were brisk, especially of the first issue of *Elangai Spartacist*, Tamil-language publication of the Spartacist League/Lanka, and *Spartacist* No. 31-32 with the statement of fusion between the Lankan comrades and the iSt.

The revolutionary Trotskyists of the iSt fight for *military victory to leftist insurgents* in El Salvador for the same reason that all the Christian Democrats, social democrats, Stalinists, nationalists and liberals oppose it: smashing the armed forces of the capitalist state opens the door to socialist revolution. What would Nicaragua look like today if Somoza's National Guard had remained in power? The "maximum program" of the reformists is for a "democratic" government, agrarian reform and cleaning out fascists from the army—all changes that can be easily wiped out, as the example of Chile tragically shows. The Trotskyists fight for a workers and peasants government to expropriate the capitalists, for agrarian revolution, for destruction of the bourgeois officer caste and its replacement by a proletarian-led red army.

Because of their fundamental commitment to defending capitalism, Ungo & Co. also do everything possible to keep the Salvadoran civil war within national limits. Reformism is inherently national, socialist revolution international in scope. The FSLN and FDR/FMLN leaders, not to mention Castro's Cuba, oppose "Vietnamization" (regionalization) of the fighting not in order to save lives—tens of thousands have died, and many more will do so if the capitalist butchers are not crushed—but because it leads to *class* war and an end to their attempts to strike deals with the "patriotic bourgeoisie" and other figments of the reformist imagination. The imperialists and their puppet dictators cooperate militarily through their alliances (CONDECA, Rio Treaty) while the leftist misleaders assiduously "respect" national boundaries. Trotskyists, like Salvadoran Communist leader Farabundo Marti 50 years ago, have no allegiance to the artificial statelets carved out of the isthmus. We fight for a soviet federation of Central America in a Socialist United States of Latin America.

The petty-bourgeois nationalism of the Central American left also leads it to abandon the working class in favor of peasant guerrilla struggle, reflecting different class interests. Ever since the failed general strike of August 1980, all sections of the FMLN have basically turned their backs on the Salvadoran workers. The half-hearted call for insurrection in conjunction with the January 1981 "final" guerrilla offensive was nothing more than an auxiliary action. Even under conditions of extreme repression, a Leninist communist party must necessarily base itself on the urban proletariat. We seek to mobilize the workers not only of San Salvador but of Managua as well, linking up with militant banana and sugar mill workers from Costa Rica to Guatemala and above all with the powerful Mexican working class, key to socialist revolution in the region and the link to the North American proletariat. ■



Battle for Nicaragua is on as U.S.-backed counter-revolutionaries attack across Honduran border.

NAMBLA...

(continued from page 6)

New York, NAMBLA spokesmen exposed the phony Etan Patz "look-alike" photograph which they showed was taken from a 1968 calendar. "The model would now be at least in his late twenties," explained NAMBLA spokesman and founding member David Thorstad. "The police knew that there is no connection between Etan Patz's disappearance and NAMBLA. NAMBLA has never been involved in the abduction of anyone," Thorstad said, accusing the cops of "deliberately and cynically covering up this information."

Many in NAMBLA's leadership are well-known in the gay activist milieu and on the left. David Thorstad, for instance, is a former Political Committee member of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and founding member of the Gay Activist Alliance. But faced with the wild and grotesque charges, NAMBLA felt obliged to deny everything from being a prostitution and porno ring to kidnapping. Spokesman David Ingalls explained simply, "We support only *consensual* relationships, and condemn *any* involving coercion or in which consent is lacking."

After a few days, the cops admitted that the photo was not Etan Patz. But practically speaking, the truth may not help much. Most of the damage has been done as NAMBLA members are set up falsely as a bunch of dirty old men who hide in the shadows of schoolyards waiting to grab little boys in order to abuse them or worse. The witchhunters try to wilfully identify these men, who advocate an unusual mode of consensual sexual expression, with every crazed cult and sex criminal from Charles Manson to the guy who strewed the cut up bodies of young men along the L.A. freeways. They want to raise the fear of sexual maniacs like John Gacy, who was convicted of 33 murders in Illinois, many of them involving sexual assaults on young men, whom he then buried under his house.

The casualty figures for this witchhunt are already coming in. Not only is the existence of NAMBLA, the livelihoods and perhaps the lives of its members threatened, but democratic rights for all the oppressed, particularly homosexuals, must be an early casualty in the crusade. The defense of embattled NAMBLA is an urgent duty for all those who defend democratic rights. Drop the charges against NAMBLA members! Free Groat and Baker! Stop the witchhunt!

Cops Out of the Bedroom!

Perversion, it has been noted, seems to be not what you like, but what other people do. As we wrote five years ago during the persecution of Polish film director Roman Polanski, who was witchhunted for having an affair with a 13-year-old girl: "As communists we oppose attempts to fit human sexuality into legislated or decreed 'norms.' The guiding principle for sexual relations should be that of effective consent—that is, nothing more than mutual agreement and understanding as opposed to coercion...the state has no business interfering" ("Stop the Witchhunt Against Roman Polanski!" *WV* No. 192, 10 February 1978). This ought to be the guiding principle not just for Marxists but for any democrat on such social questions. Determining what is effective consent is always tricky, and particularly with youth there is a grey area. But such a judgment must be case by case, not categorical as it is with the reactionary age-of-consent laws. The act of sex in itself is not *prima facie* evidence of abuse or coercion. And the NAMBLA activists are being witch-hunted for things nowhere close to where their real interests and activities lie.

The reformist left including many in the gay milieu have washed their hands of the "taint" of this unpopular group under attack. The dividing line on this issue is the age-of-consent laws. The SWP and the Workers World Party (WWP), for instance, hail the age-of-consent laws as "historic acquisitions" for the working class, comparing these laws to child-labor legislation. Although it may come as a big surprise to members of these tendencies, consensual sex is not labor. Some might even consider it pleasure, and in any case they should not be per se thrown in jail for it.

The fact is that age-of-consent laws (which have their roots in the "bride-price" guarantee of virginity of women in arranged marriages) do not protect children. They are designed to repress the sexuality of youth with the power of the state. They enforce the reactionary morality of the bourgeois nuclear family, an institution at the core of the oppression of women, homosexuals and children. It is within the family that most brutality *and rape* against children occur.

The SWP isn't the only group hoping to buy bourgeois respectability by supporting age-of-consent laws and avoiding "the taint" of NAMBLA. From gay ghettos like the Castro in San Francisco and Greenwich Village, many homosexuals have come to believe that votes in the Democratic Clubs make respectability. They fail to see just how vulnerable they are as they busily distinguish themselves from the "child molesters." And Women Against Pornography feminists, who are in the forefront of calling on the state to censor pornography, can have no trouble at all in joining the witchhunt.

NAMBLA is probably the weakest of a weak oppressed group. That is why the left fakers want to abandon it or join the witchhunt against it. It is because of the vulnerability of homosexuals that the Nazis targeted Gay Pride Day in Chicago on June 27, hoping to find the weak link in their chain of terror. It was the Spartacist League which initiated the labor/black mobilization of 3,000 blacks, unionists, Jews, homosexuals, socialists which prevented the Nazis from carrying out their hideous provocation. That action demanded a party with a program to really be a tribune of the people—which can defend the rights of all the oppressed by mobilizing working-class power. It is precisely because the gays have so little clout, and NAMBLA least of all, that defense of them against this witchhunt is the test of political decency. ■

The Partisan Defense Committee has sent a contribution to the defense of NAMBLA. *WV* urges its readers to do the same. Make checks payable to: NAMBLA Emergency Defense Fund, Box 174 Midtown Station, New York, New York 10018.

Tukha...

(continued from page 2)

too far in the other direction, seeing an International Red Army as the instrument of world revolution.

To leave unchallenged the charge of anti-Semitism would be to suggest that Stalin shot Tukhachevsky legitimately as a secret anti-Semite and Nazi sympathizer. Professor Furr cites the testimony of a French officer interned with Tukhachevsky in a German prison of war camp at Ingolstadt during WWI. At that time a pan-Slavist nationalist and bonapartist, Tukhachevsky may well have said, as Roure asserts, "I detest socialists, Jews and Christians." But like many other young Tsarist officers, under the impact of war and revolution he was won to the Bolshevik cause.

After the 1928 publication of Roure's book, Tukhachevsky himself repudiated his earlier views when a group of French officers offered a toast in memory of their common imprisonment: "I became a Marxist. I never think of my views at Ingolstadt without regretting them, since they could cause doubts about my devotion to the Soviet motherland" (Alexandrov, *The Tukhachevsky Affair*). Among the officers in attendance was Rémy Roure himself.

A most persuasive argument against the imputation of anti-Semitism to Tukhachevsky was his longstanding friendship with the Soviet composer Dmitri Shostakovich, who drew heavily on Jewish musical traditions in his work and sought to make his music a statement against the persecution of the Jews in Europe. According to Solomon Volkov's *Testimony* (1979), an account of Shostakovich's life based on conversations with him, the composer said, "I broke with even good friends if I saw they had any anti-Semitic tendencies." Yet Shostakovich reportedly described his symphonies as tombstones for his murdered friends, among them Mikhail Tukhachevsky.

No, anti-Semitism was Stalin's weapon, used against Trotsky and the communists of the Left Opposition, the Old Bolsheviks, anyone who stood in his way as he consolidated his bureaucratic stranglehold over the first proletarian state. While never a Trotskyist, Tukhachevsky resisted enormous pressure and refused to publish a single condemnation, or even criticism, of his former commander. As late as 1928 he was still quoting Trotsky as a military authority in his contribution to *Armed Insurrection*, the classic "Third Period" textbook on military tactics by A. Neuberg—actually a pseudonym for a group of Comintern military experts which included Tukhachevsky, Ho Chi Minh, the German Communist (and later Trotskyist) Erich Wollenberg, CI org sec Piatnitsky and Unschlicht (the latter two both Old Bolsheviks executed by Stalin). In his 1970 introduction to the book, Wollenberg points to the origin of the "anti-Semite" slanders:

> "The most absurd legends were put about to explain the background to Tukhachevsky's liquidation, and indeed are still believed to this day. 'Diabolical intrigue by SS General Heidrich who smuggled forged documents into the hands of Beneš in order to weaken the Soviet army by having it decapitated of its commanders'; 'Conspiracy between General Fritsch and Tukhachevsky to overthrow Hitler and Stalin'; 'The "anti-semite" from the Russian élite sympathized with Hitler'; etc., etc. Marshal of the Soviet Union 'Tukha' was liquidated by Stalin as a member of an oppositional group whose best-known members included the Old Bolsheviks Bukharin and Rykov, and in the army the 'Jew' Gamarnik, political commissar, and the 'Jew' and army general Yakir! 'Tukha' was denounced by Radek, who in his own trial hoped to save his skin by mentioning the name of the Marshal of the Soviet Union in connection with the soviet democratic opposition."

In fact, there was a Gestapo plot to frame Tukha by providing falsified documents naming him as a German spy—the convenient pretext Stalin needed to eliminate a potentially dangerous adversary. In his 1939 work *In Stalin's Secret Service*, W.G. Krivitsky, chief of Soviet Military Intelligence in Western Europe at the time of Tukhachevsky's murder, described the GPU/Gestapo frameup. After piecing together the plot Krivitsky wrote bitterly, "...from my vantage point in the Intelligence Service, I saw Stalin extend the hand of secret friendship to Hitler. I saw him, while thus paying court to the Nazi leader, execute the great generals of the Red Army, Tukhachevsky, and the other chiefs with whom and under whom I had worked for years in the defense of the Soviet Union and of socialism." In *The Great Game* Soviet master spy Leopold Trepper, a Polish Jew and Communist, wrote:

> "The Red Army was the last bastion to be removed; it alone still eluded his control. For the Stalin regime, liquidating the leaders of the army became an urgent objective. Since the leaders in question were old Bolsheviks who had distinguished themselves during the October Revolution, and since an accusation like 'Trotskyite' or 'Zinovievist' against a Tukhachevski would not stick, it was necessary to strike hard and with great strength. Stalin used the complicity of Hitler to murder the army of the Russian people."

Trepper goes on to tell the account, related to him in 1943 by Giering of the Gestapo, of how at Stalin's initiative Nazi Intelligence provided faked documents to prove Tukhachevsky was conspiring with the Wehrmacht. However, these documents were never introduced until after Tukhachevsky had already been shot. His summary execution was ordered on the basis of his activities collaborating with the German military, *carrying out what was from 1922 until 1935 official Soviet policy.*

In fact Tukha and his fellow "co-conspirator," the Jewish Red Army commissar Yan B. Gamarnik, were among the hardest opponents of German Nazism. When Hitler came to power, they had demanded immediate suspension of military relations with the Reichswehr, in opposition to Stalin. Isaac Deutscher, in *Stalin* (1949), describes Tukhachevsky's report to the Central Executive Committee in January 1936: "His speech was remarkable for its shrewd anticipation of Hitler's methods of warfare and for its extraordinary emphasis on the danger from the Third Reich. Tukhachevsky's emphatic warning sharply contrasted with Stalin's ambiguity." Liquidation of the anti-Nazi generals became essential for the consummation of Stalin's policy, the 1939 Hitler-Stalin pact. Trepper describes the purge that followed Tukhachevsky's execution:

> "The blood of Red Army soldiers flowed: 13 out of 19 commanders of army troops, 110 out of 135 commanders of divisions and brigades, half the commanders of regiments and most of the political commissars were executed. The Red Army, bled white, was hardly an army at all now, and it would not be again for years.
> "The Germans exploited this situation to the full...."

In 1941 Hitler's troops invaded the Soviet Union; to defeat them cost the lives of 20 million Russians.

Trepper captured the bitterness and bewilderment of those who watched Stalin's terror against the heroes of the Revolution and the Civil War. But he also recognized who did not capitulate:

> "All those who did not rise up against the Stalinist machine are responsible, collectively responsible. I am no exception to this verdict.
> "But who did protest at the time? Who rose up to voice his outrage?
> "The Trotskyites can lay claim to this honor. Following the example of their leader, who was rewarded for his obstinacy with the end of an ice-axe, they fought Stalinism to the death, and they were the only ones who did. By the time of the great purges, they could only shout their rebellion in the freezing wastelands where they had been dragged in order to be exterminated. In the camps, their conduct was admirable. But their voices were lost in the tundra.
> "Today, the Trotskyites have a right to accuse those who once howled along with the wolves. Let them not forget, however, that they had the enormous advantage over us of having a coherent political system capable of replacing Stalinism. They had something to cling to in the midst of their profound distress at seeing the revolution betrayed. They did not 'confess,' for they knew that their confession would serve neither the party nor socialism."

We trust that we have adequately demonstrated that Professor Furr has been misled by his "authorities." If there are those in the Soviet Union today who would honor Marshal Tukhachevsky, and seek to clear away the filthy Stalinist slanders against his memory, this is to be welcomed. We look forward to the day when the Russian working class recovers the banner of the Red Army's founder, Leon Trotsky, and returns it to its rightful place, waving high over Red Square. ■

How We Stopped KKK...

(continued from page 5)

of the unemployed, right?

Kartsen: The question of war, that's very important. Because not only is Ronald Reagan trying to buy MX missiles with food stamps, he's right now in a campaign to go to war with the USSR, to take over the USSR, and make it a bastion for American banks to exploit the hell out of Russian workers.

Caller: Incidentally, it's a terrible slap in the face to the black man in this country, with the situation in Poland, they're willing to speak out against the Russians. But it shocks me they don't do this about southern Africa.

Kartsen: You see, a desperate capitalist system, like you saw in the conditions of Nazi Germany, has world politics that are in correspondence to its own corruption and decline. So the American government has lined up solidly with South Africa and the apartheid system which is notorious for its brutal, savage, racist oppression in that country. At the same time, they flaunt Poland Solidarity for a reason. They flaunt this so-called union, this association of people who are for the West German banks taking over Poland, which is what it really comes down to. It's a question of the capitalist classes in the West using political movements like Solidarity. And what they would like to do also inside Russia, step in with direct imperialist exploitation.

I wanted to say one other thing, having to do with one of the previous callers. And that is that you cannot conceive of the struggle against the Klan without seeing the Klan's role in society in a broader context. Because there's going to be the need for a revolution. People marched by the White House in many thousands, saying "Down with Reagan, Build a Workers Party." That was the first time I've seen that, such a number of people awakening to the need for a political fight for power in this country.

And it has to be understood that Ronald Reagan, the reason he was so vehement behind the destruction of the USSR, was because they had a revolution where they overthrew capitalism. And they annihilated their version of the Ku Klux Klan, people called the Black Hundreds, who used to carry out mass terror against the Jews. So the same kind of revolution is needed here in this country; completion of the Civil War, complete freedom of black people, complete freedom of workers from exploitation. We've got to create a system based on human needs, production for human needs, not profits, opposed to profits. ■

Chicago Elections...

(continued from page 16)

infuriated one section of the city after another. Now influential sections of the city's bourgeoisie want to get rid of "Crazy Jane" and her wacky stunts. Labor remembers her vicious strikebreaking tactics as she knocked off teachers, firemen and the majority-black transit workers one after another in early 1979. The black pols who delivered the "snow vote" to her, taking 14 of the 16 predominantly black wards in '78, were cut out of the patronage they expected by tradition.

For the black masses of Chicago, Mayor Byrne has added racist insult to the deep injuries of economic depression and social decay. Her answer to the horrible conditions of ghetto housing was to move in temporarily at the Cabrini Green housing project. She came of course with an army of Chicago cops. When she moved out after spending a few nights and making a few token changes in the deterioration, she left the memory of racist cop assaults kicking in the doors of residents. To court white racists when challenged by Daley's kid, Byrne started removing blacks from various housing and education boards.

Since the death of "King" Daley every candidate here has been running as an "independent." This is particularly true of black candidates. But Chicago is one of the few cities in the U.S. which had a well-oiled black machine. South Side alderman William Dawson brought in the black vote for Daley for a quarter of a century. Ralph Metcalfe was Daley/Dawson's kept Congressman, and he groomed Washington—for 15 years a nonentity in the Illinois legislature—as a cog in that machine. When America's ghettos exploded in 1968 following the assassination of Martin Luther King, Boss Daley told his cops to "shoot to kill"; a few months later, state representative Washington voted for Bill 2571, "In Relation to Certain Public Crises," a piece of police-state legislation so draconian that Governor Ogilvie vetoed it. In 1980, Washington inherited Metcalfe's Congressional seat.

Now with Chicago blacks up in arms over Byrne, the black machine politicians saw an opportunity to increase their own influence. They reasoned that if Byrne and Daley Jr. split the "white vote," the 40 percent of Chicago which is black could elect the mayor. This strategy was clear when Jesse Jackson and journalist/flack Lu Palmer pushed last summer's fizzled black boycott of Byrne's "ChicagoFest." Feeding a dangerous racial polarization in the city to gain electoral advantage, the boycott kicked off the Washington campaign. As we wrote in *Workers Vanguard* No. 313, (17 September 1982):

> "Jackson and the black pols saw the boycott as an opening shot in a power play, a chance to direct the pent-up anger of Chicago's black people into an intra-Democratic Party squabble with Byrne. But for blacks, this stunt to test the waters for a black mayoral campaign was a cynical diversion and a potentially dangerous one at that."

After the ChicagoFest boycott, the Washington camp ran a voter registration drive under the slogan, "Come Alive October Five" in which 200,000 more black names were added to the registration lists for the Democrats. The candidate said it should become "unfashionable and uncomfortable for any black person" not to register and vote—for him (Chicago *Sun-Times*, 15 November 1982); Palmer added coyly, "unhealthy." Under Daley and Dawson it was said that white voters got a chicken on election day while blacks got a threat. Things haven't changed that much, it seems.

Reformist Left Tails Black Democrat

It isn't surprising that the reformist left has found another "progressive" Democrat to support. Their problem is to paint up Washington as an anti-machine candidate. The rad-lib *Guardian* (1 December 1982) headlines, "Black Takes on Chicago Machine." *Workers World* (26 November 1982) goes the *Guardian* one better in its headline: "Black Candidate Challenges Racist Power Structure in Chicago." And the Communist Party's *Daily World* (16 December 1982) banner headline hails: "Chi Candidate Builds Racial Unity." Sam Marcy's Workers World and its front group the All-Peoples Congress (APC) get mightily upset when we Trotskyists point out that they chase the liberal Democrats. Stung by the mass labor/black mobilization, initiated by the Spartacist League (SL), which stopped the Klan in Washington, D.C. on November 27, *Workers World* (3 December 1982) squealed that the SL "absurdly slanders" the APC as "being secretly a tool of 'Kennedy Democrats'."

What's the secret? The *Workers World* article the week before proclaimed, "Clearly Washington's campaign is part of the nationwide struggle by black people for representation and democratic rights." The Marcyites simply neglected to mention that their candidate is a Democrat. For the CP, support for "progressive" Democrats is nothing new—they've been doing it for half a century. They even supported Jane Byrne in 1979! The *Daily World* (16 December 1982) in an article plugging the Washington campaign asked: "What Can a Mayor Really Accomplish?" Their answer: "reduce abuses such as police brutality and filthy housing." A little less abuse and a little less filth, but still plenty to go around—a *communist* program for Chicago it ain't.

The Washington campaign has also exposed Progressive Labor's crazy-quilt pattern of opportunism and cover-up. Through its front group InCAR (International Committee Against Racism), PL backhandedly backs Washington. At a November 24 Washington campaign meeting at Circle campus, InCAR activists passed out a groveling open letter to the "Honorable Harold Washington" asking him to support their program to fight unemployment. But in *Challenge* (8 December 1982), a "Chicago Reader" column (which has generally expressed the PL party line) denounced Washington not as the Democratic capitalist politician that he is, but as a black nationalist and therefore a "social fascist":

> "We should never make the mistake of considering black social fascists like Washington and Palmer any less dangerous than the open white fascists like the KKK and the Nazis."

Is this the same "Chicago Reader" who last summer tried to excuse PL's failure to defend Chicago blacks when the Nazis came to attack Gay Pride Day, with the reactionary line that gays and Nazis are "two sides of the same coin"? Does this mean that InCAR members are asking a KKK equivalent to support their program? To equate black Democrats with the Klan/Nazis is dangerous, stupid and racist.

Class Struggle, Not Black Democratic Mayors

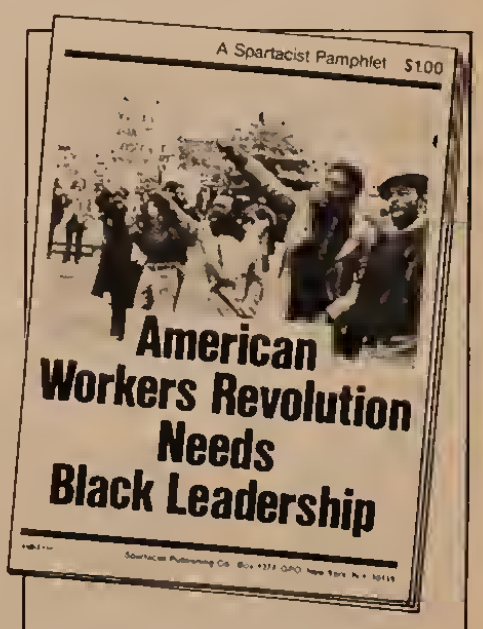
If Harold Washington were elected, his job would be to keep the lid on black and labor struggle in a potentially explosive situation. As the bread lines get longer and cop terror escalates, some in the ruling circles have begun to express open fears about "a Miami" in Chicago. Furthermore, with rumors of a national steel strike next August, the industrialists and financiers who give the orders need a city boss whom they can trust to ruthlessly crush class struggle against the layoffs, plant closings and slashing of the city's social services. The powerful and integrated Chicago labor movement stands as the main obstacle to the bosses' racist austerity plans. They may decide they need a black face for that high place in The Machine to better grind down the population.

Harold Washington has already gained a hearing from a section of Chicago's business elite reflected in a favorable front-page article ("Underrated Washington has skills, organization for tough mayoral fight") in the right-wing *Crain's Chicago Business* (13-19 December 1982). *Crain's* cited Washington's "track record as an effective legislator who reaches out to his constituency," noting that "while the congressman wants to rock the boat in Chicago, he doesn't want to sink it." It quotes him saying, "My liberal background doesn't dictate that I come down heavy on business (for more tax revenues)... business, like other groups, must exist." And it reports that Washington has scheduled meetings with "leaders of Chicago's business community to understand their problems."

Ever since the late 1960s the capitalists have had more and more trouble administering the decaying and ghettoized big cities, and have looked to black Democratic mayors to do their dirtiest work. In Cleveland's long hot summer of 1967, the word in the ghetto was. "Cool it for Carl"—Carl Stokes, the first black elected mayor of a major industrial city. A decade later, at least 26 medium and large cities were being run by black Democrats (Chicago *Reader*, 26 November 1982). But things have gotten much worse for the ghetto masses. In Detroit, Coleman Young has presided over layoffs of hundreds of thousands of auto workers. He ruthlessly crushed a strike of mainly black city workers in 1979 so that he could welcome the Republican convention. From ex-cop Thomas Bradley in Los Angeles to ex-SNCC activist Marion Barry in Washington, Democratic black mayors have proved you don't have to be white to administer Reagan's program of racist austerity and strikebreaking.

The architects of today's black Democratic campaign for mayor of Chicago, like Jesse Jackson and Lu Palmer, were yesterday's Martin Luther King liberals who led the civil rights movement to defeat in the North as they ran up against the hard economic realities of black oppression in capitalist America. It was in the white Chicago suburb of Cicero that the racist backlash first mobilized in the streets, and King called off the fight for integrated housing. In 1981, when Lu Palmer was asked to support labor/black action against fascists targeting Chicago minorities, his response was the same: "Aw brother, I can't deal with it." But a Spartacist League-initiated mobilization did deal with it, bringing out more than 3,000 blacks, trade unionists, Jews, gays to stop the Nazi provocation in Lincoln Park last June. And in Washington on November 27, the 5,000-strong SL-organized Labor/Black Mobilization stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching even before they put on their white robes of racist terror.

This is the class-struggle road to black freedom in America. Not endlessly singing "We Shall Overcome" while voting for the racist capitalist party of Jimmy ("ethnic purity") Carter/Mondale and KKK dragon Tom Metzger, but black liberation through socialist revolution! Chicago doesn't need machine Democrats in blackface running City Hall for the bosses. It needs militant labor/black struggle in the streets, in the factories—sitdowns, not soup lines! Chicago's working masses need fighting leaders to organize the unemployed and unorganized, to turn the unions into organizations for struggle, not "givebacks." Blacks and workers must break with the Democrats to build a party of their own—a multiracial, class-struggle workers party fighting for a workers government. ■



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WORKERS VANGUARD

No Choice for Workers, Blacks in Chicago Mayoral Election

Harold Washington: Black Machine Democrat

CHICAGO—Once again, the Democratic primary here February 22 will decide who will run Chicago for the financiers and industrialists. For decades the Machine has been squeezing the life out of Chicago's working people, particularly blacks. With the city in an economic tailspin along with the rest of industrial America, the Democrats have been looking hard for a Big Boss to heal their system of ward heelers and junior political bosses—a system which has remained fractured since the death of "King" Richard Daley in 1976. Sections of the Democratic Party machine are running their own candidates (Republicans don't count here): incumbent Jane Byrne, Daley's son Richard M. and black Democrat Harold Washington.

The Washington campaign is being touted as the great hope for Chicago's blacks who are pounded harder than ever before. Along with the hustler for "black capitalism," Jesse Jackson, the black Democratic pols are trying to sell Washington as the answer to the record unemployment which has put so many black steel workers on the soup lines. Now the reformist left has jumped in to hail the candidacy of this mainline Democrat as an "independent" champion against the Machine. But the Washington campaign is no expression of black outrage. The black Democrats behind this mayoral bid, like campaign manager Al Raby, are among those who put down the ghetto explosions of 1965 and 1968. Far from being an "independent," Washington is part of and supported by the same Democratic machine whose cops murdered Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in their beds.

Gunn/Chicago Defender

Three cogs in the Democratic Machine: Richard M. Daley (left), Harold Washington (center), Richard Newhouse.

Over one million black people live here: no mayoral candidate can win without a chunk of the black vote. But publicity hound Byrne's racist antics have outraged Chicago blacks, and the politicians smell trouble. The Democratic Machine's problem is how to keep the myriad and hostile ethnic groups in line. Roman Pucinski, whose Northwest Side fiefdom has more Poles than anywhere outside of Warsaw, has been making noises about running an ethnic "backlash" campaign if Washington takes the Democratic primary. Meanwhile, times are hard; City Hall doesn't have the cash for Daley-type patronage anymore. And it's sitting on a powder keg of seething discontent and unemployment.

The City That Doesn't Work

For some time Chicago has been the city that *doesn't* work, especially for blacks. More than a third of black Chicago lives on incomes below the poverty level and 20 percent of the city subsists on welfare. With steel producing at 37 percent capacity nationally, 35,000 Chicago-area steel workers are out of work. Last year International Harvester posted fourth-quarter losses of more than a billion dollars—the largest deficit in U.S. corporate history—and may close its Melrose Park plant permanently. In this most segregated of segregated U.S. cities, life is especially hellish for black people. The rotten schools only prepare ghetto youth for the jobless despair of the streets. And as "white flight" has made the public schools overwhelmingly (83 percent) black and Latin, busing is now officially dead and buried.

It takes a municipal bonaparte to run Chicago for the capitalists, and despite her high-handed ways Jane Byrne hasn't put Daley's kingdom back together. Elected in 1978 after Michael Bilandic let the snow pile up in the streets (particularly in black neighborhoods), Byrne promised to make Chicago once again "the city that works." Instead, she

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Jobless and Black in Reagan's America

This was the scene in Chicago January 6 when *over 40,000 people* applied for 3,800 temporary city jobs, ten-week maintenance jobs to be financed by the new federal gasoline tax. As soon as Reagan signed the tax bill, Mayor Jane Byrne scurried to get the jobs started in time for the all-important Democratic primary—after which they'll be back on the sidewalks without even unemployment compensation!

Meanwhile, last week the government released December unemployment figures, showing how particularly industrial workers and blacks are victimized in the capitalist economic crisis. The official unemployment rate for blacks rose six-tenths of a percentage point to 20.8 percent. But the Labor Department claims the overall rate merely rose one-tenth of a point, to "only" 10.8 percent. To accomplish this they used their usual sleight-of-hand, eliminating 200,000 people from the workforce, people whose unemployment has run out and are now considered "discouraged workers." Counting all those wiped off the rolls brings the jobless total not to 12 million people as claimed, but well over 15 million, even more than at the height of the Great Depression in the '30s.

AP

To top matters off, as the crisis deepens starting next month the government will include U.S. military personnel in employment statistics, so as to artificially lower the unemployment rate. And if the Democrats and Republicans get their Cold War anti-Soviet war drive going any hotter, maybe they'll find other ways of eliminating people from the workforce....

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 322 | 28 January 1983

Democrats, Republicans Attack Workers, Blacks, Aged

Reagan's America Goes to Hell

UPI

Capitalism destroys American industry: U.S. Steel blast furnaces demolished in Youngstown, Ohio.

The Great Depression of the 1930s has become the standard of comparison in Reagan's America. Well over 15 million unemployed, the highest since the 1930s; the most business failures, foreclosures and plant closings; the sharpest drop in gross national product; the most homeless and hungry. Half a million workers run out of unemployment benefits each month, while minimal welfare benefits (food stamps, Medicaid) are cut back.

Behind the dry statistics is the spread of truly desperate poverty among large sections of the population. Soup kitchens are once again part of the landscape of urban America, and even the hobo is back again riding the rails in despair from freight yard to freight yard. Ravaged Detroit is layoff city. Black Democratic mayor Coleman Young breaks city workers strikes and then calls a "food emergency" charity drive. Outside Houston a tent city, "Reaganville," has sprung up as entire families live under canvas and Hefty garbage bags. In an act of gratuitous cruelty New York City Democratic mayor Ed Koch tried to make municipal shelters "less attractive" to the poor by cutting back on toilet facilities.

And whatever rotten things happen to the aged, unemployed and youth, they happen worst in the black ghettos. Black youth unemployment is soaring toward 75 percent! Deprived of a job, education and economic skills, young blacks are forced onto the streets to be terrorized by racist cops. Moreover, the depression has hit hardest in those industries, like Midwest auto and steel, where unionized black workers are concentrated. Millions of blacks who have given up hope of ever working again are not even counted in the government's statistics.

"Free market" rhetoric boils down to

continued on page 14

Win the War—For Workers Revolution!

Salvadoran Leftists Put Army on the Run

JANUARY 24—While Washington and San Salvador were focusing on factional maneuvering within El Salvador's military and Reagan's meaningless certification of slaughter, the civil war in this tiny Central American country has entered a potentially decisive phase. The successful October offensive of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) already resulted in sharp losses for the U.S.-backed government in terms of personnel, military supplies and territory. Now, with a January offensive advancing on several fronts, the FMLN is in a position to take and hold entire provinces and to grind up elite units of the Salvadoran army. A rout of government forces, in turn, could set off a chain reaction, making all talk of negotiations futile. Thus the perspectives of military victory for the leftist rebels vs. a compromise "political solution" with the military butchers have become *immediately and directly counterposed.*

The splintering of the Salvadoran officer corps, as revealed in the recent week-long rebellion of Colonel Sigifredo Ochoa Pérez, comes from the realization that government forces are losing the war. The last two years have been an uninterrupted series of defeats for the bloodthirsty protectors of oligarchical domination. The Army, National Guard, Treasury Police and right-wing death squads have managed to kill or "disappear" almost 50,000 Salvadoran civilians since 1979, but despite a half dozen offensives they have been unable to dislodge rebels dug in on Guazapa volcano only 25 miles from the capital. In the face of these defeats, Ochoa represents an ultra-rightist faction (headed by cashiered major Roberto D'Aubuisson) which would eliminate even the pretense of concern for "human rights" and institute a scorched earth policy. Ochoa and his cohorts appear to have come out on top against defense minister General Guillermo Garcia. But whether a bloodier reign of death will save the Salvadoran butchers is another matter altogether.

On January 13, Guillermo Ungo,

continued on page 13

Gun Control

The following letter has been excerpted for reasons of space.

November 11, 1982
Washington, D.C.

Comrades,

On Poland and El Salvador and the Middle East I think that no one has a better handle than the Spartacist League. The same is true for other issues: your analysis of the rising fascist threat and how to fight it is unassailable; and your trenchant defiance of national chauvinism in the unions is admirable. But I cannot say the same for your position on gun control.... The threat of police and right wing violence is serious, and growing. And it may also he true that the government—that "body of armed men"—will administer gun control unfairly, and that many of the plans for gun control bandied about today are inherently biased toward "respectables" owning property.

But you assert much more than this. And your assertions worry me because they indicate considerable ignorance of the raw statistical aspects of this controversy. For example, [SL spokesman] Diana Coleman on handgun control advocacy:

> "The smugness of the whole thing is repulsive to the average person who has to live in the grubby real world. So the liberals try to make gun control palatable by appealing to everyone's real fears of being mugged, raped or murdered. There's no solution to crime under capitalism, but self-defense is sure a whole lot easier when you've got a gun. Unlike the feminist alternative of karate lessons, the handgun is rightly seen as the Great Equalizer." [*WV* No. 309, 9 July 1982]

This is embarrassing. With the exception of "there's no solution to crime under capitalism," it is essentially the same claim made by such groups as the NRA and the Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms (CCRKBR, which lists Jesse Helms and John Ashbrook as "Congressional Advisors"). In fact, even (moderate) right wingers, like B. Bruce Briggs, whose pamphlet, "The Great American Gun War," is respected by the NRA, know better than to make some of the claims you have made here. Almost every serious authority on the subject, who knows the facts, whatever his position for or against gun control, admits that handguns are no "Great Equalizer," that by and large they are not a useful means of self-defense. In muggings, burglary, rape, and robberies of all kinds, criminals will not usually be deterred by someone with a handgun—whether that person is black or white.... As for women, karate lessons may not be particularly effective—hut neither are handguns.

And what about the "real world"? Just who is being smug? Handguns are involved in the killings of 5,000 black people every year. And "a recent study of the Cleveland area showed the handgun to be the leading instrument of death for Black males between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five, more lethal than disease, auto accidents, or sickle cell anemia" (Sam Fields, 1978). This seems to represent a greater terror to the black community than even the most racist and brutal police....

Your articles present evidence, much of which is circumstantial or ambiguous, that gun control is *merely* an issue of bonapartism vs. workers defense. You have also suggested that blacks, as a whole, oppose gun control, when in fact every major civil rights organization in the country supports some form of handgun control. (Of course, that means bourgeois, Democratic-oriented groups like the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, which are as far from "militant" as the Democratic Party itself; but these do, nevertheless, represent the public opinion of great numbers of blacks in America.)...

Ultimately, I am torn on the matter of gun control.... Perhaps your basic thesis is true, that gun control is primarily—or even *only*—the repressive scheme of a nervous ruling class. But in your lack of scholarly rigor and your flippant dismissal of a host of unanswered questions, that thesis remains to be proved.

Sincerely,
Matthew Rubenstein

WV replies: It is embarrassing to have to "prove" an elementary truth derived from historical experience, namely, that if you are being attacked by someone, you have a better chance of survival if: a) you have a weapon which is at least equal to, if not superior to, your opponent's, and; b) you know how to use it. Perhaps the writer should review the several-thousand-year history of weaponry, starting with the development of the club.

Rubenstein's letter throws up statistics and charges of a lack of "scholarly rigor" as a smokescreen to cover what is primarily a political difference with us on the issue of gun control. He basically repeats the liberals' argument against handguns, the core of which is the nonsensical and ahistorical proposition that "guns kill people," hence they propose to ban guns. In their class-biased hypocritical way, you notice, they never propose to *disarm the cops*. The bourgeoisie draws a lesson from historical experience, namely that a cop wouldn't last long in a black ghetto if he didn't have the "respect" which comes with his pistol and shotgun, not to mention helicopter gunships and other SWAT specialty items for "civil disturbances." So they arm the enforcers of capitalist "law and order" to the teeth, without waiting for the arrival of the latest scholarly statistical surveys on the efficacy of guns.

The bourgeois order produces the most desperately violent conditions for human life while monopolizing the means of violence in the repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state. The main reason why most people want guns is a legitimate feeling of powerlessness faced with the felt menace of robbery, rape, assault and murder. Karate to stop a rapist? Don't count on it. As the saying goes, "God created man and woman, and Colonel Colt made 'em equal."

It is in part the felt need for self-defense that gives the right-wing National Rifle Association their enormous popular backing. (Obviously this is where we differ with the NRA: they see themselves as an extension of the cops and the army who want to suppress black militants and revolutionists, while we are counterposed to and seek the destruction of the capitalists' murderous state apparatus.) The above letter shows no sense of the political effects of gun control. It is profoundly dangerous to keep the population in a constant state of helpless fear; such desperation spawns fascist mobilizations and racist vigilantes.

WV Photo

While the letter tries to enlist B. Bruce Briggs in support of its arguments, Briggs' article, "The Great American Gun War" (*Public Interest*, Fall 1976), spends a lot of time demolishing Rubenstein's beloved statistics. He notes that "the low quality of data on crime rates and gun ownership makes rigorous examination impossible." More importantly, Briggs shows the deep-going class and racial prejudices involved both in the debate and in the so-called statistics, noting: "There is a remarkable coincidence between gun control agitation and periods of social upheaval."

This is particularly relevant as the letter challenges our assertion that gun control kills blacks. For instance, Rubenstein claims that thousands of blacks are the victims of handgun killings (which is no doubt true) and this represents "a greater terror than even the most racist and brutal police"; that black opinion is not against gun control, and so on. While the writer acknowledges the growth of cop and fascist terror he seems to find it hard to believe that blacks would insist on their right to be armed as a way to defend themselves. But as the *San Francisco Examiner* (20 March 1982) commented about an attempt to pass an anti-handgun law in Chicago, "Much of the opposition to the ordinance came from representatives of Chicago's black community." And Rev. Russell Meek was certainly closer to the opinion of the majority of blacks in this country than Uncle Tom advocates of gun control like Jesse Jackson when Meek said in the *Chicago Defender*:

> "We need Gun Control like we need another four years of Jane Byrne. We need Gun Control like we need the Ku Klux Klan. We need Gun Control like we need the Nazi Party...."

Even a cursory examination of the question shows that historically gun control movements in the U.S. have grown out of the racist fears of the ruling class. The earliest laws at the turn of the century were passed in the South to disarm blacks in the face of the KKK. The 1968 Gun Control Act, the first national legislation in 40 years, was passed in the wake of the ghetto upheavals following the assassination of Martin Luther King. That law, like the Kennedy-Rodino Bill in particular, goes after cheap mail order and imported weapons, like the "Saturday Night Special"—the only kind affordable to the ghetto poor. And NYC got one of its toughest gun laws because the bourgeoisie wanted to keep black militant Malcolm X from carrying a carbine for protection.

From the Deacons for Defense in Louisiana to the "Black Panther Party for Self-Defense," the right to arm oneself against racist attacks was key in the formation of every radical black group. They had had enough of Martin Luther King's suicidal "turn the other cheek" pacifism. Today, Reagan in seeking to assert the power of the imperial presidency has given the green light to the cops to gun down black youth and the Klan to parade in the streets. While restraints on the fascists are relaxed, the push is on to disarm the working class and blacks. Gun control kills, and kills blacks in particular in the service of a desperate ruling class which long ago became a barrier to human progress, but which will nevertheless cling to power, using naked state terror if necessary. So we fight against gun control, for the right to bear arms, and for the right of black self-defense. ■

Black students at Cornell University, 1969: Gun control laws aim at disarming black militants.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION: Darlene Kamiura (Manager), Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER Linda Jarreau

EDITORIAL BOARD: Charles Burroughs, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Mary Jo McAllister, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Marjorie Stamberg

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No. 322 **28 January 1983**

Dixiecrat Socialists Attack Spartacist League

RWL Gone With the Wind

"The campaign of slander against 'carpetbaggers' rose to a climax which included every Northern person who defended the Negro, and every Northern person in the South who was connected with the army or Freedmen's Bureau or with the institutions of learning, or who admitted the right of the Negro to vote or defended him in any way."

—W.E.B. DuBois,
Black Reconstruction in America 1860-1880

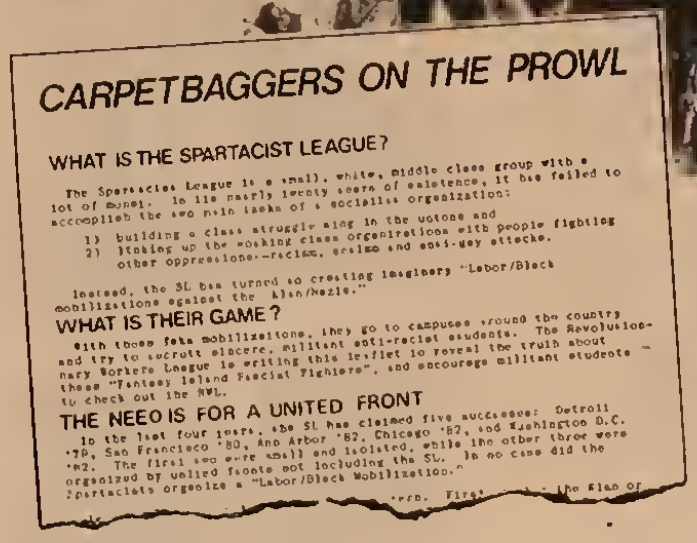
You are handed a leaflet at Wayne State University in Detroit with the headline: "Carpetbaggers on the Prowl." The word "carpetbaggers" leaps ominously from the page. Has a group of Southern segregationists hit the campus to attack "Yankees" for stirring up trouble among the Negroes? Who's behind this racist stuff? Who's calling those who fight Klan terror "carpetbaggers," the common epithet of Southern racists for the "outside agitators" who took part in the civil rights movement? An unsophisticated but not unintelligent reader might reasonably assume this rebel yell came from the poison pens of the KKK.

But it's neither a KKK tract nor a government forgery. The leaflet is the dirty work of a tiny political cult based in Ann Arbor, the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL). The RWL says today's carpetbaggers are the Spartacists. Their leaflet says the Spartacist League slogan, "Finish the Civil War—Forward to a Workers State" is "crazy." Their disgusting diatribe is filled with lies, racist slander in the language of Southern demagogy and racist stereotypes: the crafty carpetbagging adventurer (in this case the communists) and black dupes who don't know what they're doing when they fight KKK terror.

What has the RWL spewing this filth is their need to try to discredit the recent victory against Klan terror in Washington, D.C. on November 27—a victory organized and led by the Spartacists. The Klan, which threatened to march for racist terror in the nation's capital, was stopped. They never marched, they never put on their white robes. Thousands of black workers and youth responded to the call of the SL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK. Massed at the foot of Capitol Hill, they made it clear that the Klan would never move past its starting point. As the cops speedily got the fascists safely out of town, the anti-Klan demonstrators surged out into the streets and marched the route the Klan had said it would take.

Culver Pictures

Southern racist mythology of carpetbaggers and black "dupas" in Reconstruction legislature, depicted above, is revived by RWL leaflet.



CARPETBAGGERS ON THE PROWL

WHAT IS THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE?

The Spartacist League is a small, white, middle class group with a lot of money. In its nearly twenty years of existence, it has failed to accomplish the two main tasks of a socialist organization:

1) building a class struggle wing in the unions and
2) linking up the working class organizations with people fighting other oppressions--racism, sexism and anti-gay attacks.

Instead, the SL has turned to creating imaginary "Labor/Black mobilizations against the Klan/Nazis."

WHAT IS THEIR GAME?

With these fake mobilizations, they go to campuses around the country and try to recruit sincere, militant anti-racist students. The Revolutionary Workers League is writing this leaflet to reveal the truth about these "Fantasy Island Fascist Fighters", and encourage militant students to check out the RWL.

THE NEED IS FOR A UNITED FRONT

In the last four years, the SL has claimed five successes: Detroit '79, San Francisco '80, Ann Arbor '82, Chicago '82, and Washington D.C. '82. The first two were small and isolated, while the other three were organized by united fronts not including the SL. In no case did the Spartacists organize a "Labor/Black Mobilization."

The revolutionary implications of this display of labor/black power, initiated by reds and united around the single point of stopping the fascists, was not lost on the capitalist class and its media. Immediately they threw up a barrage of screams about "mob violence" and "outside agitators" and "looting." Their lies are predictably echoed by the reformist "left," whose own efforts to channel black anger into "respectable" routes on November 27 had backfired (see "Why They Lie," *WV* No. 320, 31 December 1982).

If the entire reformist left has a case of sour grapes over November 27, the RWL's green-with-envy coloration has taken on the stench of gangrenous racism. For the RWL, the main enemy has always been the Spartacist League, and now this leaflet reveals in the most disgusting terms what the "anti-Spartacist League" is really about.

"Carpetbaggers"

So they call us "carpetbaggers," the term the Southern planters gave to the Northern radical Republicans who stayed in the South after the Civil War. To the Southern racists they were sinister, unscrupulous adventurers who came (with their possessions in carpetbags) to "exploit" the newly freed slave, portrayed as a passive dupe who would presumably otherwise be content to live quietly on the old plantation.

The real "sin" of the carpetbaggers was that they helped to organize the freedmen during the period of radical Reconstruction. The carpetbagger was typically a Union Army veteran who stayed in the South after the shooting stopped to try to finish the Civil War politically. Along with the free black veterans of the North, they made up the backbone of the Union Leagues and Freedmen's Bureaus.

It is no wonder that the carpetbaggers were targets of Southern racist slander. Reconstruction was genuinely the most democratic period for black people in the history of the United States, but its promise of equality for the freedmen was betrayed by the capitalist ruling class (hence the need for the revolutionary proletariat to take power as the only way to finish the uncompleted democratic tasks of the second American Revolution). It was in the Reconstruction period that the KKK emerged: the terrorist cutting edge of a political counterrevolution to take away from black people the rights they had fought for and won on the field of battle. Naturally the carpetbagger was one of the KKK's main targets. Many a schoolteacher of black children or Reconstruction official was wakened in the dead of night by the hooded terrorists who had come with burning cross, lash and lynch rope to get "the carpetbaggers on the prowl."

Northern and Southern capitalists together decided to defeat the goals of Reconstruction. And with the victory of the counterrevolution came the acceptance of the white-supremacist myth of the plundering carpethagger, the duped Negro and the heroic "redeemers" who in and out of white sheets "saved" the South. These racist stereotypes became part of the popular culture as the "failure" of Reconstruction was "explained" from the university to the movie house. The most virulent "redeemers" depicted in "Birth of a Nation" and the moonlight-and-magnolia racism of "Gone with the Wind" took hold.

Black Militants Aren't Dupes

Just as the carpetbaggers were not the fly-by-night con-men of Southern racist demonology, neither were black people their passive dupes. In fact, 200,000 blacks took up arms when they finally won the right to join the Union Army. During Reconstruction blacks continued to fight for the vote and for literacy, participating in the Reconstruction governments. Together with the radical Republican carpetbaggers they stood bravely against the mounting racist tide.

The reactionary myth of the black dupe and the carpetbagger persists as a continuing attack on black struggle. The racist idea that "good blacks" won't do anything to defend themselves and their rights unless they are whipped up by white outside agitators belongs not only to the Southern paternalists and the RWL. After the Labor/Black Mobilization, black congressman Walter Fauntroy denounced "violence" and blamed "Tarzan Trotskyites who swing through the jungle of the black experience."

The "Sambo" myth figures prominently in the RWL's attack on the SL and the blacks who militantly oppose the Klan. The RWL has to explain why so many black unionists and youth have responded to the calls of the SL-initiated actions, why in Washington so many carried "crazy" SL slogans like "Finish the Civil War." The idea that black people generally understand the necessity to complete that struggle, which won their freedom from chattel slavery but not from racist oppression, is unthinkable for the RWL. So the leaflet portrays SL-led anti-fascist mobilizations in terms of "unassuming demonstrators" taken in by "flashy posters," "fake" union and black endorsements, "tricky camera angles" and so forth.

The outrageous racist claim that black people are suckers for anything "flashy" is not new for the RWL. The SL's first successful labor/black mobilization against the Klan was in Detroit's Kennedy Square on 10 November 1979, after the Klan had announced they would celebrate their massacre of five anti-fascist activists in Greensboro, North Carolina by rallying in the Motor City. The RWL peered at the demonstration of 500 black and white auto workers and leftists and pronounced it a "fraud" and its participants "passers-by" attracted by "the general commotion" (RWL leaflet, 14 January 1980). With each successive mobilization—Detroit, San Francisco, Ann Arbor, Chicago, now Washington—the RWL has become more frustrated and frantic. This latest leaflet shows the RWL will claim anything about these demonstrations: they weren't real; they were real but they didn't stop the fascists; they did stop the fascists, but it was really some "united front" of the RWL and friends that did it; the demonstrations really protected the fascists.

Putting Your Money Where Your Mouth Is

The RWL leaflet leads off with the statement: "WHAT IS THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE? The Spartacist League is a small, white, middle class group with a lot of money...." Well, small is a relative matter, particularly given the size of the RWL. A mouse may note that a cat is small, but it does so at its own peril. For the rest, the SL is a multiracial working-class tendency whose black cadre is growing—the RWL's desperate efforts to discredit our reputation among black militants is testimony to that.

It is the "lot of money" charge that is really loaded. First of all, we wish it were true! But what money we do have, we are proud to spend on actions like November 27 that stop the Klan. If our leaflets are everywhere in sight, our posters "flashy," our sound equipment loud, our medical vans and lawyers on standby in case of trouble, we credit our commitment to anti-fascist struggle, and so do the thousands who marched under our leadership. "While other organizations such as the RSL" are presumably building "real" demonstrations, "the SL spends money, and more

continued on page 4

Washington Post

Black demonstrators in Washington, D.C. take up SL slogan, "Finish the Civil War!" RWL says it's "crazy."

After Arafat Abandoned Sabra/Shatila

Revolt in the PLO Camps

The U.S.-backed Israeli invasion of Lebanon was a defeat of historic magnitude for the Palestinian people. With the agreement of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leadership, the American, French and Italian imperialist "peacekeepers" took 12,000 Palestinian commandos under guard and deposited them in concentration camps spread across the Arab East. Left defenseless in Lebanon, their families were then butchered in the Shatila/Sabra refugee camps by the Zionist-organized Phalange killers and Israel's puppet Haddad forces.

One PLO official (who asked not to be named) has admitted such a massacre was predictable once the Palestinian military forces were removed:

> "...the real importance of our military was to defend our civilians against the sort of thing that happened at Shatila and which has happened before to our people in Lebanon and elsewhere. Everyone is aware that as long as we were in Beirut there was no massacre at Shatila; it only happened after we left."
>
> —*Washington Post*, 27 December 1982

Now many PLO fighters are asking why they left. There has been a real conspiracy of silence to cover up the mass discontent, anger and outright revolt in the PLO camps against Arafat & Co., whose confidence in his paper agreements with the imperialists led to the slaughter in West Beirut. But the story is slowly leaking out.

After receiving a "heroes' welcome" from their various reactionary Arab hosts, the PLO commandos were disarmed and placed in concentration camps. A quarter of those who arrived in the Sudan have simply disappeared; many of those in Iraq have been thrown into prison. The lengthy 27 December *Washington Post* article described the situation in a PLO camp in Tunisia 60 miles from Arafat's new seaside resort headquarters:

> "Confined to a camp surrounded by barbed wire and patrolled by a wary Tunisian Army, they found that even a rare permit to go to town meant a five-mile walk to the nearest coffee shop.
>
> "In September, when news of the massacre in Sabra and Shatila refugee camps reached them, the men revolted.
>
> "They denounced their leaders, including Arafat, for having assured them that their families would be safe in Beirut after they departed.
>
> "The revolt was put down ruthlessly by Fatah men in the camp loyal to Arafat, according to Tunisian government sources. Ringleaders of the demonstration had their heads shaved and, according to one of these sources, were even imprisoned briefly in makeshift jails within the camp."

Some of these PLO fighters have since escaped and gone underground.

The 13 December 1982 issue of *Time* adds a similar report about conditions in the Sudan:

> "In the Sudan, the story is much the same: 518 fighters arrived in August, and only 370 remain today. The Palestinians who live in tents at Mashtal el Bassatin, a Nile village 120 miles north of Khartoum, occasionally call themselves *Polisario* after the desert guerrillas of northwestern Africa.... Discipline at Mashtal el Bassatin has broken down only once: on the day the fighters heard over the radio of the Beirut massacre. Outraged, some of the men set their tents on fire. About 100 of them had relatives in the two Beirut camps, and only a handful have since received news of their families.... The P.L.O. leadership recognizes the seriousness of the situation at places like Mashtal el Bassatin. Says an official in Damascus: 'These young men are a volcano waiting to explode'."

Sygma

PLO fighters arrive in Tunisia where they are placed in concentration camps.

Yet while the PLO camps are in upheaval, much of the American left cynically tailed Arafat as he hailed the outcome of the Lebanese war as a great 'moral' or 'political victory' for the Palestinian cause. The trendy Stalinoid *Guardian* (1 September 1982) referred to the "political gains registered in the course of their heroic resistance." The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which vociferously defends the PLO's call for an imperialist "peacekeeping force" as "the only way to insure" against slaughter (!), outdid itself when SWP spokesman Malik Miah declared last August "Yasir Arafat has put the Palestinians in the best possible position"! Try telling that to PLO fighters now locked up in the North African desert, whose families were murdered in Sabra/Shatila! In contrast to these cheerleaders for defeat the Spartacist League warned from the beginning that the introduction of imperialist troops into Lebanon and the withdrawal of the PLO commandos would mean a bloodbath for the Palestinians:

> "The remaining Palestinian population in Lebanon—more than half a million—will be left defenseless before the tender mercies of mad bomber Begin and his maniacal war minister Ariel Sharon."
>
> —"Smash Zionist Genocide!" *WV* No. 311, 6 August 1982

Palestinian militants rebelling against Arafat's treachery must draw the *political* lessons of the Lebanese catastrophe culminating in the horror of the Shatila/Sabra massacre. They must break with Arab nationalism which since 1948 has disarmed the Palestinians politically and militarily, in the face of imperialist-backed Zionist genocide and ruthless repression by the Arab bourgeois states. The philosopher George Santayana said that those who do not understand history are condemned to repeat it. It is to contribute to this understanding that we are publishing a series on the Palestinian question entitled, "From 'The Arab Revolution' to Pax Americana." ■

RWL...

(continued from page 3)

money," says the RSL leaflet, which hilariously claims we flew "hundreds" of SL members into Washington. (Of course we brought in busloads from all over the Atlantic seaboard and the Middle West. What really gets them is where did the other 5,000 come from?)

It's true that we spent a lot of money. The dozens of union officials and locals who endorsed the mobilization certainly understood that a socialist group named the Spartacist League was supporting the effort every way we could. They assumed that Spartacist supporters would be on hand to do radio interviews and make banners, that our good credit with printers would stand behind the Labor/Black Mobilization's order for 250,000 leaflets, etc. And they were right. We're hardly going to apologize for that. And we're not surprised that now that we're trying to dig out from under the enormous expense of the successful Washington demonstration, along comes the RWL to denounce us as carpetbaggers loaded with money.

But the real purpose of the charge is to imply that we are paid agents of somebody. "Moscow gold"? The CIA? While the FBI sniffs around looking for sinister communist "conspiracies" behind the Washington demonstration and the bourgeois media pushes scare stories of "violence" in hopes of scapegoating leftists for the mass action which frustrated the government's determination to let the Klan march, the RWL chimes in with slanders that Spartacists "resort to violent attacks on demonstrations." We ask: whose work is the RWL doing?

Cynical APC Diversion

The RWL's aim is to ingratiate itself with the reformist leftists for whom the anti-fascist struggle is just another vehicle for cuddling up to Democratic Party "progressives" in an "anti-Reagan" popular front. Their activities in Washington on November 27 were directly of service to the liberal establishment. The All-Peoples Congress (APC), led by the Marcyite Workers World Party, had announced an anti-Klan rally for November 27 at noon near the Klan's reported final destination. The action was intended to be one of the usual pro-Democrat talkathons, explicitly disclaiming any intention to "confront" the Klan.

The active entry onto the political scene of the Labor/Black Mobilization forces pushed the APC into the openly diversionary role played at other times by mainstream liberals without "left" cover—e.g., the festival organized by San Francisco mayor Feinstein and conservative Jewish groups to compete with a Spartacist-initiated mobilization against the Nazis in 1980. The APC chose a site two miles from the Klan's assembly point. Callers to the APC phone number were told that the Labor/Black Mobilization would be "violent." The APC relished the role of "respectable" anti-fascist protester; it's exactly the role they wanted. For the APC, "the Klan is not the issue" (as one speaker said explicitly at the APC rally); the issue is "Reagan," i.e., getting the Democrats back in the White House. They appeal to the black masses' passionate and desperate hatred of the Klan in a cynical bid for a base they can trade to the Democrats: let us be your errand boys and apologists, let us clean up your act a little, we too have a "constituency" to peddle to you.

The reformist leftists hid for this role in many ways, not least as the thought-police of the left. They have sought by force and by the use of the cops to purge our communist slogans and contingents from demonstrations. (The larger outfits generally take no notice of the minuscule RWL, but they're more than happy to retail slander stories from the RWL and its similarly sized "third camp" friends about Spartacist "goons," "saboteurs," "sectarians" and "split-off demonstrations" to justify their anti-communist exclusionism.)

On November 27, happily swimming in the rad-lib mainstream, the RWL joined the usual crew of popular-frontists at the APC rally, two miles from the militant mobilization that stopped the Klan from marching. The APC rally was about one-third the size of the Labor/Black Mobilization. But even here at the deliberately anti-militant event, there were many hundreds of black youth who had come out under the misapprehension that the APC wanted to stop the Klan. These black youth should know that the RWL committed the vile act of joining the APC goon squad that linked arms against its own demonstrators in a futile effort to keep militants from breaking away to go look for the Klan. The APC promised anti-fascist action, delivered only frustration. Busily violence-baiting the Labor/Black Mobilization, the APC actually set up for cop violence the youth who left the APC rally in disgust and became easy targets for rampaging police.

It's truly obscene to find ostensible leftists whistling Dixie as the RWL does in its "Carpetbaggers" leaflet. But this is the logic of anti-Spartacism for the despicable RWL. Their easy slippage into the rhetoric of Southern racism says a lot about their real politics and role. Their unrestrained hatred for the Labor/Black Mobilization of November 27—to our knowledge the largest overtly Trotskyist-led anti-fascist demonstration in this country since the massive 1939 rally at Madison Square Garden in New York—should show any thinking worker that the RWL is no friend of the enemies of the Klan. ■

Anti-Klan Benefit Big Success!

OAKLAND, January 24—Nearly 250 black and white workers and students jammed Eli's Mile High Club—"home of the West Coast blues"—here tonight to attend a special blues benefit for the Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. November 27. Sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee, the benefit was a rousing success, collecting $895 at the door and an additional $660 in advanced ticket sales, many of which were sold to Bay Area trade unionists.

The audience enthusiastically greeted the blues performers Monica DuPont, Troyce Key and the Eddie Rey Blues Band, as well as applauding Spartacist League spokesmen who described the victory over the Klan in Washington and put forward a revolutionary socialist program. Several hundred leaflets advertising a videotape showing of the anti-Klan demonstration were snapped up, and many gathered around the SL literature table and photo display of the demonstration. Several Club employees said that they had never seen a more successful benefit at the popular Oakland night spot and invited us back for future fundraisers "any time."

Spartacist League/Lanka: "Reject Popular Front Politics!"

Oppose Strong-Man Rule in Sri Lanka!

J.R. Jayewardene was returned to office with a bare 52 percent majority in the Sri Lanka presidential elections of 20 October 1982. Seizing the opportunity to consolidate a dictatorial regime, Jayewardene rammed through a plebiscite to extend the life of the present Parliament until 1989 (thus maintaining his 5/6 parliamentary majority). On December 22 J.R. and his ruling United National Party (UNP) received 54 percent of the vote for his IMF-dictated austerity rule. We reprint below a slightly abridged translation of the article published by the Spartacist League/Lanka in Sinhala and Tamil denouncing the plebiscite, as well as excerpts from their articles on the presidential elections.

Significantly, in the Tamil areas of the North and East, where the votes took place in an atmosphere of vicious state repression under the Emergency Regulations and the Prevention of Terrorism Act, up to 92 percent of the registered voters boycotted the presidential election. Those votes that were cast in both the election and the referendum were largely against the UNP. Dozens of militant Tamils in the North, and Catholic and Buddhist clergy, were arrested while opposition newspapers and political groups were banned in the government's terror campaign carried out between the elections and the referendum. Following hunger strikes and protests involving tens of thousands of militants, some of those arrested were freed.

In the October presidential elections, various fake-lefts sought to form a popular frontist, anti-UNP bloc including the virulently Sinhala-chauvinist, bourgeois Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP). When the SLFP decided to run its own candidate against J.R., virtually the entire "left" capitulated to this "alternative" capitalist candidate. While the reformist Communist Party of Sri Lanka (CP) campaigned unabashedly for the SLFP, the Lanka Samasamaja Party (LSSP), which long ago abandoned even pretensions to Trotskyism and had led the drive for a unitary opposition candidate, ran its own Colvin R. de Silva. De Silva made a meager showing, less than one percent of the vote, a sharp drop from previous elections, as former LSSP voters cast their ballots directly for the SLFP, the bourgeois "lesser evil" the LSSP has covered for since the 1950s. The New Samasamaja Party (NSSP), a reformist outfit fraternally linked to the English *Militant* group, ran their own candidate as a fig leaf, but called for a vote to the SLFP in the second round. The ex-Guevarist, now parliamentarist JVP came in third in the elections.

The Spartacist League/Lanka declared: "None of the candidates in the 1982 presidential elections can represent you!" The SL/L also actively defended the right of the militant Tamil groups to organize a boycott in the North against Jayewardene's attempts to smash them by arrest and torture.

The Tamil-majority Northern and Eastern provinces voted down the anti-democratic move to extend the present Parliament. However, some of the southern areas where Sinhala-chauvinist UNP politicians campaigned under the slogan "Vote for the lamp to suppress the Tigers [Tamil nationalists]!" in order to incite communal hostilities, also returned a negative vote. (The "lamp" was the symbol for a "yes" vote on the ballot, while the "pot" was the symbol of a "no" vote.) Most of the fake-left and traditional workers leaders called simply for a "no" vote, including even the notorious Bala Tampoe, head of the Ceylon Mercantile Union and ex-member of the United Secretariat group. But Mr. S. Thondaman, head of the Ceylon Workers Congress, the company union of the plantation Tamils, allied with the CIA-inspired International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, proved his slavish loyalty to J.R. by bringing in the votes of his membership in the hill country for the ruthless starvation capitalist government.

Army occupies Jaffna, 1981. Down with the anti-Tamil terror! AP

"Smash Reactionary UNP and SLFP!"

FROM
LANKA SPARTACIST NO. 5 &
ILLANGAI SPARTACIST NO. 2,
NOVEMBER 1982

In the presidential elections of 20 October 1982, J.R. Jayewardene received 3.4 million votes out of 8.1 million registered voters and is again in power in Sri Lanka. After he returned to power, J.R.'s first act was to go after the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, the rival capitalist party of his United National Party. The UNP's main pretext for this was that "Naxalites" [an Indian variant of Maoism] had taken control of the SLFP and if, by chance, the SLFP candidate had won the election on 20 October, he and the SLFP planned a coup to seize state power. This is a complete lie, fabricated by J.R. and the UNP.

At a meeting in Anuradhapura before the election, J.R. declared that when he returned to power the electoral map in Lanka would be rolled up for the next ten years. J.R. is now in power. J.R. and the UNP are ready to roll up the electoral map—not for ten years but forever. Instead of holding the [parliamentary] elections that are due in 1983, J.R. and the UNP are now attempting to extend the life of Parliament for six years. Preparations are being made to hold a fake referendum on December 22. Although this hoax, painted in various "democratic" colours, is new to Lanka, every murderous capitalist ruler in the world has used this trick to "throw sand" in the eyes of the people. After banning all opposition parties in Germany, Hitler too used such fake referendums five times to hide his barbaric deeds.

This referendum should properly be called "an election to end elections." Every worker and oppressed person should seriously consider why the UNP calls for a referendum instead of a general election even after winning 52 percent of 6,522,147 votes cast in the presidential elections on October 20.

In the context of the world capitalist system, Lanka is so bankrupt, so decrepit, that it survives by pawning the suffering masses and workers to the imperialists' financial institutions. Lanka today stands pawned for over 30,000 million rupees [over $14 million]. Before granting further loans, the world bankers are demanding that the UNP strangle Lanka—slash basic subsidies and raise the prices of essential goods. Today the UNP cannot avoid doing this. Even Reagan, the great saviour, is unable to step forward to aid Lanka. With a record unemployment figure of 13 million and a large balance of payments deficit, the U.S. cannot come to Lanka's rescue. Nor can Helmut Kohl, who has slashed subsidies and welfare in West Germany and is now facing a restive labour movement. In this capitalist world, none of the imperialist countries is immune from this economic crisis, which is the worst

continued on page 11

"Struggle For a Workers and Peasants Government in Lanka!"

We reprint below slogans from Spartacist League/Lanka propaganda around the presidential elections and the parliamentary referendum.

* * * * *

- Smash reactionary UNP and SLFP!
- Reject parliamentarism!
- Reject popular front politics! No new bloc with the capitalist SLFP!
- Reinstate all fired workers [from 1980 strike]!
- Abolish all repressive legislation! Down with the Emergency Law!
- Return state industries handed over to private capitalists and imperialists!
- Not one inch of Lanka to the imperialists!
- Land to the peasants! Provide low-priced fertilizer, water and other essential supplies for agriculture!
- Support the right of the Tamil people to self-determination (the right to a separate state)!
- Withdraw army and police sent to the North to repress Tamil people!
- Free all imprisoned Tamil liberation fighters immediately, including Kuttimani and Jeganathan who are sentenced to death!
- Smash deals between the TULF and the UNP butchers!
- Grant immediate citizenship rights to [Tamil] plantation workers!
- Stop the forcible deportation of plantation workers now! Grant the right for deported plantation workers to return to Lanka!
- Equal rights for women! Equal pay for equal work! Abolish night shifts!
- Stop treating women as a commodity!
- Grant the right for women to make all decisions on birth control!
- Don't hand over Trincomalee Harbour to the American imperialists!
- Remove "Voice of America" transmitting stations from Lanka!
- Defense of the Soviet Union/Vietnam/Cuba begins in Trincomalee and Diego Garcia!
- Forge unity of workers, peasants and Tamil people for the victory of socialist revolution in Lanka!
- Forward to the rebirth of the Fourth International!
- Struggle for a workers and peasants government in Lanka!
- Forward to a United Soviet Federation of South Asia!

1,000 Sign Recall Petition in S.F. Phone

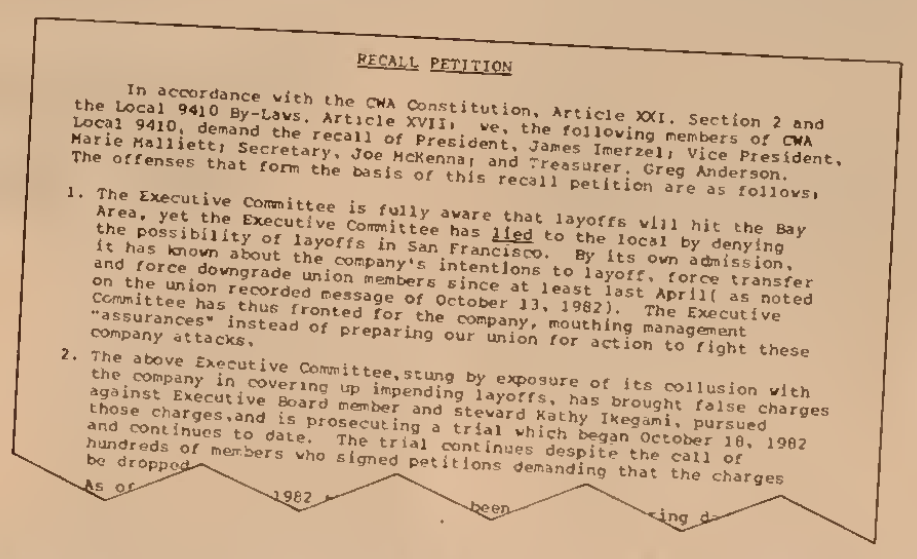
CWA Witchhunters Get Burned

SAN FRANCISCO, January 25—The top officials of CWA Local 9410 are in trouble. Last July these officials initiated a purge trial aimed at driving union militant Kathy Ikegami, a 9410 Executive Board member, steward and leader of the class-struggle Militant Action Caucus (MAC), out of the union. However Ikegami and the MAC have used the trial as a forum to denounce and expose the sellout policies of the officers, especially local president Jim Imerzel. More and more of Ikegami's union brothers and sisters have rallied to her defense. In response the local's executive officers have become ever more frenzied.

Their hysteria reaches truly clinical proportions in a recent McCarthyite smear letter addressed to the 9410 membership by the local president, vice president, secretary and treasurer: Imerzel, Malliett, McKenna and Anderson. This letter, given to us by angry phone workers, is truly one of the more bizarre documents we have ever come across. We reprint it along with the suitably humorous and derisive reply of the Local 9410 MAC.

The events leading up to this exchange begin with the trial proceedings initiated by Imerzel last July. These were a response to MAC's exposure of CWA bureaucrats' colluding with the company to cover up impending layoffs. From the beginning of the trial, Imerzel and his cohorts tried to obscure this issue, hoping to try Ikegami for her well-known political support to the Spartacist League (SL). But this hasn't worked.

As the trial progressed it came out that there was indeed a cover-up of coming layoffs on the part of the local bureaucrats, who had gone so far as to *deny* the possibility of *any* job cuts throughout the summer only to have to admit that "force reductions" were in the cards in the fall. Further cross-examination of one of Imerzel's star witnesses, local secretary McKenna, revealed that McKenna had attended a Ku Klux Klan gathering in Texas following the 1980 CWA national convention. Subsequent "modifications" of his testimony did little to allay widespread outrage over his atrocious and despicable act.



RECALL PETITION

In accordance with the CWA Constitution, Article XXI. Section 2 and the Local 9410 By-Laws. Article XVII, we, the following members of CWA Local 9410, demand the recall of President, James Imerzel; Vice President, Marie Malliett; Secretary, Joe McKenna; and Treasurer, Greg Anderson. The offenses that form the basis of this recall petition are as follows:

1. The Executive Committee is fully aware that layoffs will hit the Bay Area, yet the Executive Committee has lied to the local by denying the possibility of layoffs in San Francisco. By its own admission, it has known about the company's intentions to layoff, force transfer and force downgrade union members since at least last April(as noted on the union recorded message of October 13, 1982). The Executive Committee has thus fronted for the company, mouthing management "assurances" instead of preparing our union for action to fight these company attacks.
2. The above Executive Committee,stung by exposure of its collusion with the company in covering up impending layoffs, has brought false charges against Executive Board member and steward Kathy Ikegami, pursued those charges,and is prosecuting a trial which began October 18, 1982 and continues to date. The trial continues despite the call of hundreds of members who signed petitions demanding that the charges be dropped.

As of 1982 ... been ...ing d...

One thousand signed the recall petition which has CWA 9410 sellout bureaucrats in a witchhunting frenzy.

Because the trial was so damaging to Imerzel and his pals, the Local 9410 bureaucrats moved it to daytime working hours. This effectively turned it into a star-chamber proceeding denying most local members the chance to attend any sessions. According to MAC this move also cost the union thousands of dollars in union activity time, money paid to the trial body, defendant, counsel and witnesses.

At this point MAC initiated a petition to recall the local executive officers. The petition charged the officers with a series of offenses including: lying to the members about impending layoffs; bringing Ikegami to trial for exposing this fronting for Ma Bell; convening a trial body of Imerzel's hand-picked supporters, which was never properly elected; moving the trial to daytime hours, thereby denying members the right to attend the trial; wrongfully spending thousands of dollars of union monies on the trial; and condoning secretary McKenna's attendance at a KKK gathering.

According to MAC over 1,000 CWA Local 9410 members signed the recall petition. The bureaucrats' letter of 11 January 1983 was their first response to this stunning repudiation of their attempted purge. *Workers Vanguard* has subsequently learned that the Local 9410 election committee, in a meeting presided over by the prosecutor at the Ikegami trial, has denied the recall petition on the grounds that the charges are "vague and frivolous." MAC also reports that the Local 9410 officers imposed a gag rule at the sparsely attended January 18 union meeting. To silence Ikegami, executive board members will no longer be permitted to give reports, no discussion by the members will be allowed—only questions!

This blatant trampling on the elementary democratic rights of Local 9410 members is of a piece with the bureaucrats', letter of January 11. And that letter is itself a sample of the kind of case Imerzel has tried to make against Ikegami during his show trial, a trial he has been obliged to conduct behind the backs of the members because his behavior has been so dirty and shameful.

MAC points out that the November executive board meeting passed a motion, previously passed by L.A. CWA Local 11502, which supports the Morenoite International Workers Party (IWP) and its CWA supporters' lying version of their assault on Spartacist League members and trade-union supporters at an October 2 IWP meeting. When MAC members brought this exec board motion up for discussion at the November general membership meeting the bureaucracy refused to permit it to come to the floor.

During the trial itself it has become clear that the bureaucracy has grabbed any club within reach with which to beat Ikegami. Since Ikegami is a supporter of the Spartacist League, a Trotskyist organization, Imerzel has attempted to borrow from Stalinism's arsenal of anti-Trotsky slander. No doubt with some help from the Malliett family, Imerzel has waxed eloquent on the justice of the Moscow Trials and even managed to dig up a sorry World War II-vintage pamphlet by the Stalinist hack George Morris. But Imerzel does not stop there because the SL in defending the Trot-

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McCarthyite Mud That Didn't Stick

We reprint below the McCarthyite smear letter sent to the members of CWA Local 9410, at union expense, by the "gang of four" bureaucrats, Imerzel, Malliett, McKenna and Anderson.

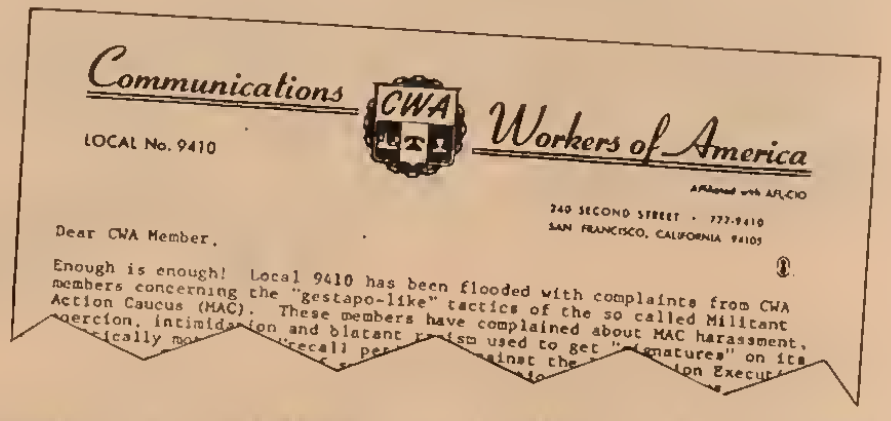
Communications Workers of America
Local No. 9410
San Francisco, California

Dear CWA Member,

Enough is enough! Local 9410 has been flooded with complaints from CWA members concerning the "gestapo-like" tactics of the so called Militant Action Caucus (MAC). These members have complained about MAC harassment, coercion, intimidation and blatant racism used to get "signatures" on its politically motivated "recall petition" against the Local Union Executive Officers. The MAC's use of such anti-democratic methods force us, the Executive Officers, to respond "publicly" to this vicious MAC attack. Please take the few minutes necessary to read carefully this letter *and* the enclosed related leaflet. YOUR knowledge concerning the Spartacist League and its "caucus" in CWA—MAC—will enable you the member to better understand the motivation for their attacks, *and* the "real" goal they seek.

Just WHO and WHAT is the Militant Action Caucus (MAC). MAC is an affiliate of the Spartacist League (SL), an *international Trotskyist-communist* political sect. According to the Spartacist League, it for years has planned and accomplished the *infiltration* of labor unions like CWA through formation of "caucuses" (eg. MAC). These caucuses (MAC) are required to follow absolutely the dictates of the Spartacist League. For example, as the Spartacist League made clear in its "Trade Union Memorandum" of 1972 (printed in *Marxist Bulletin 9*):

> "The key organizational form for *intervention in the unions* is the CAUCUS, the nucleus of an alternative, revolutionary union leadership, uniting members of the vanguard with the union activists who *agree* with that section of the *party programme for the labour movement*.... The growth of our nucleus will *not* be primarily through the recruitment of *politically backward militants* [trade union leaders] drawn to us because of our leadership in local struggles [fighting the Employers]. *Rather* the CAUCUS will grow through *political struggle with* other left and *militant union formations* leading the process of *splits and fusions*." (emphasis added)



Communications Workers of America

LOCAL No. 9410

240 SECOND STREET · 777-9410
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94105

Dear CWA Member,

Enough is enough! Local 9410 has been flooded with complaints from CWA members concerning the "gestapo-like" tactics of the so called Militant Action Caucus (MAC). These members have complained about MAC harassment, coercion, intimidation and blatant racism used to get "signatures" on its politically motivated recall petition against the Local Union Executive

9410's "gang of four" misuses union funds to send out weird, red-baiting letter.

In plain language, the Spartacist League has infiltrated our Local Union in the form of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), so called. Through its "caucus"—MAC—the Spartacist League has followed through with its planned "take-over" of your CWA Local Union. The Spartacist League/MAC has actively pursued its political attacks on the Local Union Officers *only* because we do *not* "agree" completely with the views of the Spartacist League. By *tearing down and destroying* us, and anyone with whom they disagree, the Spartacist League/MAC plans to propel itself into power. The fact that the Spartacist League and MAC "programs" are the same can be seen be reviewing the several Spartacist League newspapers such as the Ikegami interview in *Women and Revolution*, *Spartacist*, *Workers Vanguard*, and *Young Spartacus*. Review for example the May 28, 1982 issue of the Spartacist League newspaper, *Workers Vanguard*, which states:

- "The *MAC program shows the way* forward for all working people. To bring *this* program to victory, class-struggle *caucuses* are needed not just in *West Coast phone* but in all the key sectors of the industrial proletariat.

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MAC LEAFLET

How Weird Can You Get?

Local 9410 Officers Take Fake-Red to Bed

Brothers and Sisters,

Yesterday we got a letter in the mail from Imerzel, Malliett, Anderson and McKenna which was sent to all Local 9410 members. Frankly, this letter is pretty weird. It's supposed to be a lurid exposé proving that the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) "is an affiliate of the Spartacist League (SL), an *international Trotskyist-communist* political sect". Sounds sinister, doesn't it?

The trouble is, everyone knows that the MAC is an organization of *only* CWA members open to *any* CWA'er who agrees with our views as expressed in our printed program. Also, many MAC'ers, as is their right, are also supporters of the Spartacist League, a socialist political organization which indeed bases itself on the views of Leon Trotsky. (Trotsky was a leader, along with Lenin, of the workers' 1917 October Russian Revolution, who subsequently fought against the rise of the autocratic, nationalist, anti-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy. For his working-class revolutionary opposition to Stalin, Trotsky was exiled from the Soviet Union, and later murdered by Stalin's agents). The trouble again for our junior Joe McCarthys is that this is no "secret". For example, Local 9410 Executive Board member, steward and MAC spokesman, Kathy Ikegami, has never hidden her political views and has, in fact, acknowledged her political support of the views of the Spartacist League in a number of MAC leaflets.

Thus, Imerzel and Co. have spent well over a thousand dollars of our union money to tell (in a false, vicious and self-serving way) a lot of people what MAC has already told them.

Our top officers have gone bonkers. Why? Because on January 7th MAC submitted, in accord with all relevant sections of the CWA Constitution, a petition to recall the Executive Committee of Local 9410. Some 1,006 members signed the petition, well over the 20% required to mandate a recall vote and about *twice* as many members as voted to put Imerzel and his pals in office just a short while ago. Most of you know the basis for this recall. In short, we charge the officers with swinish dishonesty, sniveling pro-company collusion and intolerable toleration of the fascist KKK.

A thousand Local 9410 members want a new election and the chance to pick a new leadership. And our bureaucrats can't stand it! Brothers and Sisters! Local 9410 stands in absolutely no danger of attack by MAC, whose members are among the best defenders of our union. It's the *company* that is on the rampage against the CWA. But this is of little concern to our sell-out officers. Jim, Marie, Greg and Joe are worried and figure they will have trouble getting re-elected if they are recalled, so they are trying to stir up paranoia and fear among the membership. Also, there's the election to the Special Convention to worry about. After all, CWA National President Glenn Watts told them last July to "get the MAC". So that's why they put out this weird and filthy *campaign* letter at your expense.

Necessity, as is said, is the mother of invention...and politics do make strange bedfellows. But brothers and sisters, look at what Jim, Marie, Greg and Joe have crawled under the covers with...the International Workers Party (IWP). Are our officers IWP members? We don't know, but if they do join they might swell the IWP to 30 members.

The letter refers to the IWP as "another leftist organization". Come now, let's not be coy. The IWP is a self-proclaimed communist organization. It even says it's (shudder) Trotskyist. It calls for "...leaders who are up to the historic task of liberating humanity and burying the greatest oppresor (sic) and enemy mankind has ever known: U.S. imperialism (January '82 *Working Class Opposition*)." Now isn't this odd? Our officers circulate "communist literature" at union expense in order to do a hatchet job on MAC.

Jim, Marie, Greg and Joe really recommend the views of the IWP. But the IWP is simply the American affiliate of an international lash-up *run* by an Argentine adventurer and fake-Red named Nahuel Moreno. What does Moreno think?

On the U.S.—Moreno is for: "...breaking the nuclear teeth of Yankee imperialism".

On Israel—"Today Arab racism is progressive: it destroys the Zionist State ...this destruction necessarily implies the pushing out of its present inhabitants..." In Moreno's view—"non-Zionist Jewish inhabitants...do not exist". (September '82)

On Iran—Under the headline "Khomeini Makes a Pact With the 'Great Satan'", he states, "the taking of the embassy and of the hostages was a revolutionary act of the Iranian masses. The agreement which released them was quite the opposite". (Feb/Mar '82)

On Socialism—Moreno's view of the socialist future sounds like a page out of Pol Pot's Cambodia, projecting "dictatorships of one party" and calls for a "red terror" that will execute"...'family and social groups' that is, representatives of the exploiting classes, even though they haven't done anything".

WV Photo

At MAC's initiative CWA Local 9410 officially participated in mobilization to stop the Nazis from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday in San Francisco, April 1980.

Some of the above sounds very "rrrevolutionary". Most of it is grotesque. All of it is demagoguery and bullshit. Moreno above all is a political chameleon with a long, dirty and bizarre history. Over the years this quick change artist has been pro-Castro, a Maoist, a Peronist, a reformist social-democrat, and a Sandinista. Lately he supported Galtieri, the right-wing dictator in Argentina, during the Falklands war; though, during this same period, Moreno's *own comrades* were jailed, tortured and murdered by the Argentine military. He is also notorious throughout Latin America as a thief and swindler. So, by all means read the dirty lying leaflet issued by the Los Angeles offshoot of this man's organization that our local officers love. But read, too, the L.A. MAC leaflet signed by CWA brother Ackerson. It tells the truth about the IWP's attempted murder of SL'ers and various of their trade union supporters, including several CWA members. Since there are photos of the IWP's hammer-wielding attack, our bureaucrats know what the truth is. But, to borrow a line from Richard Pryor, Imerzel says: "Who are you going to believe, me or your lying eyes?"

So Moreno is a crook, an accusation that perhaps hits too close to home for too much of the American trade union bureaucracy. But, in fact, we don't think our officers are Morenoites. They're just dumb, vicious, frightened bureaucrats desperate to hold onto their low office in our much too weak union. Their letter, like the trial of Kathy Ikegami, shows they will go to any verbal or legal length to do so.

As Kathy's trial grinds on and on, as the union spends thousands of dollars a day on it, Imerzel spends more and more of his time trying to convict not only Ikegami but also Leon Trotsky. Thus Imerzel has come out, can you believe this, *for* Stalin's infamous Moscow purge trials of the '30's. Similarly, our CIA-loving local president, introduced a Communist Party USA pamphlet from World War II about "The Trotskyite Fifth Column in the Labor Movement".

But what Jim doesn't realize is that there's lots more stuff out there. Maybe he needs some help. Why doesn't he, for example, read Stalin's "Mastering Bolshevism", a pamphlet published in Spanish as "Contra II Trotskyismo" (Against Trotskyism)? Then, too, Adolph Hitler said some mean things against Trotsky. Maybe Jim can get

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El Socialista

IWP followers of Argentine political bandit Nahual Moreno (above), murderously assaulted CWA militant (right) in Los Angalas, 2 Octobar 1982.

WV Photo

After Lebanon:

The Left and the Palestinian Question

From the "Arab Revolution" to Pax Americana

UPI

Black September 1970: Palestinians in bloody civil war against Jordan's King Hussein. Today PLO's Arafat embraces Reagan plan to place Palestinians under Hussein's mandate.

War is the mother of revolution. But if a socialist revolution is to rise from the ashes of the genocidal Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the imperialist military occupation of West Beirut and the rise to power of the fascist Christian Maronite Phalange, the plain truth must be stated: the road to this catastrophic defeat for the Palestinian Arab people was paved by the treacherous nationalism of *every* wing of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), from Yasir Arafat to George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP).

Arab nationalism preaches that the main agency of imperialism in the Near East is not the Arab ruling classes but the Zionist state of Israel. Yet the Arab rulers have been as ruthless enemies of Palestinian national emancipation and unification as the genocidal Zionists. Palestinian nationalism, even in its most radical variants, has always sought its allies in the Arab rulers as against the Arab toiling masses. And it has always been stabbed in the back. Carrying the logic of nationalism one step further the PLO has now subordinated itself to the very imperialist masters—Britain, France and the U.S.—who imposed their national dismemberment in 1919 and who provide the guns for genocidal terror against them today.

The 1967 War and the Third World Cheerleaders

In June 1967 a series of border clashes and military maneuvers between Israel and adjacent Arab countries flared into general war. Israel, confident of its military superiority, launched a

PART TWO

preemptive attack and in six days devastated the Egyptian, Jordanian and Syrian armies. Claiming the fruits of victory, the Zionist rulers seized Sinai and Gaza from Egypt, the West Bank from Jordan and the Golan Heights from Syria, occupied territories totaling three times the size of Israel itself.

Underlying Israel's immediate calculations was the long-term Zionist goal to round out an all-Jewish state in all of Palestine and beyond. The main aim of the Arab states, Nasser's Egypt in particular, was to channel popular discontent into a "holy war" against the Zionist enemy. In the unlikely event that victory had gone to the Arab side, the result would *not* have been Palestinian national liberation but defense of the status quo of a balkanized and dispersed Palestinian population oppressed both by the Zionist state and its Arab neighbors.

The 1967 Arab-Israel war, like that of 1948, was a reactionary war on both sides. We wrote at the time:

> "Social revolution is the only route to an anti-imperialist victory in the Near East. This would unfreeze the whole tragic situation and make it possible for the progressive conflict of classes to replace the futile and reactionary conflict of rival nationalisms and their mystical ideologies."
>
> —"Arab-Israeli Conflict—Turn the Guns the Other Way," *Spartacist* No. 11, March-April 1968

Little/Camera 5

At the time of the 1948 war the reformist left (social democrats and Stalinists) were strongly pro-Zionist, while the Trotskyists correctly took a revolutionary defeatist position toward both sides. Twenty years later, however, the pendulum on the left had swung toward Arab or more generally "Third World" nationalism. The Moscow and Peking Stalinists were competitively wooing bourgeois-nationalist bonapartists of the Nasser/Boumediene/Touré stripe. The true enthusiasts for "Third World" nationalism, however, were the New Left radicals who wrote off the working class in North America and West Europe as supposedly hopelessly corrupted by the fruits of imperialism. Instead they looked toward "the damned of the earth" as the motor force for revolution in our time. The various pseudo-Trotskyist groups (Mandelites, Healyites, American Socialist Workers Party) adapted to the main current of petty-bourgeois radical opinion.

Thus the 1967 war saw much of the left hailing a non-existent "Arab revolution" in which the Arab *bourgeois states* were supposedly combating Western imperialism by fighting its "puppet," Zionist Israel. The prevalent left line was clearly expressed by those quintessential Third Worldist cheerleaders, Sam Marcy's Workers World Party:

> "The war in the Middle East is not so much a war of the Arab nations against Israel as it is a struggle of the incipient Arab revolution against U.S., British and French imperialism. Israel's attack on Egypt is not the desperate attempt of a beleaguered people to defend itself, but the first blow of a new imperialist onslaught against the oppressed Arab masses."
>
> —*Workers World*, 9 June 1967

Here the Arab rulers—Nasser and even King Hussein—are portrayed as defenders of the oppressed Arab masses.

Certainly U.S. imperialism has used Israel as a regional policeman against various Arab bourgeois-nationalist regimes, especially those allied to the Soviet Union. Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956, the 1958 Iraqi revolution which toppled the Hashemite monarchy, the Algerian war of independence against the French were viewed with alarm by Washington as a threat to imperialist dominance in the Near East. To counter the rise of radical Arab nationalism backed by the Soviet Union, Washington stepped up its support to Israel and also to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, the Saudi monarchy, the shah of Iran and the like. The Arab nationalist regimes, such as Nasser's Egypt and Ba'athist Syria, responded by escalating their "anti-imperialist" rhetoric.

But the idea that the territorial wars between Israel and the surrounding Arab bourgeois states were essentially a conflict between Western imperialism and some transcendent, trans-class "Arab revolution" is fundamentally false. This is a mystification which impedes the genuine national and social liberation of the toilers of the Arab East. As we wrote after the 1967 war:

> "A much more damaging myth is that of 'The Arab Revolution', a presumably tangible factor which must be protected and supported by the working class movement. Unlike the 'Cuban Revolution' which did occur, albeit only in a deformed character, the 'Arab Revolu-

Workers Press

Adams/Time

All wings of PLO paved the way to historic defeat in Lebanon: Moderate Yasir Arafat (left) addresses UN in 1974, "radicals" George Habash (center) and Nayef Hawatmeh.

tion' has not yet occurred. True, many gains have been made which benefit the Arab workers and peasants and which should be defended—for instance, the nationalization of the Suez Canal. However, the class nature of these states remains unchanged.

"Many so-called Marxists believe that the struggle for 'national liberation' of the Arab countries has merged with or even replaced the struggle for socialism in these countries. Accordingly they would replace the working class by petty-bourgeois cliques as the 'revolutionary agent' and view Nasser and other militarists as the liberators of the Arab masses. Such support of classless 'national liberation' prolongs the slavery of the Arab masses to their own ruling class."

—*Spartacist* No. 11, March-April 1968

The other side of the fictitious "Arab Revolution" was the notion that Israel was not a real class-differentiated society but an artificially implanted outpost or puppet of U.S. imperialism. It was common in left circles at the time to compare General Dayan's Israel with Marshal Thieu's South Vietnam. In a leaflet written right after the June 1967 war, we tried to set confused New Leftists aright:

"To characterize Israel as a puppet of imperialism is most incorrect. The difference between the most powerful puppet and the weakest ally is that the puppet acts for the interest of others, the ally in conjunction with others for its own interest. To analogize Israel to Taiwan or South Vietnam is absurd...."

—"The Near East: Time to Turn the Guns the Other Way," 16 June 1967

Today the same pseudo-leftists (e.g., Marcyites and the rad-lib Guardian) who insisted that Israel is nothing but a puppet of U.S. imperialism are calling upon Reagan's Marines to protect the Palestinians in Lebanon from the Zionist forces!

The Road to Black September

Our position that the Arab bourgeois states were no less enemies of Palestinian national liberation than was Zionist Israel was soon borne out by events. Their stunning and unexpected defeat at the hands of the Israelis shook the authority of the Arab regimes, and so for a time allowed the Palestinian nationalist forces a freedom of maneuver they had not had before the war. The period between the June 1967 war and the Black September massacre of 1970 marked the high point of Palestinian guerrilla activity. But the Arab states could not long tolerate an independent armed force operating on their territory. With occasional prodding from the Israeli army, the Arab states suppressed the Palestinian resistance. In the decade after the 1967 war *approximately 50,000 Palestinians were killed by Arab forces*, principally in the Jordanian civil war of 1970-71 and the Lebanese conflict of 1975-76.

With the Israeli capture of the Sinai and Gaza, Egypt ceased to be a base for the Palestinian guerrillas. At the same time, Nasser—Mr. "Arab Revolution" himself—turned to the U.S. to broker a deal with Israel. The Nixon gang told the Egyptians that if they wanted the Sinai back, they would have to recognize Israel diplomatically and openly repudiate Palestinian national liberation. Cairo's turn toward Pax Americana after the 1967 war culminated a decade later when Nasser's hand-picked successor, Anwar el-Sadat, flew to Jerusalem to embrace Begin and later signed the Washington-drafted Camp David Accords.

Capa/Magnum

Expansionist logic of Zionism: Israeli soldiers conquer East Jerusalem in 1967 war.

With Nasser's Egypt visibly turning its back on the Palestinian resistance, the PLO's main supporter became Ba'athist Syria. As a price for its "ideological" solidarity, Syria imposed tight control over the PLO forces in its territory. Not only did Damascus curb guerrilla attacks against Israel, but PLO militants were even obstructed from moving into Jordan where they could then operate more freely. The PLO was thus forced to base its guerrilla operations in two Arab countries whose governments were openly hostile to it: Christian Maronite-dominated Lebanon and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Constant clashes between the PLO forces and Lebanese army led in 1969 to the "Cairo agreement" which severely restricted the PLO's freedom of action in Lebanon.

The main base of the PLO was then King Hussein's Jordan, the most reactionary and pro-imperialist of the Arab front-line states. Because a majority of Jordan's population was Palestinian, the PLO had a significant degree of popular support and a large pool of recruitment for the *fedayeen*. By 1970 there were 25,000 Palestinian guerrilla fighters in Jordan, and Amman had become the capital of the Palestinian nationalist movement.

This situation of dual power obviously could not last long. Every week there were bloody clashes between the Palestinian guerrillas and the royalist army. It should be emphasized here that a majority of the Jordanian army also consisted of Palestinians. Yet the PLO leaders did *not* appeal to these Palestinian soldiers or attempt to undermine the effectiveness and discipline of the royalist army. Instead the PLO strategy aimed to transform the Hashemite Kingdom through peaceful pressure into a reliable ally of the Palestinian cause.

In the name of "anti-Zionist unity" the Palestinian nationalist leaders turned their backs on the one million oppressed Palestinians in Hussein's Jordan. They did not even raise the elementary bourgeois-democratic demand for a republic. No wing of the PLO—including the self-designated "Marxist-Leninist" PFLP of George Habash and Nayef Hawatmeh's Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DPFLP)—sought to organize the Palestinian and Jordanian masses against the feudalist regime. After Black September the DPFLP wrote truthfully: "Until that moment, the resistance movement was diligently working to avoid the shadow of civil war" (DPFLP, *September Counter-Revolution in Jordan* [November 1970]). Likewise a PFLP spokesman stated that "the aim of the Palestinian resistance was not to overthrow the Jordanian regime, but merely to put pressure on it" ("Interview with Ghassan Kannafani, *New Left Review*, May-June 1971).

On September 16 Hussein appointed a new military government and instructed it to restore order. There followed a savage ten-day civil war between the Palestinian guerrillas and royalist army. A Syrian tank column crossed the Jordanian border, but did little fighting and had no effect on the outcome. At the height of the fighting on September 23 the Political Bureau of the Spartacist League took the following position:

"Our line is: (1) military support for a guerrilla-Syrian victory against the royalist forces; (2) not one iota of political support. Defeat of the Hussein regime would sharpen all the class issues, open the road to the counterposition of the bourgeois independence 'solution' (Algeria, Egypt, etc.) vs. the proletarian dictatorship."

While the Palestinian guerrillas fought courageously they were no match for the Pentagon-equipped and -trained Jordanian army. Hussein's tanks moved into Amman and for eight days bombarded the huge Wahdat refugee camp. A French journalist described the scene, reminiscent of the Shatila/Sabra massacre:

"It was as if Hussein was beating a corpse.... For mile after mile, there were only ruins, mud, craters, twisted metal and screams.... I saw hundreds of bodies, men, women, children—in piles...."

—*Mid East*, December 1970

In Black September and the following months the PLO forces in Jordan were annihilated. An estimated 25,000 Palestinians were killed.

Yet the Arab nationalist regimes did nothing save voice disapproval. By contrast, both the U.S. and Israel were prepared to intervene militarily on the side of Hussein had things gone badly for him in the civil war. And today Hussein, the butcher of Black September, comes to Washington with Arafat's blessing to negotiate with U.S. imperialist chief Reagan "on behalf of" the Palestinian people. The Reagan plan, which the PLO leader commended for containing "some positive elements," would create a South African-like bantustan for Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza in which the Zionist occupation would be replaced by subjugation to the Hashemite Kingdom.

Petty-Bourgeois Nationalism and Indiscriminate Terrorism

The Black September massacre simultaneously wiped out the main base of the PLO's guerrilla operations and imbued the desperate Palestinian fighters with a fierce desire for vengeance against the Zionist and Arab reactionaries with U.S. imperialism standing behind both. Sections of the Palestinian nationalist movement increasingly turned to spectacular acts of terrorism.

Rubinger/Time

U.S. cargo plane resupplies Israeli war machine in 1973 war.

For Western public opinion, the initials "PLO" evoked images of machine-gunning passengers at Israel's Lod airport, the marksman with the ski mask guarding Israeli athletes kidnapped at the 1972 Munich Olympics, the shootout at Entebbe airport in Idi Amin's Uganda.

Marxists reject individual terrorism. Terrorism, Lenin wrote in his 1902 *What Is To Be Done?* "disorganizes the forces, not of the government, but the revolution." Petty-bourgeois terrorism, Trotsky pointed out, lowers the consciousness and activism of the masses, turning their hopes to some great avenger or emancipator who will eventually release them from the chains of oppression. Leninists make a fundamental distinction between terrorist acts against ruling-class criminals, such as the PLO's assassination of Jordanian premier Wasfi Tal, one of the butchers of Black September, and indiscriminate attacks on people who are only "guilty" of being an Israeli Jew or a passenger on El Al Airlines. Marxists insist that wanton violence against individuals because of their nationality is a crime. Such acts express the ultimately genocidal logic of all nationalism, a logic well-understood by the Zionists—from "Labor" to the Irgun of Begin, the butcher of Deir Yassin and Sabra/

continued on page 10

Starphot

Marxists condemn indiscriminate terror such as 1972 Lod Airport massacre carried out by supporters of Habash's PFLP.

Palestinian Question...

(continued from page 9)

Shatila—whose crimes against the Palestinian people can be compared to the Nazi holocaust.

The Palestinian nationalists' recourse to indefensible terrorism was exemplified by the May 1972 attack on Lod airport near Tel Aviv. Three Japanese Red Army members entered the passenger lounge, removed machine guns and grenades from their valises and sprayed bullets and lobbed grenades into the crowd. Twenty-eight people were killed, among them 16 Puerto Rican Baptist pilgrims. The PFLP took "credit" for this action, its spokesman Bassam Zayid declaring: "Our purpose was to kill as many people as possible at the airport, Israelis, of course, but anyone else who was there" (quoted in Lester A. Sobel, ed., *Palestinian Impasse* [1977]).

Needless to say, various Third Worldist nationalist cheerleaders defended even this atrocity. The Marcyites, for example, who today act as policemen for the American liberal establishment, at that time compared the Israeli Jewish population to the U.S. imperialist army in Vietnam: "The fact is that the 25 people killed at Lydda Airport were, like the 50,000 GIs killed in Indochina, victims of a situation created by imperialism" (*Workers World*, 15 June 1972). Certainly the Meirs, Dayans and Begins had no right to condemn Palestinian terrorism. For the PFLP was simply acting upon the basic Zionist doctrine, that all Jews must be soldiers of Israel whether or not in uniform. And, of course, the Zionist terrorists with state power retaliated on the "master-race" principle that one Jew is worth a hundred Arabs.

Lod and similar attacks were not excesses, senseless acts of rage: they were part of a deliberate strategy. Habash, like many other Palestinian nationalists, believed that Zionism could be defeated only through another war with the Arab states. The PFLP's terrorism was intended to provoke Israel into attacking the surrounding Arab states and so trigger a fourth general Arab-Israel war. In a particularly striking display of the blind destructive logic of nationalism, Habash in a 1970 interview actually stated he would welcome a global holocaust triggered by a Near East war:

> "The whole world would stand to lose something in such a war except for us. If that should be the only way to destroy Israel, Zionist and Arab reaction, we would in fact welcome the third world war."
>
> —quoted in *Workers Press*, 18 September 1970

Habash got his war in October 1973, but the fruits of Sadat's "victory" would not be to his liking.

The Palestinian Radical Nationalists

The Black September catastrophe, which no Palestinian leader had anticipated, produced an intense debate within the PLO. What went wrong in Jordan? How could future Black Septembers be prevented? Tragically for the Palestinian people, the left pole in this debate never transcended the framework of nationalism and so eventually made its (uneasy) peace with the sheiks and militarists who rule the Arab world. This was to determine their future course, from guerrillaism-terrorism to the Pax Americana.

In the early-mid '70s it was common on the U.S. and European far left to hail the "Marxist-Leninist" PFLP and/or DPFLP as the "vanguard" of the Palestinian resistance, since Arafat's Fatah did not even claim to be socialist. For example, the followers of fake-Trotskyist Ernest Mandel gave political support to Hawatmeh. The political bandits led by Gerry Healy, before they became messengers for Qaddafi, found the personification of "the Arab revolution" in Habash, leader of the PFLP.

While the factional division within the Palestinian movement was primarily political, it also had a certain communal-sectarian element. The principal leaders of the PLO radical-nationalists—Habash, Wadi Haddad, Hawatmeh—were of Christian (Greek Orthodox) parentage and as such were alienated from the mainstream of social and political life in the Arab East. The PFLP and its offshoot the DPFLP were products of the Levant with its relatively large Christian population and cosmopolitan ways. By contrast, the Fatah leadership (Arafat et al.) consisted of Sunni Moslems who originally were closely associated with the Moslem Brotherhood, the major force for anti-Western Islamic fundamentalism in the region. Thus, unlike the traditionalist Fatah, the PFLP and DPFLP have had a significant number of women cadres.

To call George Habash a "leftist" is a profound distortion. He is a fanatical nationalist impatient with Arafat's endless diplomatic maneuvers. It was the "radical" Habash, far more than the "moderate" Arafat, who pushed the logic of nationalism to its genocidal conclusion in indiscriminate terrorism. Insofar as the Palestinian nationalist movement gave rise to a left wing, it was Hawatmeh's DPFLP in the early 1970s. The DPFLP's criticisms of the PLO's policies leading up to Black September were devastating. The DPFLP attacked the Fatah slogan that the "primary contradiction is with Zionism, the struggle against Arab reaction is secondary." The policy of "non-interference in the internal affairs of other Arab countries," written into the PLO constitution, completely disarmed the resistance movement before "Arab reaction" which regarded the liquidation of the resistance movement as primary and the struggle with Zionism as secondary.

While Hawatmeh now called for a revolution in Jordan, it was not to be a proletarian socialist revolution but a "progressive, democratic" (that is, bourgeois) revolution. Moreover, the DPFLP (like the PFLP) continued to make a fundamental distinction between the "reactionary" feudalist Arab regimes (Jordan, Saudi Arabia) and the "progressive" nationalist ones (Syria, Iraq). Yet as the 1975-76 civil war in Lebanon would show, the only reason the Syrian Ba'athists did not carry out their own Black September massacre was that they had no need to. Unlike Hussein, the Damascus militarists clamped a tight control on the Palestinian guerrilla movement from the outset. For example, in 1968 they imprisoned Habash, who was released only through a commando raid by his own men.

The DPFLP denounced the principle of "non-interference in other Arab countries" but in practice adhered to it, even in the case of "Arab reaction." Hawatmeh (like Habash) declared war on the Hashemite throne only after Hussein had obliterated the Palestinian forces in Jordan. And what of Saudi Arabia? The Saudi monarchy is simultaneously the heart and soul of feudalist reaction and the main financial power in the Arab East (as well as a main financial backer of the PLO). Over a hundred thousand Palestinians work as laborers and technicians in the Persian Gulf oilfields. More than 60 percent of the workforce of ARAMCO, the most important oil consortium in the world, consists of Palestinians. Yet no Palestinian nationalist organization has ever attempted to mobilize the strategically placed Palestinian workers against the oil sheiks.

At bottom, for Hawatmeh as a left-nationalist the fundamental conflict in the Near East was one between the entire Arab people, once purged of its reactionary and corrupt leaders, and the intruder Zionist state. As we wrote in 1973 when the DPFLP was at its most left tangent:

> "...it is unable to recognize the Israeli working class as a potential ally in the struggle for Palestinian self-determination through socialist revolution, as the 'Trojan horse' within the Israeli state. The DPFLP is incapable of seeing that if the Zionist state is to be smashed—not in a reactionary and genocidal fashion by some revanchist Bonapartist Arab regime, but as a step toward the socialist federation of the Near East—then the burden necessarily falls to the working people of Israel under the leadership of the Arab-Hebrew vanguard party."
>
> —"How Arab Regimes Crushed the Palestinian Resistance," *WV* No. 32, 9 November 1973

Since we wrote this, the DPFLP has moved steadily to the right, reintegrating itself into the PLO establishment.

Because the Palestinian militants around the DPFLP in the early 1970s did not break with nationalism, they supported policies which led to the present catastrophe in Lebanon, a historic defeat, if anything, even greater than Black September. Today after Lebanon, after Shatila/Sabra angry recriminations and intense debate are once again shaking the Palestinian movement. When Arafat showed up in Jordan for friendly discussions with the butcher of Black September, he was greeted with the shout, "You betrayed us in Shatila!" Indeed he did. And most of the reformist left applauded Arafat's betrayal in accepting imperialist intervention. Those who yesterday chanted "Long Live PLO" in the same breath as Che Guevara's slogan, "Two, Three, Many Vietnams," now welcome U.S. troops to Beirut! This ignominious capitulation, with its terrible consequences for the emancipation of Palestinian Arabs, is inscribed in the logic of nationalism.

Palestinian Militants Must Find the Road to Lenin and Trotsky

Arab nationalism is the ideology of an aspiring capitalist class to become the hegemonic ruling class, both economically and politically, of its "own" nation. Nationalism preaches the unity of the downtrodden and exploited toiling masses with their "own" exploiters and would-be exploiters. Lenin distinguished between the nationalism of the oppressed and that of the oppressor, between the nationalism of the colonial masses and the nationalism of their colonial and imperialist masters. But as a proletarian *internationalist* Lenin never supported nationalism even of the most downtrodden and dispossessed, but only the democratic aspect of their national aspirations, i.e., the struggle against national privilege and oppression. Leninists support the struggle for national liberation and the political equality of nations as an inseparable part of the struggle for the political independence and unity of the working class of *every* nation.

In their struggle for hegemony colonial bourgeois forces may clash with imperialism, which ravages the resources of its dependencies, retards their economic development and creates innumerable barriers to genuine national independence and unification. But in the epoch of imperialism the colonial bourgeoisie can only exist as an exploitative class as the dependent middleman and broker for imperialism. From the oil sheiks of Riyadh to the colonels of Damascus and the bankers of Beirut, the ruling classes of the Arab East are as dependent on the feudal backwardness and balkanization of their countries as are the imperialists themselves.

The more radical variants of Palestinian nationalism borrow their ideological justifications from the bankrupt Menshevik/Stalinist program of "two-stage revolution." This dogma holds that the struggle for national liberation must bring to power the so-called "national bourgeoisie." It is no accident that the most radical factions of the PLO call themselves "popular fronts," adopting Stalin's name for a class-collaborationist alliance subordinating the interests and independence of the exploited masses not only to the Palestinian bourgeoisie but to their ever shifting patrons among the Arab ruling classes.

But as Trotsky wrote of the Chinese Revolution in 1927:

> "Everything that brings the oppressed and exploited masses of the toilers to their feet inevitably pushes the national bourgeoisie into an open bloc with the imperialists. The class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the masses of workers and peasants is not weakened, but, on the contrary, it is sharpened by imperialist oppression, to the point of bloody civil war at every serious conflict."
>
> —"The Chinese Revolution and the Theses of Comrade Stalin," *Leon Trotsky on China*

Trotsky's theory and program of permanent revolution hold that to break the yoke of imperialism the toiling masses of the oppressed nation must be mobilized by its proletarian vanguard for the revolutionary overthrow of the national bourgeoisie. Only through the dictatorship of the proletariat can there be a genuine solution to achieving the tasks of democracy and national emancipation. This theory embodying the experience of the Russian Revolution has received time and again its negative confirmation in the Near East, not least in the struggle for Palestinian national liberation.

Those Palestinian militants who now attack Arafat's deals with U.S. imperialism and Hashemite reaction must find their way to Leninism-Trotskyism, to the program of proletarian internationalism, or they will be comdemned to repeat the defeats of the past (Black September) and of the present (Shatila/Sabra). The only way out of this cycle of defeats, the only road to Palestinian national liberation is social revolution throughout the region, uniting the Hebrew proletariat of Israel with the Arab toilers in the occupied territories and surrounding Arab states.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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Sri Lanka...

(continued from page 5)

in 30 years. Thus the chief party of the Lankan bourgeoisie, the UNP, is now in a quandary. Like the other capitalist rulers, crazed by the crisis, J.R. and the UNP have forced upon the Lankan workers and oppressed masses the burden of the economic disaster. Now it is necessary for the Lankan capitalist ruling clique to withdraw all subsidies and social welfare, from food stamps to free education.

The UNP rulers are well aware that in the course of fighting to win back the rights won by the blood of the Lankan working-class movement, the workers movement will rise to smash the capitalist government. They also know that they must prepare to face protests hy the organised trade unions, left

DR

Right-wing strongman J.R. Jayewardene, dubbed "Yankee Dickie" during the John Foster Dulles era.

organisations and even, at times, by other parties within the capitalist spectrum. The UNP, led by J.R., realises that the best way to confront this threat is by uniting all sectors of the capitalist class into a single party. As a first step, false accusations were levelled against the SLFP in order to destroy it, while J.R. attempted to win over some SLFP leaders to his side to form a "National Government" [one party rule].

On the other hand, the October 20 election results reveal that the opposition would win about 70 out of 168 constituents in parliament in a general election. J.R. understands that substantial opposition in parliament could challenge his executive powers. If the parliamentary opposition represented, even in a deformed way, resistance by the workers and oppressed masses, the UNP knows this would be a challenge to capitalist rule in Lanka. This is the other purpose of the fake referendum.

The capitalist class in Lanka today is compelled to remove the veneer of bourgeois democracy and expose naked dictatorship. To carry out this task, the capitalist class in Lanka and its masters; the world imperialists led by America, have selected Junius Richard Jayewardene and his UNP as their candidate. This situation is not unique to Lanka. All undeveloped capitalist countries, from Asia to Africa to Latin America, compelled to bear the burden of capitalist exploitation, must increasingly face this situation. Clearly, the Lankan capitalist rulers are going down the same path as Pakistan, Singapore, Bangladesh, Philippines and Indonesia, which shed their democratic clothing and established one-party dictatorships. Under the pressure of the economic demands of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, one-party dictatorship is the natural response of the capitalists. Such advice is passed on to J.R. and the other capitalist rulers by Reagan's murderous political advisers like Jeane Kirkpatrick, who often visits Lanka.

The Parliament, including the one Communist Party member, approved the extension of Emergeney Law imposed on October 18. The newspaper of the Communist Party, *Aththa*, and [the Tamil paper] *Suthanthiran* published in Jaffna, are already under seal. The Jayewardene government has already begun its task. Under emergency regulations the SLFP secretary has been arrested and other leaders have been arbitrarily locked up. Militants in the North have been severely repressed. In Sri Lanka capitalist law, "baptised" as "supreme" today, is not worth the paper it is written on. Chief Justiee Neville Samarakoon, appointed by J.R. himself, publicly alleged that the president's executive power has destroyed the sovereignty of law.

The Spartacist League [Lanka] declares that today's persecution of the capitalist SLFP will be aimed at the left, trade unions and student movement tomorrow.

In the presidential election, J.R. faced humiliating defeat in the Jaffna district where 56 percent of the Tamil-speaking people boycotted the election. These results point to the unbroken determination of the Tamil people to win their fundamental rights. The capitalist system in Lanka is so bankrupt and so reactionary that it is incapable and powerless to provide any fundamental rights to the Tamil people. Therefore it has become its task to drown the liberation struggle of the Northern Tamil-speaking people in rivers of blood. The [plantation Tamil] Indian workers, who for decades have sacrificed themselves to inflate the profits of the Lankan capitalists, do not have the right to vote in Lanka. The Lankan capitalists have no answers for the plantation Tamils other than forcibly deporting them to India. The victory of the UNP led by J.R. in the December 22 fake referendum will no doubt be used to smash the liberation struggle of the Northern Tamil people.

Educated by the advice and experience of other murderous Asian dictators, the UNP rulers are also frightened by the potential threat of the student movement. They know that the official university student unions, which today have been lured away by the petty-bourgeois JVP parliamentarians, may in the future break away from parliamentary politics. Colombo and Jaffna Universities have already shown motion in this direction. It has therefore become necessary for the Lankan capitalist class to smash the student movement. The current campaigns to bestow increased authority in the university Grant Commission [which determines all admissions to the universitics] and to allow the police and army to enter university premises betray the capitalists' intentions.

The Spartacist League has always emphasised to the workers, oppressed masses and Tamil-speaking people of Lanka that the programme of those who represent the ruthless capitalist system, J.R. Jayewardene and his UNP, to establish a dictatorship in Lanka cannot be stopped by parliamentary elections nor by referendums nor by simply defeating J.R. The Spartacist League declares that the only way to stop the whole murderous programme of J.R. Jayewardene and his government is to overturn his rule and the Lankan capitalist class by a struggle led by the workers, oppressed masses and Tamil-speaking people.

Today in Lanka it is only the working class that has the strength to defeat Jayewardene's attempt to establish naked dictatorship. However the LSSP, the CP, the NSSP, Bala Tampoe and Thondaman, having usurped leadership of the workers organisations, strongly oppose utilising the power of the working class. The so-called left parties have already formed a coalition with the capitalist SLFP without a concrete programme. This has proved the readiness of the so-called left leaders to form coalitions regardless of the real needs of the workers and oppressed masses. The call of these left parties that a vote for the "pot" could defeat J.R. is only another reactionary trap for the working class. The Spartacist League/Lanka comradely urges the workers, oppressed masses and Tamil-speaking people not to fall into these traps.

The call of the SLFP as guardians of democracy, for sovereignty of the people, is really a call for more seats in Parliament. It is for this that the SLFP needs the so-called left parties and organisations. The Spartacist League states emphatically that the coalition of left parties and the capitalist SLFP is not an alliance to fight against J.R.'s plans for dictatorship. Neither the capitalist SLFP nor the fake-left parties have a programme to smash the UNP and J.R.'s moves toward dictatorship, beyond the mark on the ballot. In the electoral sphere, the SLFP is the competitor of the UNP. It is not for J.R.'s personal reasons that it is being suppressed. Capitalist politicians are forced to take such actions to create the environment for dictatorship. If the competitor were some other party, then that party would have been suppressed. The programme for dictatorship is aimed at all parties. The Spartacist League declares that Jayewardene is persecuting the SLFP for this reason and not because the SLFP "stands for democracy."

The American imperialists will be there to help when J.R. and his UNP put their murderous plans into action. On October 29 the *Wall Street Journal*, paper of the American millionaire bankers, wrote in an editorial that it is keeping an eye on Lanka. As the *Saturday Review* disclosed recently, the American gift of modern arms to J.R. Jayewardene will soon arrive. Lanka, while allowing itself to suffer exploitation by the imperialists, is also supposed to march in step with their military appetites. Fulfilling the greedy desires of the imperialists to reconquer the workers states—the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, Cuba and Vietnam—for their camp is supposed to be the responsibility of Lanka too. Secret arrangements have been made to take over the militarily important harbour of Trincomalee. UNP rulers have also allowed the infamous "Voice of America" to install modern equipment to collect intelligence on the just struggles of the people of Lanka and South Asia.

In a frenzy to forestall its death, the Lankan bourgeoisie is burying the vestiges of capitalist democracy. This can be stopped only by a workers and peasants government under the dictatorship of the working class that will overturn the capitalist state. For this a Bolshevik revolutionary party, like the party that was led by Lenin in Russia, is required. The working class of Lanka lacks such a party. The Spartacist League is dedicated to building such a party. We declare that, as a first step in this direction, the vote should be cast for the "pot" in the fake referendum of December 22. The SL declares firmly, however, that the vote for the "pot" will not defeat the ruthless capitalist class.

The Spartacist League comradely appeals to the workers, oppressed masses and Tamil-speaking people to join our struggle in Lanka which, united with Bolsheviks throughout the world, is forging a powerful weapon of the proletariat—the Bolshevik party—which is crucial to successfully meeting the challenge of the barbaric dictatorship in Lanka.

Spartacist League/Lanka
25 November 1982

EXCERPTS FROM LANKA SPARTACIST NO. 4 & ILLANGAI SPARTACIST NO. 1, OCTOBER 1982

From "Defend the Right of the Tamil People to Boycott the Elections"

"What is important here is the treacherous way the TULF decided on September 19 to boycott the presidential elections. While on the one hand maintaining ties with the capitalist UNP, the executioners of the Tamil people, on the other hand they pretend to oppose the UNP. In fact the TULF should have campaigned for the September 19 decision among the Tamil people. But after a press statement the TULF leaders ran away from Lanka....

"Because of the pressure of the young liberation fighters in the Northern and Eastern Provinees and the opposition of the Tamil people toward the UNP government, the TULF is compelled to boycott the elections. It is not surprising that JR is repressing the Tamil liberation organizations by isolating them because he is aware that the TULF will not move against him."

From "None of the Candidates in the 1982 Presidential Elections Can Represent You"

"The Spartacist League states that there is no candidate running in the presidential elections set for October 20 that you ean vote for as your representativc. Therefore the Spartacist League comradely and firmly declares to the Lankan workers, peasants and other oppressed people, to the Tamil-speaking people in the Northern and Eastern Provinces that they have no one to vote for in this presidential election....

"However, the reformist, Stalinist leadership resting on top of the trade unions will desperately oppose such struggles just as they have done in the past. The Spartaeist League stresses that what is necessary in this situation is to drive out such leaders—who hold back the struggles of workers to defeat the capitalists' schemes—from the workers' own class organizations and to build a revolutionary leadership.... The LSSP, CP and NSSP...politics of class collaboration must be completely defeated."

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Colombo 01 Sri Lanka

Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
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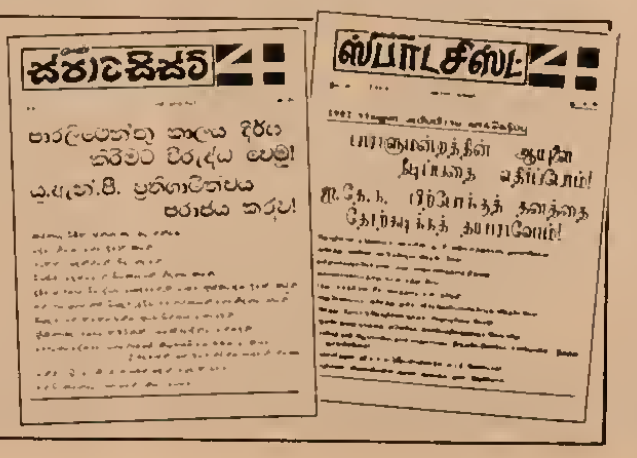


MAC Leaflet...

(continued from page 7)

his Ku Klux Klan-loving pal, Joe McKKKenna, to do some research in *Mein Kampf*. Along the same lines, since Trotsky was a Jew, maybe Linda Zupan could do a reading for the trial body from an anti-semitic tract such as the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

If you think we are parodying the good brother Imerzel, we aren't. Look at the quotes of various Spartacist League documents cited in the officers' January 11, 1983 letter. Notice that the spelling is funny. For example, "program" is spelled "programme" and "labor" is spelled "labour". That's because these quotes are pulled from a pamphlet, introduced at the Ikegami trial, entitled *Spartacist Truth Kit* published by a British group called the Workers Socialist League, a group that labels itself...are you ready?... Trotskyist! What Jim doesn't tell you is that the claim of this peculiar and dishonest pamphlet is that Spartacists are hopeless sectarians, people who "on principle" abstain from any attempt to gain any influence in the labor movement.

By the way, the first quote cited in the letter is not accurate. Further, the phrases in brackets are inserted by our "expert" local officers. We were suspicious, so we checked the second quote on page 2 which we are told is a Spartacist League statement found in the newspaper, *Spartacist*, issue #23. We found the quote alright, on page 23. But it is from a founding document of a group called the Trotskyist Fraction which belonged to a German organization called the Spartacusbund. The document is dated December 14, 1976. According to *Spartacist*, this Trotskyist Fraction was expelled from the Spartacusbund in January, 1977 and in February joined with the Spartacist section in Germany which is called the

WV Photo

Kathy Ikegami endorsed and helped organize the SL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. November 27.

Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands.

We conclude that whoever wrote this letter, citing this quote, is either: 1) an idiot who doesn't know what he's talking about; or 2) a liar; or 3) a paranoid nut who thinks MAC is a plot hatched by some German leftists who six years ago decided to make life miserable for Jim Imerzel when he fulfilled his evidently manifest destiny and became our exalted local president.

Brothers and sisters! Such miserable antics by this "gang of four", only show that these characters are more fit to be inmates of Ataseadero [a "maximum security hospital" for "mentally disordered sex offenders"] than union officials.

Our officers' antics deserve to be treated with mockery and derision. But some of their statements and acts are just despicable. MAC is accused of "gestapo tactics", of "coercion, intimidation and blatant racism". The 1,000 Local 9410 members who signed our recall petition are one answer to these blatant lies.

Regarding the IWP we have already dealt with the credibility of that gang. In raising the case of Dovard Howard we would like to say two things. What our bureaucrats killed in committee was two parts of a three-part *MAC* motion. That motion not only called for a $500 donation to Brother Howard but also for union/black defense of the brother's home, which was under physical attack by racists. In addition, it called upon the union to publicize an appeal for both funds and union/black defense locally and nationally.

The Executive Committee, in their letter, still can't bring themselves to say the truth. Dovard Howard was shot by a known Klansman. Prior to the shooting a cross was burned on the Howard's lawn. They don't mention the KKK because they want you to forget that Joe McKKKenna admitted attending a gathering of the racist, fascist, anti-union KKK. We have tapes of this admission, made by McKenna during Ikegami's trial.

One final word on this subject. Since Imerzel is operating on the principle of "the enemy of my enemy is my friend", why doesn't he get his triple-K rated friend Joe to call the KKK in Alabama and find out what they think of Kathy Ikegami, the MAC, the Spartacist League and the 5,000 demonstrators, largely blacks and unionists, who organized and stopped the Klan march in Washington D.C. on November 27th?

On the question of Poland and strikes, we want to draw two things to your attention. Ronald Reagan hates unions. He smashed PATCO. How come he loves Solidarność? Likewise, how is it that our "freedom-loving" bureaucrats are for sitdown strikes in Poland (by Reagan's favorite union) and for letting Ma Bell and Reagan walk all over us here? Here, where a well-run and organized nationwide strike is desperately and ultimately necessary if we are to defend our jobs and working conditions. If you renounce all strikes, you don't have a union.

To conclude, our miserable local officers have a choice. They can accept the will of the members, hold a recall election and let the local decide who they want as their leaders OR they can continue their present anti-democratic antics, attempting to ban political views they oppose and trying to purge this union of its best fighters. Judging by their fruitcake letter, they intend to go down "in flames", sort of like Hitler in his bunker.

For our part, we will continue to patiently explain and win members to an understanding of the necessity to struggle for a strong, militant union to stop the company from "reorganizing" our union out of existence. Our goal, as we state in our program is to: "Build a workers party based on the unions. Throw out the capitalists and set up a workers government to seize Ma Bell and all major industry without compensation to the bosses. Establish a planned economy run to serve the needs of working people, not profit". We aren't ashamed of our views, we're proud of them!

1-14-83
Labor donated

DON'T FORGET TO VOTE FOR SPECIAL CONVENTION DELEGATES: VOTE MAC SLATE: IKEGAMI, COSTAN, BURNHAM, GONZALEZ AND SONNTAG!

P.S.: What *scab* print shop did Imerzel and his IWP buddies use to print the IWP leaflet? Perhaps they couldn't find a union shop that would print it! ■

McCarthyite...

(continued from page 6)

> And above all a *revolutionary, Trotskyist vanguard party* to lead the struggle for the only program that makes sense today—not nickel-and-dime reforms but *socialist revolution*. Labor militants must devote themselves to this task...." (emphasis added)

Clearly, the Spartacist League *and* MAC programs are *one and the same*. And with good reason, for they are in fact *one* as well!

You may be asking yourself "Why?" WHY has the Spartacist League/MAC sought to build itself up by "tearing down" militant Local Union Officers? WHY hasn't the Spartacist League/MAC demonstrated their leadership by taking on the responsibility for conducting the day-to-day struggles with the Employers? The answer to this very logical and important question can be found by referring to the Spartacist League statement in its newspaper, *Spartacist*, issue #23:

> "We recognize that a currently embryonic party organization must necessarily constitute itself in the form of a 'fighting *propaganda group*' in order, by *destroying* ostensibly revolutionary organizations [other left and *labor* formations], to initiate and/or drive forward a *regroupment process* [splits and fusions] in order thereby to build up one's *own* organization [Spartacist League/Mac]. In doing so the character of this work must always be regarded as exemplary, *rejecting out of hand* any voluntaristic notion of intervening as a propaganda group into *all the daily struggles* of the working class [fighting the Employers], inasmuch as *this would lead to dissipating one's own forces* and to liquidating the programme." (emphasis added)

Clearly this position explains why *only some* of the Spartacist League/MAC members in CWA ever become union stewards, why those that do become stewards *refuse* to handle other than their own "politically beneficial" grievances, and why *none* of them will assume positions of responsibility in the steward structure or serve on the committees in Local 9410. In other words, the Spartacist League/MAC refuse to be "hurdened" with daily representing CWA members, since to do so "would lead to dissipating" their energies and take away time necessary for their Spartacist League/MAC "political activities" such as the continuing attack on the Executive Officers which culminated in the recent "recall" petition.

Imagine the "hate" and contempt they must hold for all "other left and militant *union* formations" who become the victims of Spartacist League/MAC "political bigotry". Union leaders such as the Executive Officers of Local 9410 are continually and viciously attacked as being "sellouts" *only* because they do not "agree" with the Spartacist League/MAC program for taking over the unions and the world. In the Spartacist League/MAC's biased bigoted view, the "ends" clearly justify their despicable "means".

And what better "tool" for a bigot—political or otherwise—than their consistent RACISM. For example, in the September 16, 1982 MAC leaflet the Spartacist League/MAC continued to perpetuate its *lie* about action taken on behalf of a black CWA member in Southern California, Mr. Dovard Howard. The Spartacist League/MAC wrongfully accused the Executive Officers of being "racists" because (according to MAC) we "killed in committee" an Executive Board support motion concerning Brother Howard. Nothing could be farther from the truth! As the Spartacist League/MAC know, not only did the Executive Officers send the $500.00 provided for in the motion *and* pledge complete support to any further efforts by that member's Local Union, the Executive Officers obtained an *additional $500.00 donation* from the Northern California-Nevada Council of Local Unions. WHY would anyone lie about something like this? The answer should be abundantly clear to everyone. In their program of destroying non-Spartacist League/MAC union officers, the "truth" obviously is something the Spartacist League/MAC does *not* see as important in their planned destruction of all Executive Officers in Local 9410 who disagree with their Trotskyist-communist views.

In conclusion, we have attempted to share with you information concerning the Spartacist League/MAC and their members in CWA. Enclosed also is a leaflet from the Internationalist Workers Party (Fourth International), the IWP, another leftist organization. This leaflet should show clearly what the Spartacist League/MAC is all about, and expose it for what it is. The conduct attributed to the Spartacist League/MAC by the IWP leaflet is absolutely consistent with Spartacist League/MAC "misconduct" in our own Local Union membership meetings, at CWA sponsored functions, and at every "non-Spartacist League/MAC" activity attended by them. Do not let the absence of direct reference to MAC in the IWP leaflet mislead you. If any doubt exists as to the MAC role in the October 2, 1982 attack referred to in the IWP leaflet, review the October 29, 1982 issue of the Spartacist League newspaper, *Workers Vanguard*. On page 5 is an article concerning the very same confrontation in Los Angeles with the IWP. Contained in the article is a large photograph of Spartacist League/MAC member Larry Ackerson directly involved in a physical confrontation with Latino IWP members. As you may recall, Larry Ackerson was a Spartacist League/MAC member in this Local Union before his "reassignment" and transfer to Los Angeles. Even the Spartacist League refers in this article to the confrontation as a "Spartacist League" activity.

In closing, YOU the member must decide the course of democracy in our Local Union. The very survival of Local 9410, YOUR jobs and YOUR future welfare, depend upon YOUR involvement in CWA. You need do nothing if you believe as the Spartacist League/MAC does: that the Polish military regime is to be "commended" for smashing and killing Polish workers and their efforts to establish a "free" trade union movement—Solidarity, and that YOU too must become a "sacrificial lamb"—a revolutionary statistic—in the illegal strike planned by the Spartacist League/MAC as a step toward the destruction of our Local Union. But if you believe as we do that citizens in a "free" society must be permitted to hold different political views without fear of coercion, intimidation and physical reprisals, then YOU had better "get involved" before it's too late. As only four (4) Executive Officers in only one (1) of nine-hundred (900) CWA Local Unions, we are unable to withstand alone the very substantial "might" of the International Spartacist League with its several newspapers and other resources. Please do not wait until YOU too become a target for their "gestapo-like" tactics.

Sincerely and fraternally,

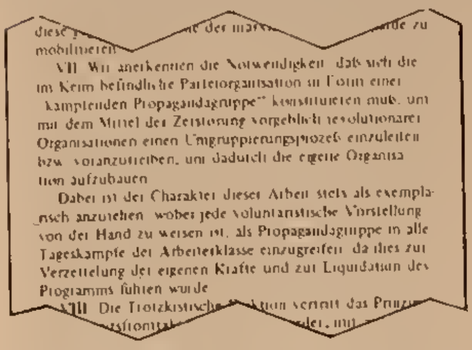
Jim Imerzel President	Marie Malliett Vice President
Joe McKenna Secretary	Greg Anderson Treasurer

/cd
Enclosure
(1/11/83)
OPEIU 3 AFL-CIO

CWA...

(continued from page 6)

skyist program opposes the burgeoning anti-Reagan popular front organized by the pro-Democratic Party trade-union bureaucrats and the reformists under the banner of anti-Sovietism. We have earned the bitter enmity of the centrist apologists for the Cold War labor bureaucracy. So Imerzel drinks from the greasy cup of the pseudo-Trotskyist SL-haters such as the Morenoite IWP and the Workers Socialist League/ Revolutionary Workers League of Alan Thornett/Peter Sollenberger.



... mobilisieren.

VII. Wir anerkennen die Notwendigkeit, daß sich die im Keim befindliche Parteiorganisation in Form einer "kämpfenden Propagandagruppe" konstituieren muß, um mit dem Mittel der Zerstörung vorgeblich revolutionärer Organisationen einen Umgruppierungsprozeß einzuleiten bzw. voranzutreiben, um dadurch die eigene Organisation aufzubauen.

Dabei ist der Charakter dieser Arbeit stets als exemplarisch anzusehen, wobei jede voluntaristische Vorstellung von der Hand zu weisen ist, als Propagandagruppe in alle Tageskämpfe der Arbeiterklasse einzugreifen, da dies zur Verzettelung der eigenen Kräfte und zur Liquidation des Programms führen würde.

VIII. Die Trotzkistische ... vertritt das Prinz...

The so-called Spartacist League "Diktat" to MAC: Imerzel took it from British witchhunt manual; the 1976 document was published in Berlin by the Trotzkistische Fraktion of the Spartacusbund. Here's the original in German.

For its part the Morenoite IWP has gladly provided the CWA bureaucracy with anti-SL ammunition. Not to be outdone, the Ann Arbor-based RWL managed to get the WSL's dishonest "Spartacist Truth Kit" to the bureaucracy. It is these documents that the bureaucracy uses in their frenzied attempt to "get" Ikegami for the crime of supporting the political program of the Spartacist League.

This is no accident. The IWP consciously blocs with the CWA bureaucracy. It appears this collaboration has gone so far that the leaflets circulated to over 4,000 CWA Local 9410 members were originals printed by the IWP. More recently a Bay Area IWP supporter told *Workers Vanguard* that the Los Angeles IWP was approached by the CWA Local 11502 bureaucracy, which asked it to testify against Ikegami. According to our informant the IWP agreed, with the proviso that the bureaucracy permit them to sign a statement that the IWP opposes "red-baiting"! The WSL for its part has the "Spartacist Truth Kit" with the call:

> "As proven slanderers, scabs, provocateurs and poseurs; as wanton revisionists and chauvinists; as the hyenas of the left whose main task is to latch onto and destroy rival left-wing organisations, the Spartacists should be exposed, hounded, and driven out of each and every working class arena where they show their heads. The information in this pamphlet will, hopefully, assist those Trotskyists who undertake such a task."

MAC informs us that this quote was read into the trial record as part of the "evidence" against Ikegami. As far as we know, this is the only use made of this document since its publication, but then again that's the main reason why it was published.

Since the witchhunt against Ikegami and the MAC by the pro-company pro-CIA CWA bureaucrats began, to our knowledge not one of these pseudo-Trotskyist tendencies has backed away from this vile and dangerous frame-up. Instead they have fed their lies to the bureaucracy to be used to help purge an effective, militant, honest and conscientious union leader.

Fortunately the members of Local 9410 phone workers know Ikegami and her work. They feel differently and we hope that they will treat these errand boys of Imerzel's with the contempt they so richly deserve.

As for the January 11 letter of the CWA bureaucrats, the last paragraph is both amusing and revealing. Amusing because CWA Local 9410 is by itself a far larger outfit than the international Spartacist tendency. Revealing because the Local 9410 bureaucracy, like their counterparts throughout the U.S. labor movement, can give no good answer to MAC's program of militant class struggle. So instead they try repression, a solution that is backfiring. The bureaucrats tried to sell Jimmy Carter's errand boy, Fritz Mondale, as the answer to Reagan. But more and more workers recognize that it is only a perspective of class struggle which aims at nothing less than replacing the predatory rule of decaying imperialism with a workers government which shows a path forward for the working class, and indeed for all the toiling masses of the planet. ■

WV Photo

Kathy Ikegami

El Salvador...

(continued from page 1)

leader of the opposition Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), announced in Managua that the civil war was entering a final phase. A bulletin of the Salvadoran insurgents declared that the current offensive is aimed at escalating to a "strategic defining phase of the war" that would create "conditions for the general insurrection of the masses." Yet the leaders of the FDR/FMLN still reiterate their desire for "dialogue" with the government of puppet president Alvaro Magaña. This attempt to call off the war and strike a deal with the murderous generals is a betrayal of the tens of thousands of Salvadoran workers and peasants who have spilled their blood in the struggle for social justice and liberation. The military-landlord regime, installed on a mountain of corpses 50 years ago, must be *smashed* on the battlefield by a victory of the leftist insurgents. Only thus, by opening the road to socialist revolution throughout Central America, can the cycle of massacres be stopped.

Guerrilla Offensive Advances

The FMLN took advantage of the government crisis over the Ochoa mutiny to put the butchers on the run in two northern provinces. In Morazán the advance has netted four more towns, bringing to 18 the number of liberated towns in that province and adjacent La Unión. Rebels now control more than half of Morazán and are tightening the noose around the provincial capital, San Francisco Gotera. A dispatch from Gotera in the *Washington Post* (20 January) by correspondent Chris Hedges captured the desperation of the government forces in its headline, "Salvadoran Rebels' Control in Morazán Starts on Edge of Town":

> "...Army helicopters, fearful of guerrilla fire, no longer fly over the area.
>
> "The 300 special commandos here, who model themselves after the U.S. Green Berets, regularly put on a show for local residents, most of whom are civilian employees of the Army. They run around the town plaza with dead vultures in their mouths, or tromp through the streets shouting, 'The commando never dies,' but rarely make forays into the surrounding countryside. When they do leave the barracks it is usually to suffer a disastrous defeat by the guerrilla forces, who control much of the surrounding countryside.
>
> "The Army prefers to hold its garrison and the movie theatre and municipal swimming pool which it expropriated from the town, rather than deploy troops. 'The subversives are trying to draw us out,' said one recruit on guard duty outside the garrison, 'so they can take the town'."

The government has dispatched some 6,000 troops, including several elite units, to shore up its crumbling position in Morazán. But on January 24, the FMLN took the town of Meanguera, only eight miles from Gotera.

Sixty miles to the west in Chalatenango province another capital is under siege. The rebels control 20 towns in Chalatenango, most of these held since the October offensive. In the recent fighting a key crossroads town, Tejutla, was overwhelmed and a reinforcement column ambushed while en route to bolster its defense. On the same day, FMLN guerrillas attacked every garrison in Chalatenango city (UPI dispatch, 9 January). The fall of Chalatenango would leave the country's major source of electrical power, the Cerrón Grande hydroelectric plant, open to rebel attack.

These victories, along with the FMLN policy of turning prisoners of war over to the International Red Cross, has led to an accelerated rate of surrenders by government soldiers. "The policy of releasing prisoners is having a serious impact in the ranks, and the high command is now sending former prisoners of war back to their families because they are such a bad influence on morale," reported the *Latin American Regional Reports* (19 January). Parents of government soldiers have reportedly taken to listening to the FMLN's Radio Venceremos to learn of the whereabouts of their sons.

Meanwhile, the social and economic situation of the country is deteriorating. Guerrilla bombings of bridges have essentially divided El Salvador in half, and even the makeshift bridges over the Lempa River have been damaged, threatening to cut off cotton and sugar transport during the harvest. In the cities there is increasing labor unrest, including the first strikes in two years, by government employees in San Salvador. On the huge agribusiness estates, disgruntled cane cutters struck hack in early January in the traditionally radical stronghold of Aguilares. They set fire to some 5,000 acres of sugar plantations, both private and government-owned, at the height of the harvest. El Salvador is coming apart.

Colonel Ochoa, the gung-ho warlord of Cabañas province, has been relieved of his command and sent to Washington for further grooming. Defense minister Garcia will reportedly "retire" after a few weeks. In Washington, liberals complain about President Reagan's "hypocrisy" in signing the empty "human rights" certification they introduced as a fig leaf for continuing military aid to the Salvadoran junta. In Honduras, the on-again, off-again joint military exercises with U.S. forces along the Nicaraguan border have been rescheduled for February 1. The Central American pot continues to boil. And in El Salvador, the leftist rebels continue to advance steadily.

Morazán—Dien Bien Phu?

It is the fear of another Vietnam-style debacle for American imperialism which inspires the liberals' call for a negotiated settlement. As U.S. Representative Stephen Solarz told the press while on a "fact-finding" tour of El Salvador, "For us to continue to support a Government that is likely to end up losing unless we send in the Marines is an unproductive strategy" (*New York Times*, 17 January).

But Reagan and his Salvadoran generals want to be hard cops. In response to the FMLN offensive, the government has thrown a quarter of its entire army into Morazán. About half of this counter-attacking force is comprised of the U.S.-trained Atlacatl, Atonal and Ramón Belloso Brigades, who are now bottled up in the pocket around San Francisco Gotera. The rebels have started using 120 mm heavy mortars and have also captured artillery during the recent offensives. With Honduran troops standing by on the border, a major battle is shaping up over Morazán.

It could be a Dien Bien Phu: a large part of the government forces, including elite units, trapped in a mountain valley where the guerrillas can easily cut off access or retreat; an army already demoralized by steady defeats. In Vietnam the destruction of the outpost of the French Expeditionary Corps in May 1954 broke their will to fight. But the Stalinist Vietminh, from its inception in 1941, sought a negotiated accommodation with French imperialism and threw away this heroic military victory at the Geneva negotiations under heavy pressure from Moscow and Peking. In El Salvador, a punishing defeat in Morazán could send the army reeling and its officers fleeing as happened with Somoza's National Guard in Nicaragua.

Yet the FDR/FMLN tops do not want a Dien Bien Phu: for them, a negotiated settlement is not a concession but a precondition for their program of democratic reforms of Salvadoran capitalism. If the guerrillas were to march triumphantly into the capital their plans to restructure the existing army, to implement a land reform decreed by the Christian Democratic/military junta, to preserve capitalist rule by purging some of its most anachronistic excrescences, would go up in smoke. So the leaders of the opposition popular front beg for "negotiations," "dialogue," anything.

So far the FMLN commanders and FDR politicos have been able to keep relative harmony among the several "Marxist-Leninist" guerrilla groups and petty-bourgeois and dissident bourgeois liberal parties of their coalition by fighting and offering to negotiate simultaneously. Now with the rebels' gains on the battlefield, this simple trade-off won't work. The FDR/FMLN has said that they are fighting only to force a recalcitrant adversary to the bargaining table. That means that the military action will have to be moderated, to put pressure on the government army but *not* to destroy it. Will this be accepted by the guerrilla fighters in the field?

In Vietnam, even after the French defeat at Dien Bien Phu, under heavy pressure from Moscow and especially Peking, the Vietminh delivered up two-thirds of Indochina to the imperialists. It could have been all over in 1954, but because of their treacherous Stalinist policies of "two-stage"/"national-democratic" revolution, it took another 20 years and a million dead before Vietnam was finally freed of imperialist rule. Today the imperialist liberals, Latin American nationalists and pseudo-socialist reformists all say "No more Vietnams." The Trotskyists of the Spartacist League say "two, three, many defeats for imperialism." Morazán should become a Central American Dien Bien Phu, but one that does not lead to a Salvadoran "Geneva Accords" in which military victory is sacrificed on the altar of popular-front treachery. For the courageous military struggle of the Salvadoran insurgents to be translated into political victory for the workers and peasants of Central America requires the building of Trotskyist proletarian parties throughout the region. Military victory to the leftist rebels! For workers revolution in Central America! ■

Reagan's America...

(continued from page 1)

take care of yourself or drop dead. The "surplus population" isn't worth anything to a capitalist class in deep economic crisis. Blacks are targeted by a rise in racist attacks (the Klan, Nazis) which goes along with a program to make working people pay for capitalism's failure.

The aged are particularly targets as an expendable, economically nonproductive population. Capitalism must torment its old people before they die. Most live in fear of illness with the knowledge that super-high medical costs can leave them unable to pay for life-or-death care, while wiping out any savings they may have had. Utility shut-offs for old people who cannot pay their heating bills have brought the word "hypothermia"—in plain English, freezing to death—into common usage.

And what of the much vaunted Social Security insurance system set up during the Great Depression, a centerpiece of the liberal New Deal? It too is under attack and from both Democrats and Republicans. This bipartisan unity to gouge the aged and tax the younger worker is a product of the bipartisan consensus on the anti-Soviet war drive with its massive increase in government military spending. At first Reagan claimed that he would finance his first-strike nuclear war machine solely with cuts in poverty programs. But you cannot buy Trident submarines and Pershing missiles with the money saved from paring food stamp recipients and bumping black mothers off the welfare roles. So now Social Security entitlements—once regarded as politically sacrosanct—are feeling the ax.

Social Security "Reform": "Let Them Eat Dog Food"

The Reagan-appointed bipartisan National Commission on Social Security Reform has predictably come out for increasing taxes and cutting benefits—first of all by postponing for six months the cost-of-living increase scheduled for July 1. Liberal Democrats on the commission like Miami Beach Congressman Claude Pepper argue that the COLA delay is a small sacrifice necessary to achieve agreement with right-wing Republicans on "saving" the system. But for millions of old people living a borderline existence as their heat is turned off and they lose their homes, this cutback in their meager income could spell death.

At the same time, "Mr. Tax Cut" Reagan and his Democratic bipartisans want to accelerate the scheduled increases in payroll taxes (a *regressive* tax) and tax Social Security benefits (a *double* tax) for the first time. Indeed, the Reagan years have seen a sweeping rise in all sorts of taxes falling heavily on working people: more taxes on gasoline and cigarettes, on waiters' and waitresses' tips, on unemployment compensation. The Democrats, whose cynical 1982 election slogan was "Save Social Security," have made it clear that they have no alternative to Reaganomics. Likewise, AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland served on the "reform" commission and endorsed Reagan's plan.

Those hit hardest by cutbacks in Social Security are, of course, women and blacks, since the benefits are tied to the number of years of employment and to the level of wages received during one's working life. In 1977 the average monthly payments for black women were 30 percent below the pitiful average monthly payment of $243! The sad case of 86-year-old Arthur Perry and his companion Jean McDonald and her son shows the desperate situation of many old people. They were arrested a few weeks ago in Brockton, Massachusetts on the charge of selling marijuana to supplement their Social Security income. Under the Reagan/O'Neill plan those who can't hustle will simply die. And the Social Security system, which never really provided for security in the "golden years," will degenerate into a cruel joke. As one economic analyst remarked, "For every old person eating dog food today...four will be eating it when *we're* old" (*Newsweek*, 24 January).

The present so-called "crisis" of Social Security is a fraud based on the criminal "principle" that the system must be "self-financing," that one cannot touch the sacrosanct general government budget. But not the other way around. Until 1975 the Social Security system ran a *surplus*. These surplus funds were then lent to the Treasury which used the money to buy nuclear warheads, pay the salaries of Congressmen and CIA agents, subsidize farmers not to grow food and the like. The revenues for Social Security have hit a temporary trough because a bulge in the old-age population has run into the current depression, thereby sharply reducing incoming revenue because of the high unemployment. This could be overcome by using general revenue funds, but the American capitalist class for its own destructive purposes rejects that solution.

The existing Social Security system perpetuates the gross inequalities of American capitalism, and benefits are already so low it is impossible to live on them alone. Labor, minorities and the aged must demand that Social Security payments along with unemployment insurance, SUB benefits and welfare be merged with the general federal government budget and equalized at the highest level with full and frequent cost-of-living adjustments. Medical care must be socialized. But even these minimal goals require a working-class struggle against the capitalist system itself.

Anti-Soviet War Drive Hits Old People

American capitalism is in deep crisis and has come up with the traditional capitalist solution: squeeze the working class and prepare for war. While bourgeois opinion-makers like *Newsweek* complain about having to raise "an unimaginable $1.5 trillion" to sustain Social Security, they think nothing of raising an equal amount for the Pentagon war machine to obliterate the Soviet Union in a nuclear first strike. As we wrote when it became clear that the ruling class was out to gut Social Security:

Bob McCullough

Treatment of the aged, a measure of social progress and decency.

> "A stagnant economy cannot support productivity-increasing investment and a massive arms buildup while maintaining the present level of social programs. Something has to give. For the ruling class what has to give is the complex of economic reforms won through the mass struggles of the 1930s, the so-called New Deal."
>
> —"Reagan to Aged: Drop Dead!" *WV* No. 297, 22 January 1982

The capitalist message is: if you can't produce profits for us, you're finished. In this sense the Social Security cuts are an attack on the working class as a whole, since many workers will be forced to expend their income supporting their parents or grandparents, and will themselves fear even more losing their job as all the cushions have been reduced or removed.

As oppressive as it was, at least in precapitalist societies, older members of society were integrated into and cared for through the extended family. As the nuclear family disintegrates more and more under capitalism, the lot of the aged becomes truly horrific. And nowhere is this more true than in the U.S. Old people are forcibly removed from productive activity at the age of 65, or subjected to sweatshop conditions which kill them on the job. They are cast off, segregated in bleak nursing homes run by money-grubbing shysters or living alone in bare "single room occupancy" apartments, fearful of being mugged if they step outside, even just to cash the pittance of a social security check, as they wait out their days.

It is part of the cruel logic of capitalism that the survival of old people depends upon the income they were able to earn during their working years. The same "pay as you go" principle is applied to the unemployed, the disabled, the chronically ill. And in periods of economic crisis and stagnation the limited social programs for those without wages and without capital are always slashed. Even before the present attacks on the Social Security system, benefits were totally inadequate.

Significantly, some tens of thousands of Americans who had emigrated from East Europe in their youth went back to Poland or Yugoslavia so they could live half decently on their Social Security checks. Despite the bureaucratic regimes, the Soviet-bloc collectivized economic system does provide security for the aged, especially through socialized medical care. Only under socialism will the aged no longer face the living death of the rest home or the agony of freezing and starving alone. For then society as a *collective* must replace the family as an economic unit and ensure that old people who can no longer work as before can still live as comfortable, active and fulfilling lives as they are physically and intellectually capable of.

The present bipartisan attack on Social Security is part of the general capitalist onslaught against the working class. To answer it requires a powerful countermobilization of the labor movement. Pressure groups like the Grey Panthers and reformist outfits like the Communist Party appeal to the Democrats. But the Democratic Party's support to Reaganite austerity (a fact highlighted by the Commission on Social Security "Reform") is rooted in its support for capitalism and the anti-Soviet war drive, and no amount of impotent lobbying will change that.

Even the defense of limited gains like Social Security will require a fight within the trade unions to sweep away the sellout bureaucrats like Kirkland and Fraser and replace them with a class-struggle leadership. Against the all-sided attack of the ruling class, there must be an all-sided counterattack by the working class drawing behind it all the oppressed sections of American society—blacks, Hispanics, women, youth and the aged. The crucial intertwining of the struggle for black equality and freedom with the labor struggle points to the strategic role of blacks in the American workers revolution. What is needed is an integrated revolutionary party to lead the working class to power and put an end to the miseries of capitalism once and for all. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
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Vancouver
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(604) 681-2422

Chrysler...

(continued from page 16)

talking about a UAW "victory" are acting as the auxiliary police. The Spartacist League (SL) calls a *sellout* by its right name! We say: oust the labor fakers so we can get the union off its knees to fight again.

This contract doesn't even begin to close the gap with Ford and GM workers, let alone throw back the givebacks. Even with the measly 75 cent increase Chrysler workers will still be carning $2.50 less than other auto workers. The $1.15 Canadian workers got won't come close to keeping pace with inflation which is double the rate in the U.S. White's fake militancy is fueled by the fact that he has to sell a contract to his ranks with a built-in wage disparity, not only with GM and Ford but also with American Chrysler because the devaluation of the Canadian dollar amounts to a 20 percent wage gap! Chrysler workers didn't catch up—Ford and GM workers went backwards. And this contract introduces the ominous and hated "absentee control" provisions which give Chrysler a free hand to whip Chrysler workers into line and fire at will. Of course the layoffs will continue, but the bureaucracy and the socialist fakers have written off the thousands of unemployed auto workers.

To hail the Canadian settlement as a victory is a grotesque whitewash of the UAW tops' sellout of the initial Chrysler workers walkouts. When the contract expired September 15, Chrysler workers hit the bricks all across the country. When U.S. workers voted down the Fraser sellout 2 to 1, White *postponed* the Canadian strike deadline to scuttle the possibility of a company-wide strike. But three Canadian locals walked out anyway. At the beginning of October, Chrysler workers in both the U.S. and Canada were voting down the sellout, and voting with their feet. *That* was the real opportunity to turn things around —and Detroit was key, the linchpin of the whole thing.

Detroit is the center of the auto industry. There will be no major victories against Chrysler unless black Detroit plays a leading and active role. For three weeks this fall critical sectors of the Detroit proletariat were out on the street with massive popular support. Chrysler was out; the teachers were out, Ford announced the closure of the Dearborn Assembly Plant (River Rouge). City workers were fed up with Democratic cutback man Coleman Young. Black youth unemployment had reached an astronomical 70 percent. It could have been the beginning of a real fight to roll back the givebacks. The Spartacist League (SL) and class-struggle unionists of the Rouge Militant Caucus (RMC) called for a citywide general strike with the labor movement leading all the oppressed to fight for survival.

WV Photo

Striking Canadian Chrysler workers forced to go out on their own in November by UAW sellouts White and Fraser.

The capitalist politicians worked overtime to derail the struggle. But if the auto workers shut down Detroit and mobilized the unemployed they could have won demands that the bosses dismiss as "impossible": a 20 percent wage hike, a massive public works program at union wages, unlimited unemployment benefits, triple the welfare grants. It would have opened up a whole new period of social struggle against this racist capitalist system. In those few crucial weeks in Detroit it was the Spartacist League that fought for this program to win, while the fake-lefts were busy capitulating to Fraser and Young.

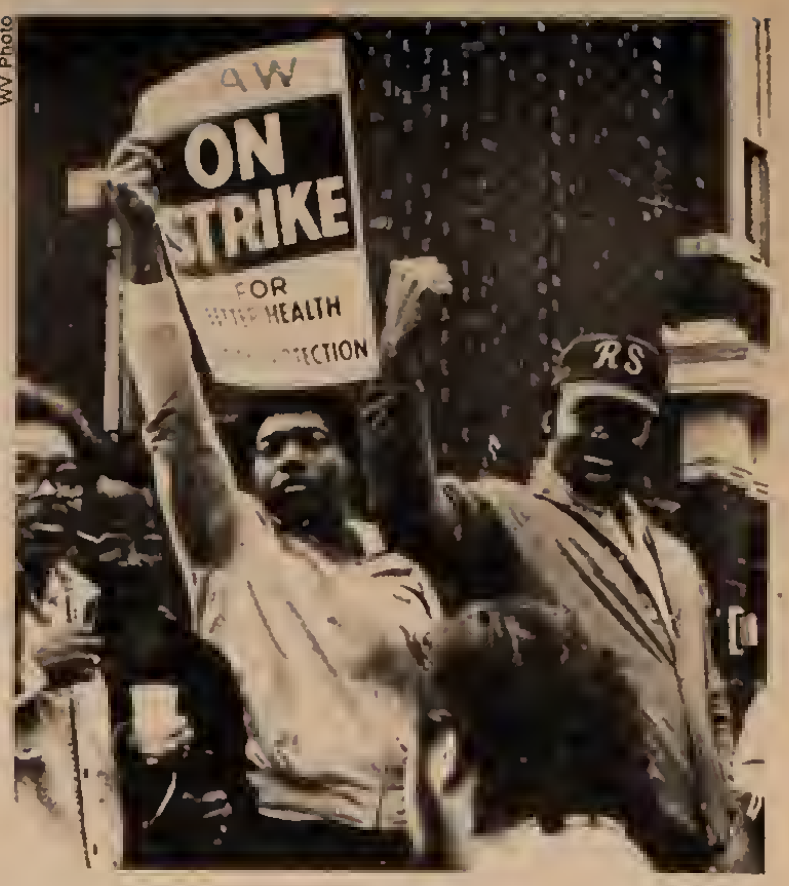
The Canadian Chrysler strike grew out of the *defeat* of the earlier walkouts. Fraser and White worked hand in hand to isolate the striking Canadian locals from the potentially explosive black auto workers in Detroit. White is equally responsible for blocking joint strike action. The bureaucrats demoralized and split the workers by making them vote and vote again. The majority of U.S. Chrysler workers, with no hope they could win a strike saddled with the likes of Fraser, eventually voted to extend negotiations until the New Year. Only after this anti-strike referendum did White call out the Canadian locals. Fraser and White successfully isolated the Canadian strike, and the company threw them peanuts. That a lot of self-proclaimed "socialists" hail this agreement and tout White as a militant fighter against concessions shows they basically share the miserable social-democratic program of Fraser *and* White.

The reformist left has glorified the UAW bureaucracy's record of betrayal because they all have a program to pressure Fraser and *reform* the traitors in Solidarity House. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) jumped on the bailout bandwagon at Chrysler in 1979 with tepid calls for Fraser to push for "public ownership." The SWP never called for a strike at Chrysler this fall—in fact, at the time of Fraser's October 26 referendum they *opposed* a strike. Of course, the *Militant* prefers to put its own cringing reformism in the mouths of the workers:

> "Under the circumstances it is not surprising that Chrysler workers would rather try to negotiate the contract in January and try to get a better one than strike right now."
>
> —*Militant*, 5 November 1982

Always on the prowl for lesser-evil bureaucrats to support, the SWP proclaimed the Canadian settlement a "victory" and "a step in turning back the tide of concessions" (*Militant*, 24 December) while supporting White against Fraser.

Not to be outdone, the reformist/Stalinist Communist Labor Party (CLP), which inherited modest influence in key Detroit plants from the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, has finally found a UAW traitor to snuggle up to—Robert White! The front-page article of *People's Tribune* (3 January) reads like a Solidarity House press release (complete with PR photo) of this leader "genuinely opposed to concessions" who represents the "opposite tendency from Fraser" and won "the first major confrontation with Chrysler." They claim that Fraser left the Canadian workers to fight alone. But it was their darling White who postponed the strike deadline *to prevent* joint strike action! Fraser and his protegé White come from the same pro-capitalist, social-democratic mold: virulent racist protectionism, support to Reagan's NATO anti-Soviet war drive, massive givebacks (which White sold separately on the other side of the border, whipping up "poor little Canada" nationalism). Like their big brothers of the Communist Party (CP), these Democratic Party loyalists make polite criticism of Fraser only in order to head off militant class struggle by auto workers who justly hate the *entire* UAW bureaucracy.



WV Photo

Welkout et Detroit's Jefferson Avenue Chrysler plant in September: euto workers tell Freser to shove it.

Hailing the Chrysler contract as "historic," the CP outdoes even Fraser who complained of sleepless nights, "wondering how the hell we were going to get out of this." In a cynical cover-up for the Solidarity House traitors, the CP hailed the "international solidarity" of the Chrysler strike—even while U.S. Chrysler workers were kept on the job and some forced to perform struck work. Instead of joint strike action, the CP urged U.S. auto workers to pass resolutions and collect food and money for their striking Canadian brothers. But then throughout the walkouts, votes and revotes taken this fall, the CP *never* called for a U.S. Chrysler strike, and stood steadfastly in Fraser's corner. Hoping to climb on the Democratic Party's anti-Reagan bandwagon, these class-collaborationists echo the UAW bureaucracy's racist, pro-war calls for protectionism and urge Detroit workers to take advice from strikebreaker Coleman Young.

Among the chorus of "left" critics trying to pressure Fraser and whitewash the bureaucracy's betrayals are the scabbing centrists of the RWL. The RWL paints a fantasy version of the Canadian strike as so explosive that it threatened to "bust up the Iacocca-Fraser conspiracy":

> "A year from now U.S. and Canadian workers may look back with gratitude and say, 'The Canadian Chrysler strike was the turning point'."

To talk about the Canadian strike as a "partial victory" and a great beginning is a criminal cover-up of the UAW bureaucrats' sellout. When the Chrysler workers and teachers were out in Detroit supporters of the RWL in Ford's River Rouge argued *against* a citywide general strike. While they called for a one-day Local 600 strike on paper, their supporters never even raised this at a union meeting. And when class-struggle unionists of the Rouge Militant Caucus were dragged out of a Dearborn Assembly meeting and roughed up by goons, while calling for sit-down strikes to fight the closing of the plant, the friends of the RWL went along with the exclusion. The RWL is best known for its defense of *scabbing*, accepting the bureaucrats' sabotage of the picket line. These centrists throw in the towel before the battle even begins; at bottom they don't believe the workers will ever support a program that can win.

Progressive Labor (PL) recognized the smell of a sellout, but is incapable of leading Chrysler workers or any section of the oppressed to victory. PLers stood on the sidewalk outside the Jefferson plant hollering "wildcat," while their paper claimed "the UAW and the entire U.S. labor movement is a leading force for fascism in the U.S." (*Challenge*, 24 November 1982)! Thus they refuse to struggle within the unions to *oust* the pro-capitalist labor traitors and they refuse to mobilize the organized workers movement, the social force with the power and class interest to smash the real fascists.

From the beginning of the billion-dollar "bailout" schemes designed to rescue Chrysler bosses through massive givebacks and plant closings, the SL and class-struggle auto unionists called for *plant occupations* and militant labor action to make the capitalists and their government pay for the economic disaster they created. "Whatever Chrysler's worth, give it to the workers," we said while the fake-lefts called for social-democratic "anti-nationalization" schemes. (Today, just the interest on Chrysler's bail-out loans is vastly more than Fraser's 75 cent "victory" for the Chrysler workers still left in the plants.) During the crucial weeks this fall, when workers at Jefferson and other key Chrysler plants were in open rebellion against Fraser and his local henchmen, when the Detroit teachers union was battling Coleman Young's union-busting, the SL-supported Rouge Militant Caucus at Ford's River Rouge plant (UAW Local 600) pointed the way forward with its call for a general strike of auto workers and city workers.

Every section of the proletariat is being ground down and chewed up by Reagan's depression and anti-Soviet war drive. This week Detroit unemployment offices stayed open from 8 a.m. to past midnight to handle the thousands waiting in 6-degree weather. And the Democratic Party/labor bureaucracy's solution? Old-fashioned imperialist trade war. As the Rouge plant, once the UAW's largest local, faces unit after unit on the chopping block, Local 600 president Mike Rinaldi is calling for a boycott of everything Japanese. And as Japanese premier Nakasone visited Washington last week, UAW chief Fraser and Ford president Philip Caldwell visited the White House together to "stiffen Reagan's backbone" against Japanese imports. Driving off together in an "American-built" T-bird, the protectionist pair were a graphic demonstration of class collaboration preparing the way for imperialist war.

What Detroit needs are sit-down strikes not soup lines. And the key is a class-struggle leadership, an integrated workers party, that can lead a struggle to rip the plants and factories out of the hands of their greedy owners, for a workers government to reorganize society on the basis of a planned economy. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Racist Police Terrorize Black Ghetto

New Orleans Cop Death Squad

The 1980 New Orleans police execution-style slaying of four blacks in the ghetto of Algiers made headline news recently when cops tried to get the courts to ban the broadcast of an exposé by CBS' "60 Minutes." No one was ever indicted for these killings. But seven New Orleans cops are to be tried February 7 in Dallas, Texas on charges that they "conspired to violate the civil rights" of several black Algiers residents whom they beat and harassed while investigating the slaying of New Orleans policeman Gregory Neupert. While the media focus on legal squabbles as to whether or not facts well-known for years can be publicized, the chilling reality is that *police death squads are operating in the U.S.*—not just in El Salvador or Argentina—terrorizing black ghettos, looking for victims.

As the capitalist depression deepens, the bourgeoisie is nervous about the possibility of an explosion of black outrage. A *Wall Street Journal* (28 December 1982) article on efforts to "ease racial tension" cited the notorious New Orleans police force whose racist rampages are turning the ghettos into a tinder box: "Their rate of police killings per violent crime is 10 times Newark's, and the city's investigator of police brutality says the situation isn't improving." But New Orleans is not an isolated case. In Baltimore, trials are now going on over undercover cop "death squads" which entrapped black men into staging hold-ups, then shot the "suspects" dead on the spot!

The story of the executions in the black enclave of Algiers began when New Orleans cop Gregory Neupert was found bleeding to death there from a gunshot wound in November 1980. For weeks prior to the shooting, cops had been terrorizing black residents in housing projects in the vicinity. Having no suspects, no leads, the cops just moved in, determined that someone would "pay" for Neupert's death. In simultaneous raids at 2:45 a.m. on November 13, the death squads descended on the black projects of Algiers. James Billy was in bed with his common-law wife, Kim Landry, and his two-month-old son when the cops kicked in the door. They claim Billy "came up smoking" [shooting]. But his wife lived to tell the real story. Billy was grabbed in the bedroom, spread-eagled against the wall and surrounded by five cops. Landry and the baby were escorted to the police car. She heard shots as she got into the car. Billy was hit with seven bullets and two loads of buckshot.

Liberator

New Orleans, May 1981: blacks protest grand jury whitewash of killer cops.

At the same time, the cops broke into the home of Reginald Miles, who was in bed with his wife, Sherry Lynn Singleton. At least three neighbors heard Singleton beg for her life, "Please don't shoot me! Please don't shoot me!" Miles was found dead in the bedroom with nine bullet wounds and two shotgun wounds. Sherry Singleton was found naked in the bathtub, shot once through the eye and blasted twice by a shotgun at close range. After the shootings, "the house lit up like Vietnam." "Like a fourth of July party, the cops congratulating each other on a job well done." A fourth person, Raymond Ferdinand, was killed two days before the raids by a cop investigating the Neupert killing.

The police made sure their massacre was nice and "legal." To get the search warrants, police dragged scores of blacks into police headquarters for questioning, until two of them finally swore they saw Miles and Billy near the killing scene. At headquarters they were beaten, had their hands tied to chairs while plastic bags were put over their heads until they signed the affidavits. One man was driven to an Algiers bridge in the dead of night and "questioned" with a shotgun to his head.

As the story leaked out, outrage grew, and protest finally forced police superintendent James C. Parsons to resign, largely because black mayor Ernest "Dutch" Morial feared New Orleans was on the verge of an explosion. When a state grand jury investigation refused to return any indictments against the cops, Morial told blacks to wait for the outcome of the federal grand jury. While he appealed to blacks to stay calm, the National Guard was moved to New Orleans for "riot-control training." In May 1981 the federal grand jury ruled "insufficient evidence" to indict in the four killings, although it did charge seven policemen with civil rights violations in the course of their "investigation." Several hundred people marched in protest and later militants sat in at Mayor Morial's office.

Louisiana blacks have experienced the racist frame-up justice of the capitalist courts time and again. They remember Gary Tyler, the victim of a racist attack who was framed up on murder charges, convicted with false evidence by an all-white jury, and sentenced to the electric chair. To this day he is serving out a life sentence at hard labor. The cops make themselves judge, jury and executioner on the streets of the ghetto. Their racist dragnets and wanton brutality often provoke the uprisings which they put down so murderously. The mockery of justice surrounding the Algiers executions underlines a hard truth about racist America, which is universally recognized, but seldom put into print: cops know they can kill black people and get off scot-free. These racist atrocities will only be stamped out under a revolutionary workers government which will destroy the root of race-terror: the capitalist system. Jail the killer cops! ■

The Chrysler Sellout

DETROIT, January 21—As Chrysler and United Auto Workers (UAW) president Doug Fraser express satisfaction over the "victory" they rammed down the throats of Chrysler workers, thousands of laid-off, largely black auto workers stand in soup lines and freeze in Detroit this winter. For hundreds of thousands of UAW members who may never see the inside of an auto plant again, who ran out of unemployment and SUB months or years ago, Fraser's UAW means "U Ain't Workin."

After a five-week strike by Canadian Chrysler workers, UAW members on both sides of the border ratified a contract which leaves intact the massive givebacks of the last three years. The bureaucracy sold this rotten agreement with the pitch "it's a step on the road to parity"—and all the "left" cheerleaders are parroting their line. They are applauding the contract of Fraser and Canadian UAW director Bob White as everything from an "important victory" (Socialist Workers Party) to "historic" (Communist Party), to a "partial victory" (Communist Labor Party) to a "very small victory" (Revolutionary Workers League).

UPI

Chrysler boss Lee Iacocca (left) and board member, UAW president Doug Fraser.

Victory?! In 1979 the company and UAW tops, working hand-in-glove with the government of Democrat Jimmy Carter, ganged up on Chrysler workers and after intimidating them with threats of bankruptcy stole $1 billion in "givebacks." Then they extorted another $4 billion from Ford and GM workers to put into company profits, setting a trend threatening the very future of organized labor. But the concessions bought nothing: the Big Three continued to lay off hundreds of thousands of auto workers. And when Chrysler again made a profit last year, UAW president (and company board member) Fraser attacked Chrysler boss Iacocca for encouraging workers to think there was a "pot of gold."

Solidarity House beat down the opposition to their September sellout with votes and revotes, forcing American workers to "extend" negotiations till hell freezes over. Finally, Canadian workers struck for five weeks in total isolation, managing to win a wage "increase" covering only a fraction of the inflation since 1979. And this is supposed to be a "*victory*"?! When Fraser joined the Chrysler board it was a historic turning point for the UAW bureaucracy. Though on a smaller scale, it can be compared to the German Social Democrats' infamous betrayal, voting for war credits to their "own" capitalist rulers on August 4, 1914. Concessions, layoffs, you name it—the Solidarity House hacks are no longer acting just as sellout union misleaders, but as cops for the company. And the phony socialists

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 323

11 February 1983

Defend the Soviet Union Against NATO Imperialism!

Reagan's Euromissiles: Trigger for WWIII

"Missile Elections" in Germany

The American ruling class is preparing to blow up the Soviet Union in a nuclear first strike. The Pentagon's infamous "Fiscal 1984-88 Defense Guidance" openly states that, "Plans for the first use and possible follow on uses of theater nuclear forces should be developed" (*New York Post*, 17 January). These plans have naturally produced an intense and widespread fear of nuclear war in Europe. So to placate West European public opinion, Ronald Reagan came up with his cynical "disarmament" proposal, the so-called "zero-zero option" which calls for *unilateral* dismantling of *all* Soviet medium-range missiles, in exchange for *no* dismantling of *any* NATO missiles. Not surprisingly, the Soviets responded: "Nuclear surrender, no thanks!"

The front line of the American nuclear offensive is the NATO plan to deploy new so-called theater nuclear weapons in West Europe this year, particularly the 108 Pershing 2s in West Germany—a scant six minutes flying time from the major cities in the Soviet Union. This would force the Soviet Union to go to a hair-trigger "launch-on-warning" strategy to protect its retaliatory power. The introduction of these Pershings and the small, highly accurate cruise missiles will bring the world a large step closer to nuclear holocaust.

The well-founded fear that the Pentagon is about to turn their countries into a launching pad for World War III has produced a strong reaction—at once pacifistic and nationalistic—in West Europe, especially in West Germany. Polls show that a majority of supporters of *all* West German parties, including the ruling conservative Christian Democrats, oppose the planned deployment of the Pershings.

For this reason the West German elections scheduled for March 6 have become an international battleground in Cold War II. Last month Soviet foreign minister Andrei Gromyko visited West Germany in a scarcely veiled attempt to bolster the oppositional Social Democratic "peace" forces. The perennial Russian foreign minister told his German audience: "In the nuclear age the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union are, figuratively speaking, in one boat." Even hostile commentators conceded that Gromyko's appeals to the Germans not to tie their fate to the Reaganite warmongers had some effect.

So no sooner did the Soviet diplomat return to Moscow, than French social-democratic president François Mitterrand rushed to Bonn as NATO's number one fireman, or, if you like, missileman. He warned the West German parliament against "the decoupling of the European continent and the American continent." It must have been the first time in modern history that a French leader denounced the Germans as too pacifistic! And then George Bush was sent to West Germany on a self-described "exercise in public relations" to sell Reagan's hard line and hoost the Christian Democrats. But whatever the outcome of the March 6 election, the resurgence of German nationalism—now mainly expressed in "left" pacifistic form—will continue to shake global political alignments.

The common joke in Europe these days is: "What is the definition of a tactical nuclear weapon? One that explodes in Germany." With the scars of two world wars still remembered, millions of Europeans feel a sense of horror that the Pentagon wants to play out a nuclear World War III on European soil. Certainly the Pentagon has plans for such a nuclear *Schlachtfeld Deutschland* (Battlefield Germany). The German people know this and are understandably frightened by the prospect. But it is a species of crackpot rationalism à la Dr. Strangelove to think that a war between NATO and the Warsaw Pact could actually be restricted to the European continent.

Strangelovian notions about nuclear war are, however, not restricted to Pentagon think tanks. The Europacifist vision of a "superpower" war fought overhead with ICBMs is, if anything, more fantastic than the scenario of "limited" nuclear war in Europe. The

continued on page 8

CTK

Pershing 2 missile: eight minutes to Moscow.

Nigeria Expels One Million Black Workers

Hundreds of thousands of black African workers poured into the makeshift border camps, clogged the roads in a 300-mile trek on foot or clambered into cattle trucks. Others were packed shoulder-to-shoulder in rickety boats in conditions reminiscent of the infamous Middle Passage in the slave trade. On January 17 the Nigerian government expelled all "illegal aliens," giving them two weeks to get out of the country under threat of arrests or worse at the hands of xenophobic mobs. The expulsions were prepared by a vicious campaign whipped up to blame foreigners for everything from the disintegrating economy to skyrocketing crime waves in the big cities. So in what is probably

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Francolon/Gamma

Ghanaian workers expelled from Nigeria are beaten back by Togolese soldiers.

Nigeria...

(continued from page 1)

the biggest forced population transfer in modern African history, close to a million people, mainly young workers from Ghana, are battling thirst and starvation, victimized by profiteers and brutally attacked by troops and border guards of three countries as they make their way back to a precarious existence in the destitute lands they had left in search of work.

Ghana's would-be strongman, Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, ordered the border sealed against the massive human tide until just days before the expulsion deadline expired. Tens of thousands just over the frontier at a camp in Lomé, Togo sat on piles of baggage or mattresses, guarding their meager possessions and handing over their life savings for tickets on the trucks, buses and taxis that would take them back to Accra. Sporadic rioting broke out as refugees grappled with each other and with soldiers each time new supplies of the scarce bread or water arrived. Wharves in the former boom town of Lagos, capital of Nigeria, were turned into teaming squatters camps. On February 1 the government began a massive search operation for all remaining aliens, stretching a giant dragnet across the sprawling capital of Lagos with its 5 million people, targeting hotels, restaurants and private homes.

On TV and in glossy magazines the Western press documents the horror of a million poor blacks thrown out to face the elements, condemned to misery and death. These expulsions express the logic of the capitalist world market in its most naked, unrestricted form. During the "oil boom" of the mid-1970s, foreign workers were drawn to Nigeria. Brutally exploited by the employers who used their illegal status to force them into the most menial jobs or into skilled johs at lower pay scales, now that the Nigerian economy is in a tailspin the foreign workers are simply tossed out to starve.

This is no African "peculiarity." During the Great Depression of the 1930s, France expelled a million largely North African workers. The exploitation/expulsion cycle for foreign workers is a standard occurrence in West Europe, albeit not on such a massive scale or under such desperate conditions. And in the United States the superexploitation of undocumented foreign workers combined with mass expulsions has reached mammoth proportions. Every year more than *800,000* "illegal aliens" are deported to Mexico. Altogether, including family members and citizens/residents of Latin origin, as much as a fifth of the entire U.S. population lives in fear of being seized in Gestapo raids by immigration police.

But capitalist relations in the colonial world are more harharous, precisely because the low development of the economy affords less protection. Far from the Pan-Africanist glorification of "African socialism," conditions in this part of the "Third World" in reality rival those of the period of primitive accumulation in Europe. As Trotsky wrote, "...the further east we go, the lower and viler bccomes the bourgeoisie, the greater the tasks that fall on the proletariat." The "communitarianism" of the tribal village means a life of grinding poverty, and the workers returning from Nigeria are not going to stay down on the farm after having gotten a Sony radio in Lagos. Their only salvation is through proletarian revolution.

While the Western bourgeois media is playing it up, the Nigerian expulsions express in the starkest form the destructive irrationality of the *world* capitalist market. During the 1970s the Arab sheiks in partnership with the Anglo-American and Dutch oil cartel (the Seven Sisters) managed to jack up the price of oil to twenty or thirty times the cost of production. The small, backward and venal Nigerian bourgeoisie acted as if these super-monopoly prices would last forever. But $34 a barrel oil spurred the expansion of production in high-cost fields (e.g., the North Sea) and encouraged the substitution of other energy sources (coal, nuclear power, etc.). On top of these micro-economic changes came the capitalist world depression, producing an oil glut which finally cracked the OPEC/Seven Sisters monopoly pricing. The Ghanaian workers in Nigeria are victims of the profit-hungry parasites the world over, from the glass and steel Exxon tower in Houston to the ancient City of London to the air-conditioned palaces in the Arabian desert.

Nigeria's economic collapse and expulsion of foreign workers intersect the ethnic, regional and religious tensions which have been rife for years. When oil production was begun in southeastern Nigeria in the mid-1960s, it led to sharp rivalry over the revenues. When the locally dominant Ibo tribe declared their own state of Biafra in 1967, the Nigerian army responded by blockading the region, leading to the deaths (mostly due to starvation) of more than two million people. While most of the left lined up behind Nigerian military strongman General Gowon because of his "anti-imperialist" pretensions, we said, "...the SL supports the right of the Ibo nation to self-determination, but we separate ourselves absolutely from the Biafran political regime, pointing out that national independence without the expropriation of the ruling class is very far from socialism" (*Spartacist* No. 14, November-December 1969).

In Ghana, the massive influx of refugees has fueled the Rawlings regime's fears of rising social tensions while it enforces draconian austerity. Once the richest country of the African "Gold Coast," it is now among the continent's most ruined economies. Ghana, the first African colony to achieve independence (in 1957), was considered the showcase of the "Pan-Africanist" world. Under Kwame Nkrumah, Pan-Africanists from George Padmore to W.E.B. Du Bois came to Accra where they, along with the Stalinists, touted Ghana's supposedly "non-capitalist road." Far from a middle road between communism and capitalism, Nkrumah's regime suppressed workers' strikes and acted as a neo-colonial administration over the peasants through the Cocoa Marketing Board. But as commodity prices collapsed, so did illusions in Nkrumah's "African socialism" (with some help from a scandal over a cabinet minister's gold bathtub). In 1966 Nkrumah was overthrown and exiled to Guinea, where Sékou Touré's nationalist rule is maintained through cooperation with imperialist aluminum companies and a general subsiding into impoverished autarky.

The present crisis in Nigeria, whose first victims are almost a million black workers, tragically validates our call for Africa-wide proletarian revolution:

> "The experience of two decades of African independence struggles fully confirms the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution, which proclaims that neither the bourgeoisie nor various petty-bourgeois forces can fulfill even the democratic tasks of the bourgeois revolution. Whether openly neo-colonialist, 'African socialist' or 'Marxist-Leninist,' post-independence nationalist regimes have bowed down before the imperialists. They have been unable to achieve even capitalist development of their economies, and as the poverty deepens it is accompanied by a recrudescence of tribalism. Only the proletariat, standing at the head of the peasant masses and establishing its own class rule, can emancipate the black masses of Africa."
>
> —"South Africa's Proletariat is Key," *WV* No. 160, 3 June 1977■

TONI RANDELL
(1943—1982)
Died 12 February 1982

We miss and honor our comrade.

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Ann Arbor
c/o SYL
P O Box 8364
Ann Arbor, MI 48107
(313) 662-2339

Berkeley/Oakland
P O. Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 835-1535

Boston
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New York
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Canal Street Station
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Norfolk
P O Box 1972
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San Francisco
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.
210 7th St. S.E., Suite E12
Washington, D.C. 20003
(202) 636-3537

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Vancouver
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C. V6C 2L8
(604) 681-2422

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CIRCULATION MANAGER: Linda Jarreau

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No. 323 11 February 1983

Defeat Racist Backlash!

Defend Busing in Norfolk!

Extend School Integration to the Suburbs!

Jim Crow is on the rise again in Norfolk, Virginia. On February 2, the city's majority-white school board voted to scrap busing and legally return to sharply segregated schools. School board chairman Thomas Johnson barred public discussion at the meeting which rammed through the decision to end Norfolk's decade-old desegregation plan which had bused more than half of the city's elementary school children. Under the new Jim Crow plan, 10 of the city's 36 elementary schools will be 95 percent black; altogether 18 schools will be overwhelmingly segregated. Thus Norfolk, the city which shut down its schools in 1958 rather than integrate them, has become the first Southern city to abandon a relatively successful busing program.

The racists of Norfolk have been trying to get rid of integrated schools for years. Now, in Reagan's America they've done it. Blacks have been declared expendable. Token gains won during the civil rights movement are rolled back: busing for integration has been gutted, voting rights laws are under attack, "states' rights" is on the rise and ominously so is Klan violence. What little money there was for the lunches of black schoolchildren goes toward anti-Russian missiles. Hypocritically, the Norfolk anti-busing campaign has been floated on thousands of pages of reports and arguments made in the name of "student achievement" and stopping "white flight." And when they needed an anti-busing pro to declare the Norfolk busing plan a failure, they hired David Armor from the Rand Corporation, the Pentagon think tank which thought up "pacification" chem-war for Vietnam. Rev. Watson, the head of the Norfolk NAACP, got it right when he said, "They may use fancy terms, deceptive terms like 'neighborhood schools,' but the bottom line is segregation."

It is that bottom line of segregation which must be fought with all the strength we have. It is desperately necessary for black people to break out of the ghetto, to be integrated into every aspect of social life in America. In this racist country "separate" has never been "equal" and it never will. Sure, busing is utterly inadequate as a solution to school integration: it's the most minimal application of the right of black people to equality in education. But busing does strike a blow at segregated education. That is why it must be defended. Today in Norfolk, while the anti-busing racists look to the courts to bless their Jim Crow plan, the pro-busing forces also look to the courts to save it. But the White House, Congress, the courts—the capitalist state has helped to bury busing from Boston to Los Angeles.

The federal government and the liberal politicians of the Democratic Party won't defend black rights. Busing must be defended by a massive mobilization centered on the labor movement of the Tidewater area. The concentrations of black and white workers centered in the region's key shipbuilding and longshore industries have tremendous social power. The need to bring that power to bear in defense of the black population was championed last November 27 by unionists who helped build a contingent which adopted the name Nat Turner Brigade to participate in the Washington, D.C. Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped a race-hating KKK parade.

Busing in Norfolk

Integration of the schools has been an issue in Norfolk since Reconstruction, when the first public schools were established in the South. The Norfolk *Journal* at the time expressed the racist sentiments of the ex-slaveholders and propertied classes who recoiled in horror at the spectre of black equality posed by Reconstruction:

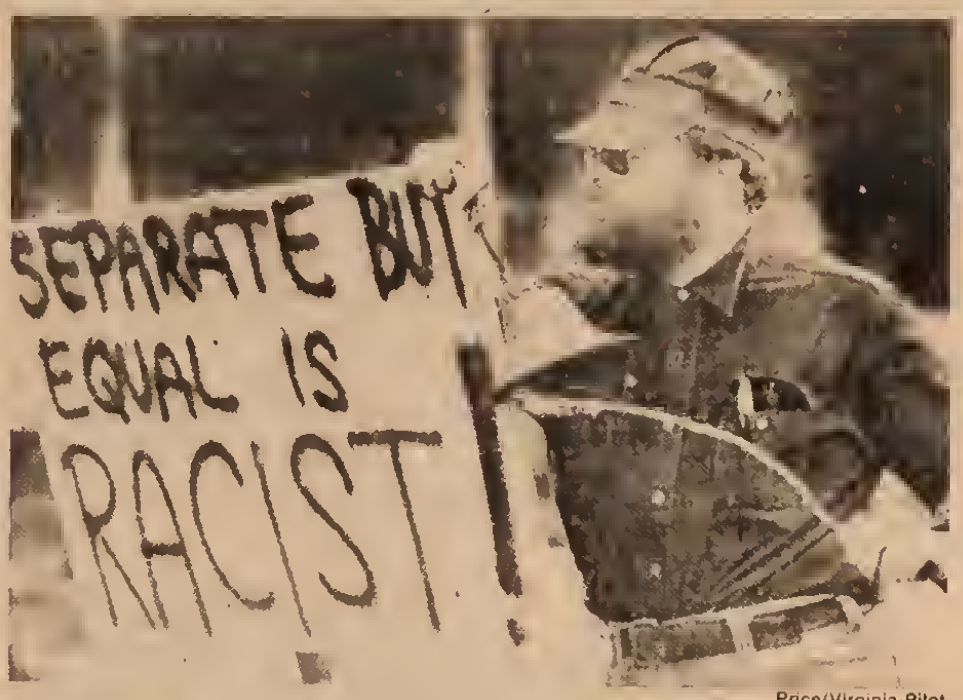
> "The simple question before the people is this—are we to have our State officers and our judiciary filled by intelligent white men of character, or are we to have all our officials, from the Governor to the coroner, composed of negroes and their radical friends, our Legislature of the same, our judges radical pettifoggers, our magistrates negroes, and our children forced into mixed schools, or denied the privileges of education?"
>
> —quoted in *Norfolk: Historic Southern Port*, Wertenbaker and Schlegel

In the bloody political counter-revolution against Reconstruction the newly freed blacks were again stripped of political rights, economically subjugated and socially segregated.

When the Supreme Court handed down the Brown vs. the Board of Education decision, Virginia enacted the "massive resistance laws" in 1956, which required the automatic shutdown of any integrated school. After a legal battle the Norfolk school board reluctantly assigned 17 black students to previously all-white schools. State governor Almond immediately took over the schools and locked out 10,000 Norfolk high school students for five months. Racist "states' rights" advocates preferred the end of public education to integration and sought to establish alternative segregated private schools. Finally on 2 February 1959 black children walked through the door of a previously all-white school for the first time in the state of Virginia.

Today's anti-busing segregationists in Norfolk sound a lot like the recalcitrant confederates during Reconstruction. The city's businessmen and politicians first tried to prevent integration through "freedom of choice" plans, then attempted to scuttle the plan when the courts ordered busing to achieve racial balance in 1971. Now Mayor Vincent Thomas made clear his racist intentions when he announced last year that he and school board chairman Johnson had been scheming to ditch busing for years. "Norfolk could become the first city on the East Coast to reverse the trend toward white flight," he argued.

The strategy of the pro-busing forces like the Norfolk Coalition for Quality Public Education has been to rely solely on legal action in the capitalist courts, and they apparently think they will win that way. Their opponent Johnson, the author of the proposal to eliminate busing, has a better sense of which way the political winds are blowing. That's why he's willing to voluntarily submit his proposal to end busing for review by the courts. It was the strategy of reliance on the racist federal government that led the civil rights movement to defeat. Most black people know they don't have a friend in the White House but many still harbor illusions in the courts. Yet the courts have trampled on the democratic rights of black people time and time again—under Democrats as well as Republicans—because they are there to defend the interests of the bourgeoisie, not protect black people.



Price/Virginia-Pilot

Protesting Jim Crow decision by Norfolk's school board.

The Norfolk school board vote against busing is part of an overall attack on black education. Of course the bourgeoisie has no interest in integrated schools. In fact they have no interest in educating black youth at all—after all, in this depression-ravaged country more than half of today's black teenagers can't find a job. From Boston to Louisville to Chicago even the largely token and voluntary busing programs were challenged by racist mobs in the streets. As the liberals knifed busing in Congress the courts too have rushed to put their stamp of approval on increasing segregation. From the ban on cross-district busing, to the "intent doctrine," to the current drive to undo the 1971 landmark decision which allowed busing to achieve racial balance in the first place—they have gone a long way toward reversing Brown vs. Board of Education.

For a Labor/Black Mobilization to Defend Busing

Norfolk's labor unions and black community organizations must rely on their own organizations and power and take the lead in mobilizing a pro-busing offensive. The International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) and the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) are powerful unions with a large black membership in the Tidewater area. A labor/black mobilization led by the unions could cut across the present black-white polarization over the busing issue.

But to date the unions have done little to actively fight for busing. The narrow "professionalist" policies of the teachers unions have caused them to shy away from a militant fight to defend busing. The Education Association of Norfolk (EAN), which organizes the majority of the teachers, took a position on paper opposed to any reduction of busing that would lead to a resegregation of the schools and opposed magnet schools as a substitute for busing. The American Federation of Teachers (AFT), which is conducting an organizing drive in the area, took a similar position in the eleventh hour. A class-struggle teachers union could win working people and blacks to the cause of unionism by linking the fight for the interests of labor with aggressive involvement in the social struggle for black rights.

The busing plan adopted in 1971 involves only the predominantly black southern end of Norfolk and the white working-class areas of Ocean View and Willoughby. The relatively more wealthy west side has always been exempt from busing. This has bred resentment in the white working-class areas and fueled the racist backlash which spawned organizations like the Norfolk Tea Party, an anti-busing tax reform group that led the opposition to busing. Real integration would not only require busing to the west side, it would mean *extending busing to the suburbs*. The relatively better suburban schools

continued on page 10

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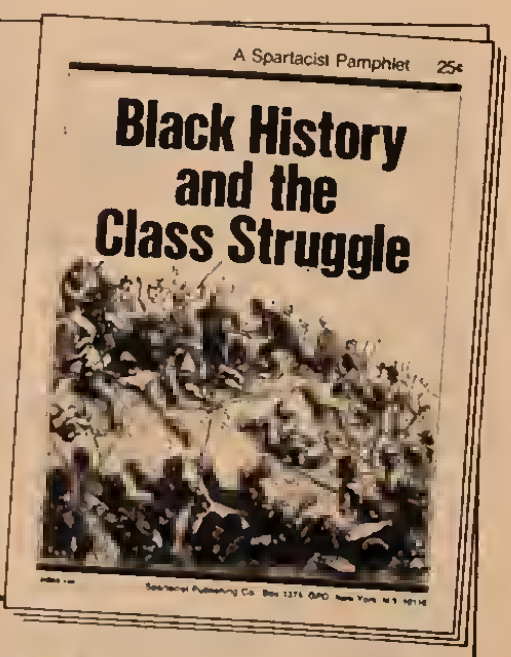

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Local 6 E-Board Member Fired For Honoring Picket Line

Rehire ILWU Militant Jackie Clark!

We reprint below a statement by Jackie Clark, a member of the Militant Caucus and of the executive board of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 in the Bay Area, protesting her victimization for honoring a union picket line at her job. Clark reports that on Monday, February 7 she was fired by the company. The "Warehouse Militant" leaflet was dated February 7.

* * * * *

On Friday February 4 I was suspended for honoring the picket line of IBEW Local 617 at the Heublein plant. The company told me in writing that unless I returned to work immediately I would be fired. Honoring picket lines is a question of elementary union solidarity, a principle on which the labor movement was built. When I was elected house steward and to the General Executive Board (of which I've been a member since 1980) I said, "Picket lines mean don't cross," and I meant it.

I learned of the picket line only last week after returning from a two-month layoff. The IBEW picket line has been up since December 20—over six weeks! Heublein, recently bought by the notoriously anti-union R.J. Reynolds Company, hired a scab electric company to do work that normally would have been done by IBEW members. The use of low-wage non-union outfits is becoming widespread not only throughout the construction trade, but in industries all over the country. Ever since Reagan smashed PATCO unions have been under attack everywhere, including the ILWU. 1982 saw the lowest wage settlements nationally since 1945, not even keeping up with the depression's lowered inflation rate. In Local 6 we got saddled with a first time ever wage freeze in the Master Contract. The Heublein contract expires July 31. We should show some muscle now and go into negotiations from a position of strength.

This is a picket line that Local 6 should be honoring. It has been approved by the San Mateo Labor Council and is being honored by Teamster Locals 70 and 85 and by other building trades locals. Furthermore, our own contract allows members to honor picket lines (Section 18A). Local 6 itself has engaged in similar strikes. But Local 6 officers have done nothing for six weeks. President Al Lannon and BA [business agent] Ben Madrid first claimed Local 617 had not informed them of the situation. But a letter was sent by IBEW to Local 6 dated December 20. I have seen a copy of that letter. Madrid calls it a "flaky situation." Lannon and ex-president Eickman said if people are so hot to honor picket lines, they should do it on their own. Heublein Chief Steward Ellis Johnson went so far as to make the outrageous accusation that the IBEW picketers were being paid by the company to "trap Local 6." This is disgusting! These pickets are good union men who are fighting for their jobs.

Talking to Local 6 officials is like talking to company lawyers. They try to find sixteen different reasons to force ILWU members to cross the IBEW picket line. After I was suspended Friday I went to Lannon and asked him to inform the company that the union defended my action. He not only refused, but said if he wrote any letter, it would be to order me back to work. On Thursday February 3 Madrid and Johnson read the riot act to Heublein workers at a lunchtime meeting, warning them against honoring the picket line. I know the workers at Heublein well enough to know that this policy is being forced upon them against their wishes.

It is urgent that this policy of the officers be reversed. If the company is allowed to single me out and victimize a steward and GEB member for honoring a picket line, then others in the local will be picked off too. Even now the officers are refusing to arbitrate the case of Mike Kasian, who was a GEB member when he was fired by Guittard Chocolate for union activity.

For honoring the IBEW picket line, Heublein is charging me with "failure to cooperate and work harmoniously." This same catch-all "rule" has been invoked in several suspensions and firings over the past month. The union must take a stand. The only rights we have are those we fight for and defend. What is at stake here is the right to advocate labor solidarity and engage in union activity. My suspension and probable firing threatens the right to strike, to set up and defend picket lines, and ultimately the ILWU itself. A leadership that shows more respect for company rules than for picket lines is incapable of defending the membership.

Jackie Clark
#10509

WV Photo

ILWU militant Jackie Clark supports pickets at Heublein warehouse.

Cop Terror in Richmond, California

RICHMOND, California—On the night of January 25 Richmond cops smashed down the front door of black parolee Donald Kizart's home, charged into his bedroom and blew him away as he crouched in the corner of a closet. Sergeant Dennis Browne claims he fired two semi-automatic shotgun blasts (each of which contains nine .32-caliber shells) into Kizart's chest only after the victim had fired at him. But criminalistics "experts" spent several days trying unsuccessfully to find a single shred of evidence to back up Browne's assertion.

The racist police department of this economically depressed industrial city has been sued over and over for the murderous brutality it directs against Richmond's black population, but the attacks continue unabated. This latest police murder of a black—the city's sixth since 1980—took place just days after some 40 witnesses in a federal court had finished providing a stark, detailed description of systematic racist cop terror. The next day the judge in the case declared a mistrial on the grounds that jurors had seen news reports about a proposed out-of-court settlement and expressed concern over the "divisive" effect of more testimony about cop atrocities.

Browne had been implicated in the recent trial testimony as a member of a group of white cops called the "cowboys" who have been meting out racist "street justice" to blacks in Richmond for years. The testimony was part of a lawsuit brought by the NAACP and the ACLU on behalf of the families of Johnny Roman and Michael Guillory, two black men gunned down in their homes by the city cops in 1980 and 1982, respectively. The suit was initiated last fall amidst the public outrage generated by the "choke hold" killing of yet another black, Willie Lee Drumgoole, in the Richmond city jail.

WV Photo

Richmond, California blacks protest racist cop brutality outside courthouse, 23 October 1982.

Far from being isolated instances of what the capitalist politicians like to call "excessive force," these murders are part of a systematic pattern of cop abuse and intimidation. Witnesses gave innumerable examples of racist violence: a disabled 57-year-old man beaten, handcuffed and dragged out of his home while his wife and daughter were clubbed—all for an outstanding traffic fine; a Human Relations Department employee who was skeptical about all the complaints of cop brutality that he had to process, until he himself was beaten and his wife's arm broken by the scum in blue; police breaking up a "noisy" party by turning an attack dog loose. The list goes on and on.

It is not surprising that U.S. district judge Robert Aguilar, who has been presiding in the NAACP suit, says it is necessary to "dispose of this case as rapidly as possible." A lengthy and detailed exposure of the everyday crimes committed by the forces of "law and order" can only aid in breaking down illusions that the cops are anything but racist thugs in the service of the bosses. Certainly the dirty work of the "cowboys" reflects the race-terror program of the Ku Klux Klan, which has in recent years been gaining strength and terrorizing blacks here in mainly white Contra Costa County. But the trial has illustrated that the intimidation of the 50 percent black population of working-class Richmond is the goal of the *entire* police apparatus. The cops' job is to defend the racist system of capitalist exploitation.

We're all for the families of Roman and Guillory squeezing every cent they can out of the city of Richmond. We also demand that the killer cops who carried out the slayings be jailed. But the out-of-court settlement which the NAACP lawyers were ready to accept (before the Richmond city council rejected it as an "admission of guilt") wouldn't have slowed down the racist cops one bit. Its centerpiece was the call for an "impartial" arbitrator to deal with civilian complaints, backed up by a panel of "experts" to propose reforms in police functioning. Such schemes for "reform" and civilian review have never stopped police brutality. As we pointed out last fall, the NAACP has made out-of-court settlements with both Richmond and Contra Costa County pledging police "reforms," but that didn't "mean a damned thing when Willie Drumgoole was choked to death on September 28, or on November 3 when the murderers went scot-free" ("Jail Contra Costa Killer Cops!" *WV* No. 318, 26 November 1982).

Race-terror is an integral part of Reagan's America, a country gearing up for war against the Soviet Union and paying for it by bleeding blacks, the poor and working people dry. What blacks and all workers need to put a stop to the racist attacks, the layoffs, the wage cuts, is class struggle: sit down against mass layoffs and shutdowns, organize labor/black defense against KKK/cop terror, bring Reagan down through mass strike action! The liberals peddle an endless string of do-nothing "reforms" while accepting the Democratic/Republican program of military rearmament. The Spartacist League seeks to build a *workers party* to break the working people from the bosses' Democrats and lead the struggle for socialist revolution to sweep away the blue-uniformed as well as the white-hooded racist murderers forever! ■

Bust Union-Buster Lévesque!

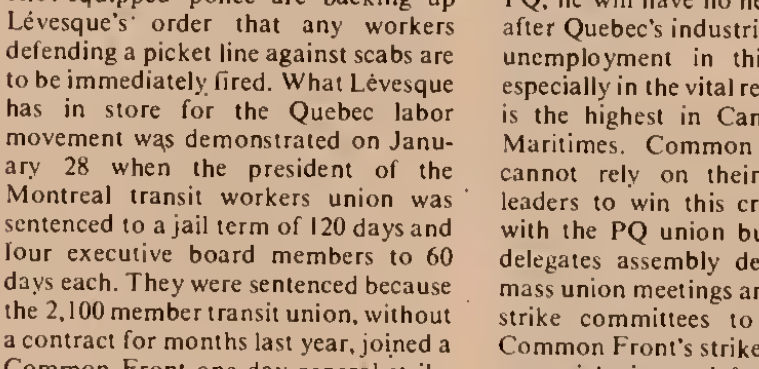
For a Quebec General Strike!

MONTREAL, 7 February—Quebec labor, the most combative section of the North American proletariat, is locked into a life or death struggle with the bourgeois nationalist Parti Québecois (PQ) government headed by premier René Lévesque. Lévesque is trying to pull off a giant Reagan-style union-busting "PATCO" against Quebec's 335,000 provincial government workers. These workers have been a bastion of support for the PQ and its "francophone" [French-language] nationalist policies. Their "reward": after months of refusing to negotiate, on December 11 Lévesque pushed through the provincial National Assembly an unprecedented union-busting measure, Bill 105. The law tears up existing contracts, reverses hard won gains in working conditions and job security, imposes a three-year contract and a strike ban that slashes wages up to 20 percent in a country where inflation is currently 10 percent, and promises thousands of layoffs!

In response, an "unlimited general strike" of provincial workers was called by Quebec's "Common Front" representing 210,000 hospital workers, teachers and other provincial government employees organized by the three major labor federations—the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), the Quebec Teachers Federation (CEQ) and the Quebec Federation of Labour (FTQ). But so far the strike has been limited to 95,000 teachers, out since January 26, and five thousand other government workers. The 60,000 CSN hospital workers went out on Monday, January 31. But they were sent back to work 22 hours later when their leaders reached a tentative agreement with the PQ government which accepted the terms of Bill 105 with only minor sweeteners. However, in a two-day meeting the 800 member delegate assembly for the hospital workers voted overwhelmingly to throw this stinking deal back in the face of the CSN tops. The announcement that the deal had been rejected was greeted with chants of "We Want to Go Out!" and "Together We Shall Prevail." But the bureaucrats are desperately trying to keep the hospital workers on the job by retaking the strike vote.

When CEQ leader Yvon Charbonneau tried to pass off the CSN deal as "a success for the Common Front" striking teachers responded: "Betrayal!" and asked "What the hell happened to the Common Front?" Good question. The teachers, who were the most fervent supporters of the PQ, are the sector hardest hit by Bill 105. They are targeted for the loss of 11,000 jobs.

The "Common Front" strikes are "illegal" under Bill 105. But up to now Lévesque has relied on his labor lieutenants in the leadership of the Common Front who have gone out of their way to try to stop the strike themselves. But the PQ cabinet has legislation waiting in the wings that would impose massive firings and fines on striking workers and eliminate dues check-off for unions. These bills are the harshest anti-union measures since Maurice Duplessis, who ruled Quebec for 18 years with the iron hand of clerical reaction, corruption and savage strikebreaking, decertified the Montreal teachers union in 1949. Already the PQ has filed thousands of charges carrying massive fines against striking workers, their unions and officials. Riot-equipped police are backing up Lévesque's order that any workers defending a picket line against scabs are to be immediately fired. What Lévesque has in store for the Quebec labor movement was demonstrated on January 28 when the president of the Montreal transit workers union was sentenced to a jail term of 120 days and four executive board members to 60 days each. They were sentenced because the 2,100 member transit union, without a contract for months last year, joined a Common Front one-day general strike last November 10.



Dimanche-Matin

Montreal, January 29: Common Front demonstration draws 50,000 in support of striking public workers. Lévesque targets all Quebec labor.

Lessons of the 1972 Quebec General Strike

Lévesque is not yet proposing the jailing of Common Front strikers and leaders because he remembers all too well the consequences of similar measures in 1972. The Common Front was formed in that year for negotiations with the then Liberal provincial government in Quebec City of Robert Bourassa. Bourassa jailed Common Front leaders even though they called off a ten-day public sector strike in the face of massive strikebreaking legislation. Two of the Common Front leaders then, Charbonneau of the CEQ and Louis Laberge of the FTQ, hold the same position today. Although the Common Front workers went back to work the jailing of their leaders precipitated a spontaneous walkout of thousands of Montreal longshoremen belonging to the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA). The ILA walkout spread to Quebec's industrial proletariat, concentrated in company towns built around mines, paper and pulp mills and industrial plants. As workers took over these towns and industrial sites a state of virtual dual power was created.

Lévesque, like Reagan when he trashed PATCO, is not just targeting government workers but all of Quebec labor. The outcome of his confrontation with the Common Front is a life or death matter for Quebec's industrial unions as well. If Lévesque can get away with trashing the Common Front which constituted a bastion of support for the PQ, he will have no hesitation in going after Quebec's industrial workers, when unemployment in this province and especially in the vital resource industries is the highest in Canada outside the Maritimes. Common Front workers cannot rely on their pro-PQ union leaders to win this crucial showdown with the PQ union busters. The CSN delegates assembly demonstrates that mass union meetings are needed to elect strike committees to implement the Common Front's strike call, to organize mass picketing to defend the strike, and to turn the strike into a genuine general strike by extending it to Quebec's powerful industrial proletariat. Shut Down Quebec!

Maous/Gamma

Premier René Lévesque, PQ nationalist labor-hater.

Labor Must Break with Quebec Nationalism

The general strike, especially against government strikebreaking and union-busting, raises the question of political power. But in the absence of a revolutionary proletarian leadership, the combativity of the 1972 general strike was dissipated. Hatred for the Liberals both in Ottawa (where Trudeau had imposed the War Measures Act in 1970) and in Quebec combined with mounting resentment over the national oppression by arrogant and chauvinist English-speaking Canada was channeled, especially by the Common Front leadership, into the PQ, sweeping Lévesque to power in 1976 and 1981.

But now a Common Front demonstration of 50,000 called in front of the National Assembly on January 29 saw workers carrying placards which read: "Duplessis-Lévesque: Like Father, Like Son!" "Lévesque, Pinochet" and "Lévesque, Fascist." Before the strike began there was a move in the teachers union to expel union members who as PQ delegates in the National Assembly voted for Bill 105. And at the January 29 demonstration Charbonneau denounced 40 former unionists who sit on the PQ benches as "René-gades!" The bureaucrats are reaping the "rewards" of their years of support to the PQ. But this critical showdown between Quebec labor and the PQ provides an unprecedented opportunity to win this militant labor movement to a perspective of multinational revolutionary class unity where it is destined to play a *vanguard* role.

Lévesque has of course always been a notorious labor hater. In 1971, a year of mounting class struggle in Quebec, Lévesque stated he would "rather live in a South America banana republic" than a Quebec dominated by the "ranting and raving of labor leaders" (quoted in *Quebec: A Chronicle, 1968-72*). But the reason that "Pinochet" Lévesque is now trying to introduce a banana republic standard of living for the Quebec working class is the same reason that Trudeau imposed wage controls on federal workers and Reagan has gone after every sector of the American public that does not own a substantial piece of the *Fortune* 500: the crisis of American imperialism, of which Canada is a junior imperialist partner, and the respective ruling classes who see no other way out than strikebreaking and union-busting at home and the anti-Soviet war drive abroad. Lévesque can wrap himself up in the *fleur de lys* of "Sovereignty-Association" but as a servant of the capitalist system in this period he marches to the same drummer as Reagan and Trudeau.

In spite of its pro-PQ leadership, the Quebec proletariat has repeatedly spearheaded nationwide labor actions including several postal strikes and the 14 October 1976 one-day general strike against Trudeau's wage controls. Today were the Common Front to beat back Lévesque's union-busting, especially if it brought out Quebec's resource-based industrial proletariat, this could ignite a Canada-wide labor offensive against Trudeau's wage controls on federal workers and the massive layoffs and takebacks that have been imposed on the Canadian proletariat in mining centers like Sudbury.

In English-speaking Canada, the refusal of labor tops or the wretched social-democratic New Democratic Party (NDP) to defend Quebec's right to self-determination has been a barrier to bi-national class unity. In 1972 the now-deceased longtime leader of the NDP, David Lewis, *supported* the jailing of the Common Front leaders. More recently the NDP has been in an uproar over the PQ's application for admission to the Socialist International. In a moment of unbridled hypocrisy, one leading NDPer, citing the PQ's Bill 105, queried, "Do you think that a socialist party would do a thing like that?" The PQ responded: What about Mitterrand! This was apt as well as diplomatic: the PQ could have mentioned the NDP's massive strikebreaking in British Columbia in 1975 or declaration of wage controls in Manitoba in 1976 which won the NDP premier for that province, Ed Scheyer, the post as her Majesty's loyal servant, the governor-generalship in Ottawa. But there is a fundamental difference between a bourgeois-

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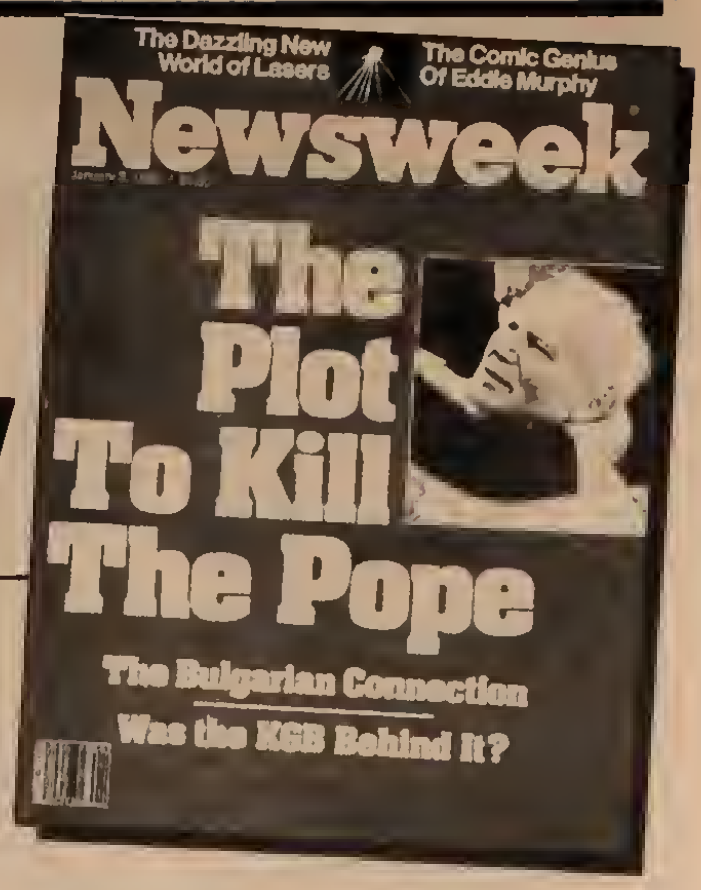
Cold War Big Lie

The "Pope Plot" Against Andropov



The "free press" in action: Hysterical rumors in the service of anti-Communism.

Who really believes the latest international terror conspiracy production, "The Bulgarian Connection, Part II"? The plot is so incredible: that USSR head Yuri Andropov tried to assassinate the pope via a "Bulgarian connection" to a "Turkish connection" to a crazed, fascistic Turk, one Mehmet Agca, who wounded the pope in broad daylight in St. Peter's Square in 1981. Or more accurately, who pretends to believe, and why? "Evidence" has nothing to do with this projection onto the Soviet bloc of every sinister assassination and terror schema imaginable; indeed the major pushers of "Bulgarian Connection II" cheerfully enough admit that probably nobody will ever prove an "Andropov connection." Those professing belief include Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski, the London *Economist*, the *Wall Street Journal*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, former Nixon/Agnew speechwriter William Safire, and a nest of "international terror experts" around Al Haig's favorite far-out conspiracy-monger Claire Sterling.

What these Kremlin demonologists are really about is whipping up fanatical hatred of the Soviet Union, by any means necessary. The latest "pope plot" assault by the "neo-conservatives," coming only days after Andropov succeeded Brezhnev, is intended to create a scare atmosphere that can undercut any inclination in Washington to bargain with the new Soviet chief. For liberal/academic Cold Warriors who find the plot line hard to swallow, a minor industry in speculation ("What *If* the Accusations Are True...") is flourishing.

There have been significant demurs, however, from this hard-line horror story, including the CIA and many other Western spy agencies, while the Reagan administration so far has maintained an official silence. According to Henry Kamm of the *New York Times* (18 December 1982), "Israeli and West German intelligence and security sources with a special interest in international terrorism are skeptical of charges of a Bulgarian connection in last year's attempted assassination of Pope John Paul II by a Turk." (Of course, after Wojtyla's meeting with Yasir Arafat, we don't imagine the Mossad is feeling friendly toward the Christian god's vicar on earth.) British intelligence is also reportedly skeptical (although there are some who think MI6 may be closer to the KGB than the Bulgarians are).

The alleged motive on which the plot pushers are hanging their "Andropov killed the pope" concoction is Poland. Rumors have been floated that Wojtyla sent a secret letter to Brezhnev threatening to give up the papacy and lead his Polish legions against any Russian threat. After the shooting, some tried to explain away Solidarność's stunning collapse with assertions that the pope was "wounded in spirit" (see "Whose Kill Pope Plot?," *WV* No. 315, 15 October 1982). In fact, Lech Walesa's Solidarność, whose counterrevolutionary character was firmly consolidated in its open alliance with the Catholic Church and the Western bankers of the International Monetary Fund, was crushed in its reactionary bid for power—at the last possible moment—by the Polish bureaucracy and army itself, and without much of a fuss. But Poland was the focus, and Solidarność the hoped-for vehicle, for U.S. imperialism's plan to "roll back Communism" in East Europe, and there are plenty of diehard anti-Communists still looking for ways to make the "Polish connection" in their anti-Soviet crusade.

The Two Omars and the Three Bulgarians

The latest twist in the "pope plot" thesis was dramatically unveiled last November, when the Italian police announced they had arrested an actual Bulgarian, one Serge Antonov, a lowly clerk in the Bulgarian airline office in Rome, and sought two more minor officials in the Bulgarian embassy. This sensational revelation followed a sudden visit to Washington, D.C. on October 5 by the Italian judge investigating the pope case, Ilielo Martello, ostensibly for "consultations" with media people (and who else?).

When Agca was first arrested in May 1981, he insisted he had acted alone. On the other hand, all evidence points to his heavy connections with the fascistic Grey Wolves Turkish organization to explain his wanderings through Europe. He'd also threatened as early as 1979 to kill the pope (a year *before* Solidarność was founded). So "Bulgarian Connection Part I" involved heavy discrediting of Agca as a source of information.

Time

Soviet Communist Party head Yuri Andropov.

Sterling's September 1982 *Reader's Digest* opening salvo stated of Agca, "He may never have known who really paid and controlled him." Indeed? Now it turns out Agca knew everything all along. *Newsweek*'s cover story (3 January) breathlessly retailed Italian "press reports" that Agca had in his pocket *when arrested* the phone numbers of the Bulgarian embassy, the Bulgarian Consulate, the Balkan Airlines office and their employee Antonov's home phone number. How come it took a year and a half for the Italians to discover what the guy had in his pockets?

Suddenly the "principal players," as *Newsweek* put it, all have new names and faces. No longer center stage is Sterling's sinister "Turkish godfather" Abuzer Ugurlu and his "luxurious Sofia mansion," and the "two Omars" (Ay and Bagci) so prominent in *Reader's Digest*. Now it's the "three Bulgarians" and a brand-new "godfather," one Bekih Celenk, who supposedly met Agca at the Hotel Vitosha, "a hotbed of Balkan intrigue." Celenk, who describes himself as a simple "fruit and vegetable importer/exporter," is apparently wanted in Turkey on smuggling charges, and last we heard was being "detained" in Bulgaria. They all sound rather as if they'd stepped out of an Eric Ambler-type thriller ("A Coffin for Wojtyla"?)—and perhaps they did.

Now Sterling primly asserts (having blown it the first time) that "The proof of Bulgaria's guilt in the plot to kill the pope is much too complex to explain in a couple of newspaper paragraphs" (*Wall Street Journal*, 22 December 1982). *Au contraire*, Claire: it all rests on what Agca, who has had lengthy and recent interviews with Italian security specialists in his isolated cell, is said to have said lately.

William Safire's *New York Times* column (27 December 1982), sarcastically titled, "'You Have No Proof'," lists some of those "facts" Sterling demurely didn't. Like Agca "was able to describe accurately the living quarters of the Bulgarian officials who were his controls and contacts." Now just how *do* the Italians know his description is accurate? Safire states there was a "flurry of electronic communication" out of the Bulgarian embassy just before the attack on the pope, "similar to the activity that took place before an American general was abducted." How curious. We recall that at the time of the Dozier kidnapping, the "terror network" crowd was claiming a "Czech connection" for the Red Brigades, then they tried to pin it on the Libyans—today the Bulgarians.

The indignant Safire attacks those "faceless officials" in the CIA who don't buy it, quoting former Director of Central Intelligence Richard Helms, "who was pointing a finger at this 'classic intelligence operation' from the start." Well, Mr. Helms *is* a convicted perjuror, for his lying testimony to the Senate over the CIA's complicity in plots against Allende. But of course for the CIA, murder plots against heads of state or the equivalent is a "classic intelligence operation": Lumumba, Che Guevara, two dozen attempts against Castro, blowing up a commercial plane that was supposed to be carrying Chou En-lai, General Schneider in Chile, not to mention U.S. puppets Diem in South Vietnam and Trujillo in the Dominican Republic.

Andropov and the USSR

If the CIA is expressing skepticism about the "pope plot," it is scarcely because the Company is scrupulous about the truth in such matters. Nor, contra Safire, is it because it's soft on Russia (shades of James Jesus Angleton, the former CIA head of counterintelligence who suspected the Agency had become a KGB front, and considers the Sino-Soviet split a gigantic hoax!).

Some imperialist policy makers simply do not want to see Andropov so vilified that it renders impossible making deals advantageous to imperialism with the new Soviet leader. Some Washington Kremlin-watchers think the former KGB chief (a post he received as a party watchdog after already establishing himself in Hungary) may in fact be more "realistic" than the immobile Brezhnev; i.e., conciliatory to Western imperialism. For example, State Department official Sidney Ploss wrote in the CIA's house organ, *Problems of Communism* (September-October 1982), right before Brezhnev's death, that "Reform of the domestic order would seem to necessitate a lowering of East-West tensions, and Andropov has been more vocal than other top leaders in supporting improved relations with the United States."

There has been speculation that Andropov might be willing to withdraw from Afghanistan in return for a deal on missiles or trade, or perhaps without such a deal. Somebody's disinformation? Wishful thinking? Moscow has angrily denied the inspired rumors in the Western press. Nevertheless, the Kremlin bureaucrats are certainly capable of such a betrayal. In 1946, for example, Stalin, in return for oil concessions and as a gesture of "peaceful coexistence," withdrew the Red Army from northern Iran, allowing the shah's army to destroy the left-nationalist Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan (somewhat analogous to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan), which had been formed under Soviet protection.

Should this happen, it would be truly a counterrevolutionary crime against the people of Afghanistan. It would mean turning the country over to U.S.-armed Islamic fanatics and feudalist cutthroats who shoot schoolteachers for teaching young girls to read. It would also result in a hostile government on the southern border of the USSR. We say: "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan—Extend the social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples!"

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Financing Latin American Death Squads and Polish Solidarność

The Vatican Connection

Not everything in life is a conspiracy. For example, why a fanatic Muslim fascist Turk would want to kill the pope for other than revenge for the Crusades is not clear. But for those who are enamored with conspiracy theories, recent revelations centered on the Vatican's financial dealings should provide grist for the mill. One gets a glimpse of a shadowy underworld involving key figures in the Vatican bank, high-level Italian financiers, government officials and neo-fascists, and some Argentine generals for spice. It is a story of mysterious bank failures and several highly unnatural deaths, of Latin American death squads and Polish Solidarność. About the only people *not* involved in this Byzantine intrigue are Andropov and the KGB.

The story begins with the election of the first non-Italian pope in four centuries, Karol Wojtyla, the archbishop of Krakow, Poland. The accession to St. Peter's throne of this hardened anti-Communist meant a sharpening of the Cold War and much more....

Let's begin the trail with the late Roberto Calvi, president of the now-defunct Banco Ambrosiano of Milano and closely associated with the Vatican bank. No doubt the "loss" of over $1.4 *billion* could make one mighty depressed. When Calvi's body was found last June hanging from London's Blackfriars Bridge, the death was ruled a case of "self-suspension"—i.e., a suicide. If so, it's rather curious—only a week before his death Calvi jumped bail and fled to England along with a bodyguard. Mind you, it's *possible* that the pudgy 61-year-old banker stuffed his pockets with thousands of dollars in assorted currencies, a phony passport and 12 pounds of bricks and stones, then climbed up the scaffolding on the bridge and "suspended" himself. But Calvi's family is screaming "murder" and alleging a Vatican cover-up.

Nor was Calvi the only casualty. "His secretary defenestrated herself" by jumping out a fourth-story window, reported the *New York Times* (18 July 1982). An investigating judge was assassinated and the vice chairman of Banco Ambrosiano was wounded by an underworld gunman last April. A pattern perhaps?

The Panama Cabal: In God We Trust

Calvi rose from a lowly clerk to president of Ambrosiano over the space of 28 years. In the process, the bank was transformed from a provincial institution to a $20 billion financial empire. Part of the growth was through market-rigging stock purchases which inflated the value of Ambrosiano's stock; another source was Vatican money. The Vatican bank, known as the Institute for Religious Works (IOR), admits to owning 1.6 percent of Ambrosiano. (Calvi's son puts the figure ten times higher.) The head of the IOR, American-born Archbishop Paul Marcinkus, sat on the board of Ambrosiano's offshore Nassau subsidiary.

Fabian/Time

President's Cold War popa gives more than spiritual aid to counter-revolutionary Solidarność.

Starting in the mid-1970s, Calvi gave out some $400 million in unsecured loans to a collection of a dozen obscure Panamanian shell companies. No interest was ever paid—it was simply added onto the debt. By 1981 the Panamanian companies' indebtedness had more than tripled, and Banco Ambrosiano's Latin American subsidiaries—who were supporting the bulk of the "loans"—began to get worried. Who were these shadowy borrowers? The *Wall Street Journal* (30 August 1982) characterized the Panamanian companies as having "murky origins and no ascertainable business activities." Among the interlocking directors were Calvi associates such as the head of Banco Ambrosiano Overseas, the Nassau affiliate.

When Calvi needed help to assuage the fears of his directors and his Peruvian affiliate he turned to Marcinkus. And he got what he wanted—the monsignor wrote letters of patronage stating that the Panamanian companies were "controlled, directly or indirectly" by the Vatican bank. Not surprisingly, after the default, the Italian government wanted god's bankers to come up with some cash to cover the debts of the borrowers they had endorsed. The Vatican has so far refused, claiming that it and Marcinkus were innocent victims of Calvi's schemes. Curiously, Marcinkus has taken up residence inside Vatican City—where he's immune from Italian state prosecutors.

Vatican Cash for Counterrevolution?

Publicly, Marcinkus claims his relations with Calvi were strictly business. But Michele Sindona, convicted swindler, suspected murderer and Calvi's predecessor as the Vatican's financial adviser, says differently. No stranger to the Holy See's overseas ventures, Sindona stated that, "The goal [of the Panama operations] was to stop the advance of Castro communism in South America." He added that Marcinkus knew and approved of Calvi's Latin ventures because "to fight communism automatically means supporting Catholicism" (*Wall Street Journal*, 23 November 1982). Sindona, of course, like many others in the Banco Ambrosiano affair, certainly has motives other than pursuit of the truth.

Take Licio Gelli. He was arrested in Geneva last fall when he tried to withdraw tens of millions of dollars from a Swiss account containing "between $50 million and $70 million, all of which had been transferred from South American subsidiaries of Banco Ambrosiano" (*Wall Street Journal*, 20 September 1982). Turns out Gelli, Sindona and Calvi were buddies—they all belonged to a secret Italian Masonic lodge called Propaganda Due (P-2). When P-2's membership list came to light in May 1981, the ensuing scandal toppled the Forlani government. P-2 was found to include over 950 of Italy's top politicians, military and business leaders; it was linked to several coup plots in Italy centered on the secret police. P-2's "grand master" was an industrialist who had fought in an expeditionary corps for Franco during the Spanish Civil War. He is described as "a diehard Mussolini fascist, with activities that include the financing of Exocet missiles for Argentina during the Falklands Islands war" (*Wall Street Journal*, 23 November 1982). His name: Licio Gelli.

Gelli's P-2 links extended to Argentina. "Mr. Gelli has been described as having been close to almost every Argentine president over the last decade through lodge connections.... When Mr. Perón returned to Argentina in 1973, Mr. Gelli was on the plane" (*New York Times*, 3 October 1982). *Latin American Weekly Reports* (24 September and 22 October 1982) adds General Roberto Viola and Admiral Emilio Massera, members of the junta which ousted Perón's widow in 1976, to the list of Gelli's Argentine friends.

So where did the $1.4 billion in Panama loans go? According to the *Wall Street Journal* (20 September 1982): "The loan money hasn't been traced, but Italian investigators believe that at least part of it was used to finance right-wing political *and military* activities in Latin America" (our emphasis). What kind of "right-wing military activities"? Over 30,000 people have "disappeared" in Argentina during the military regime's "dirty war" against leftists in the mid-'70s. Gelli is tied to Argentina's top brass throughout this period and to Banco Ambrosiano's Latin operations. Calvi ran Ambrosiano. Marcinkus put Vatican cash into Ambrosiano, sat on the board of directors of Banco Ambrosiano Overseas, wrote letters of patronage for the shadowy Panamanian companies. Ergo...

"You Can't Run the Church on Hail Marys"

So said Marcinkus, according to *Newsweek* (13 September 1982). He ought to know. The Vatican has historically been a seething nest of intrigue much more akin to the poisonous treacheries of the Borgias than the pious mythology of the Bible. Many questions were raised when John Paul I, that affable peasant pope who wrote letters to Pinocchio, was recalled to god after a mere 34 days in office. His successor, John Paul Wojtyla, walked into a mammoth bank scandal and has reportedly found himself at loggerheads with the entrenched Italian Vatican bureaucracy. But the pope has powerful allies, most notably Opus Dei, the lay order which achieved political prominence in Franco's Spain and is widely known as the "saintly Mafia." According to the *Wall Street Journal* (30 December 1982):

> "Most Opus Dei leaders found previous popes too 'liberal' for their taste and, in turn, weren't welcome in the Vatican. But Opus Dei saw in an obscure Polish cardinal of Krakow, Karol Wojtyla, a fellow conservative and worked for his election as pope. Now John Paul II is giving Opus Dei greater autonomy from local bishops and far greater opportunity to affect church affairs.
>
> "The alliance is a natural one, for Opus Dei and John Paul share a trio of concerns: a fixed opposition to communism; a strong desire to enhance papal authority; and a firm commitment to preserve orthodox church doctrine on abortion, contraception, priestly celibacy and other traditional concerns....
>
> "Pope John Paul appears eager to use Opus Dei's strength to counteract the liberal tendencies of the Jesuits, who are actively engaged in social and political reform in Latin America. The pope has already promoted some Opus Dei priests to bishops in Latin America.... Opus Dei leaders would like to take over from the Jesuits the running of the influential Vatican Radio...."

Now back to the Ambrosiano affair. Charges have been made by the Calvi family that Opus Dei had offered to help untangle the Vatican connection with

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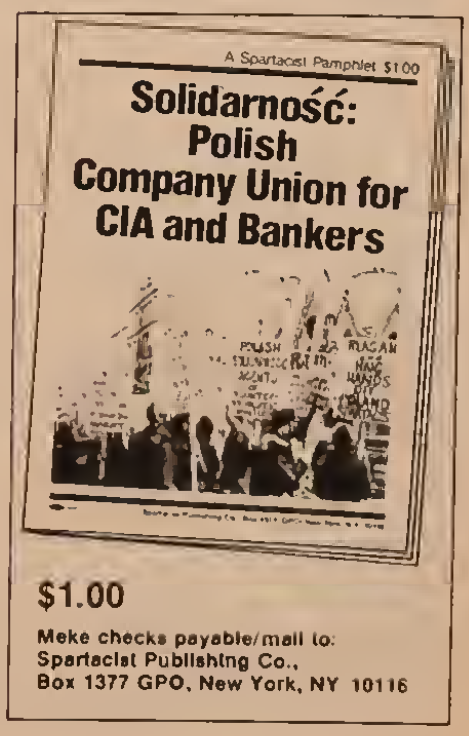
AP

Death squad gunman in El Salvador: Vatican funds right-wing military activity in Latin America.



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Missiles...

(continued from page 1)

idea—propagated also by the Stalinists and far left—that if only Europe could become a "nuclear free zone," its peoples could somehow escape World War III, is absurd. A war between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet Union, however and wherever it starts, will quickly escalate into a northern hemispheric holocaust at least. Only successful socialist revolution, not least in the United States itself, can prevent imperialism from unleashing its awesome technology of death.

The "Missile Elections" and Resurgent German Nationalism

It is an index of the changed political situation in Germany that the December 1979 NATO decision to introduce new theater nuclear weapons in Europe was first proposed and pushed by Helmut Schmidt, then Social Democratic head of the Bonn government and a pillar of the Western imperialist alliance. To placate pacifistic sentiment in Europe, their actual deployment in 1983 was made conditional on lack of significant progress—whatever that meant—in the U.S.-Soviet disarmament talks. This proviso was window dressing, not taken seriously in NATO capitals.

However, as Washington's warmongering escalated, first under Carter and then Reagan, popular opposition to the NATO rearmament mounted in Europe. So the disarmament negotiations became an elaborate exercise to influence the hearts and minds of the millions of West Europeans frightened by the growing spectre of World War III. In November 1981 Reagan launched a "peace offensive" with his famous "zero option." The Russians naturally rejected this out of hand and have since made counter-proposals of their own, most recently Andropov's offer to limit Soviet medium-range missiles to the number currently deployed by Britain and France. This was categorically rejected by Reagan, Mitterrand and Britain's Margaret Thatcher.

But the German Social Democrats welcomed it. Schmidt came forward as an advocate of Andropov's proposal as against Reagan's "zero option":

> "Put yourself in the Soviets' place for a minute. Then you would also have to consider that the other atomic powers, Great Britain and France, dismantle their medium-range weapons, which can reach Soviet territory."
> —*Der Spiegel*, 31 January

And Social Democratic Party (SPD) chairman Willy Brandt is proposing that the scheduled deployment of the Pershings be postponed pending further Washington-Moscow negotiations.

These seasoned and cynical NATO social democrats are not, as the American Cold Warriors absurdly contend, being taken in by the Kremlin's "peace" offensive, nor are they simply competing with the "anti-nuke" Greens (petty-bourgeois ecological hysterics) for the "peace" vote. Rather the Social Democrats now believe that the interests of *German* imperialism, especially its long-term ambitions toward Soviet-dominated East Europe, can be furthered by a greater distance from American imperialism.

The rise of the new nationalism of the "left" in West Germany (not so long ago America's most loyal European ally) has naturally set off alarm bells in Washington and also Paris. For example, the Dr. Strangelove of the Carter years, Zbigniew Brzezinski, writes: "we witness adoption of an essentially neutralist posture by one of West Germany's two major political parties, with its new leader, Hans-Jochen Vogel, going out of his way to treat Washington and Moscow on an equal basis" (*New York Times*, 30 January).

This is quite an overstatement. The German Social Democrats remain an Atlantic Alliance party (though far less fervently than before). No prominent SPDer has even hinted at withdrawing from NATO at the present time. But the party's direction of motion is toward a German nationalism balancing between the Soviet Union and American imperialism. Right-of-center SPD leader Hans Apel, a former defense minister, now punctuates his campaign speeches with the slogan: "We are against displays of subservience toward the West and against displays of force toward the East."

Spartakist

Bonn, October 1981: German Trotskyists of TLD denounce nationalism of the "left": "Down with NATO—Defend the Soviet Union!"

Schmidt, Brandt, Vogel & Co. look toward the day when they can get back Prussia and Saxony (the German Democratic Republic) from the Soviet bureaucracy. A "neutralist" Germany means a reunified *capitalist* Germany. Stalin himself made such an offer in 1952, but the German bourgeoisie was then too weak vis-à-vis the Americans to take it up. Stalin's heirs are not now about to turn over East Germany to the Frankfurt bankers and Ruhr industrialists, but they are more than willing to encourage the new nationalism of the "left" in West Germany.

A *New York Times* editorial (4 February) has the nerve to warn the Russians against letting the evil genie of German nationalism out of the bottle:

> "No diplomacies have been more disastrous in this century than those that underestimated German nationalism.... How can any 20th-century leader dare arouse that dark force for transient purpose?...
> "Because unification also remains the East Germans' dream, it is sheer madness for the Russians to be promoting neutralism in West Germany. A neutralist West Germany would use every ounce of its strength to subvert the Soviet grip on East Germany."

It is sheer duplicity for this leading organ of the American ruling class to invoke the spirit of Yalta, that division of Europe (centrally Germany) into U.S.- and Soviet-dominated spheres. American imperialism is not defending (and has *never* defended) the postwar status quo in Europe and it is now intent on turning West Germany into a nuclear launching pad to incinerate the Soviet Union, killing tens of millions of Russians.

While decrying German nationalism as a threat to the peace of Europe, the liberal *Times* in seamless unity with Reagan has done everything in its power to inflame Polish nationalism against the Soviet Union. In the fall of 1981 Poland stood on the brink of civil war, staved off at the last minute when the Stalinist regime spiked Solidarność' bid for power. Had Solidarność taken power, Poland would have been transformed into a fanatically anti-Communist ally of Western imperialism bringing the military forces of NATO right up to the Soviet border. And counterrevolution in Poland would in short order pose the reunification of Germany on a capitalist basis.

The German Social Democratic demagogues, the nationalists of the "left," are laying the basis for a revanchist Fourth Reich by exploiting the national sentiment of the German working masses and their desire for peace. Under a genuinely communist (i.e., Trotskyist) leadership the German proletariat, West and East, could be the vanguard for the socialist revolution in West Europe and political revolution to overthrow the parasitic bureaucracy in the Soviet bloc. West Germany is the dominant economic power in capitalist Europe. The East German deformed workers state by itself is the tenth leading industrial country in the world. A unified German *workers* state would be the industrial powerhouse of a Socialist United States of Europe. This is the program of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands, German section of the international Spartacist tendency, which combats both the openly reactionary Christian Democrats and the Social Democrats and their Green fringe.

Not Détente, But International Proletarian Revolution

It is not only the Europacifists and opponents of Reagan who preach the virtues of détente with the Soviet Union. Leading European advocates of NATO rearmament, such as Mitterrand and West German Christian Democratic leader Helmut Kohl, also speak in favor of "détente," especially in terms of economic relations with the East. Isn't this a contradiction? No. For the European imperialists, détente is an alternative strategy, one corresponding to their specific strengths, to roll back Soviet power in East Europe. The German bourgeoisie knows it cannot win a war against the Soviet Union now, but it certainly possesses the capacity to economically undermine and politically subvert the Soviet bloc.

The détente road to counterrevolution came very close to success in Poland. The massive loans Frankfurt bankers made to Warsaw in the 1970s produced an orgy of corruption among the bureaucratic elite, while allowing for increases in the consumption levels of Polish workers and peasants which could not possibly be sustained. How détente contributed to the anti-Communist explosion in Poland in 1980-81 is explained in a vulgar, exaggerated way by an American Cold War academic:

> "Détente does not liberalize ruling Leninist parties, it corrupts them—organizationally, ideologically, and personally. In Poland, the absolute commitment of former Party First Secretary Edward Gierek to the international politics of détente corrupted Polish Communist authorities absolutely."
> —Richard Spielman, "Crisis in Poland," *Foreign Policy*, Winter, 1982-83

For European imperialism, promoting internal counterrevolutionary forces in the Soviet bloc seems less risky than attempting a nuclear first strike, but the two are by no means mutually exclusive.

Since the Stalinist bureaucracy instinctively fears proletarian revolution internationally, the Kremlin leaders must maintain illusions in "peaceful coexistence" even with Reagan's America. Thus Andropov recently renewed the offer of a "non-aggression pact" between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. A "non-aggression pact" with Reagan is worth about as much as the Stalin-Hitler pact of 1939 in protecting the Soviet Union.

All of the bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and reformist forces which the Kremlin look to for "peace" are to one degree or another part of the Reagan-led anti-Soviet war drive. In the U.S. the ideological leaders of the "freeze" movement and "no first use" advocates are certified Vietnam War criminals Robert McNamara and McGeorge Bundy. These Democratic Cold and hot Warriors simply want a more rational mix of nuclear and conventional forces to confront the Soviet Union. In Britain social democrat E.P. Thompson, a leader of the European Nuclear Disarmament movement, actually welcomed Reagan's "zero option" as "a remarkable change in tone," suggesting that all it needed was a "freeze" tacked on to become fully supportable. The supposedly pro-Moscow French Communists are loyally serving in the government of Reagan's most bellicose European ally, François Mitterrand, and even hailed his anti-Soviet Bundestag speech. And the Italian Communists have decided not to agitate against the deployment of the cruise missiles in Italy so as not to disturb their hopes for "a historic compromise" with the Vatican. With "friends of peace" like these...

The Soviet Union, land of the October Revolution, is in danger. It is confronted not just with war threats but with nuclear war *plans*. The search for a popular front with some "peace-loving" wing of the imperialist bourgeoisie is more than an illusion, it is a direct danger to Soviet defense. Only the revival of revolutionary proletarian internationalism can defend the Soviet Union by destroying world capitalism. This requires a world Trotskyist party—to lead socialist revolution in the capitalist world and to oust the counterrevolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy through proletarian political revolution. The fate of mankind is in the balance. ■

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Zionist Excommunication

Snuffing candles to symbolize the extinction of their spiritual lives and blowing a ram's horn, three rabbis constituted a "Bet Din" or Jewish court and using an 18th century text excommunicated several hundred Jews. The document dates from the banning of the Jewish group called the Satanic Sabbatian Frankists in the Pale or Jewish ghetto of Brode, Poland in the year 1757. However, *this* excommunication took place not in the period of tsarist reaction, but only last December in a Massachusetts Holiday Inn. The modern-day Jewish hereties were found guilty of alleged Marxist views on Israel and sex.

The "excommunicated" included two groups: the signers of a June 20 advertisement in the *New York Times* by the "Ad Hoc Committee in Defense of the Palestinians and Lebanese People" that protested the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, and members of the New Jewish Agenda, which not only opposed the invasion but supports democratic rights for homosexuals. The spokesman for the Holiday Inn Bet Din, Rabbi Marvin Antelman, excoriated the signers of the *Times* ad for "adopting the word 'Jewish' to get across a Trotskyite program in defense of the Palestine Liberation Organization." As for the New Jewish Agenda, Antelman thundered: "You can't be Jewish and homosexual. It's a contradiction in terms. It's an abomination." It's "like undoing the circumcision."

Antelman, who claims to be the chief justice of a 13-member Supreme Rabbinical Court of America, Inc., said that the excommunication could only be reversed by the chief rabbis of Israel. One of the signers of the June 20 ad, noted linguist Noam Chomsky, said of the anathema pronounced against him, "I don't think it will carry very much weight in Israel except in very kooky circles." But the "very kooky circles," the Rabbi Antelmans of Israel, have state power to impose their decisions. Israel is not merely a racialist "Jewish state," but a theocracy run by an alliance between "secular Zionists" and a very powerful Orthodox Jewish rabbinate, organized into the National Religious Party (NRP) and Agudath Israel.

The Orthodox rabbinate rival Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini in their attempts to enforce religious intolerance. Basing themselves on the pre-medieval Talmud and the ancient laws the Torah evolved for an ecclesiastical slavocracy, they dictate laws that impinge on every aspect of daily life in Israel. This despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of Israeli Jews are not orthodox, and many are not religious. To give just one example of the power of this Orthodox rabbinate: in Israel, the only recognized Jewish denomination is Orthodox, and for Jews the only valid marriages, divorces, religious conversions, burials, etc. are those performed by an Orthodox rabbi. Therefore, Jews converted by Reform or Conservative rabbis are not recognized as Jews in the "Jewish state," are excluded from the racialist "right to return" (automatic citizenship) and cannot reside in the 92 percent of Israel off-limits to non-Jews! Similarly, the offspring of non-Orthodox Jewish marriages are considered "bastards" and are not entitled to Jewish legal rights.

The rise of Jewish religious fanaticism in Israel is closely associated with the coming to power of Menachem Begin's right-wing Likud government. But opposition leader Shimon Peres of the allegedly more secular Zionist "Labor" Party helped the Likud pass, in March 1980, a new "Chief Rabbinate Law" that strengthened the exclusion of Reform and Conservative Judaism from official recognition. This is not surprising as "Labor" ruled Israel for 25 years in alliance with the NRP.

UPI

Zionist theocratic reaction: War criminals Ariel Sharon and Menachem Begin with coalition partners.

Zionism is a product of the modern age of nationalism and imperialism, but it had to turn to the "Torah sages" and Talmudic scholars—to the most backward, bigoted religious obscurantism—to find "legitimacy" for attempting to forge a racialist "Jewish state" in the Arab East. The NRP has spawned a mass fascistic movement, the Gush Emunim, in the rabbinical schools that provide the cadres that colonize and terrorize the Palestinians in the West Bank as well as terrorizing Israel's own non-orthodox Jewish population.

Chomsky recalled that he shared the honor of excommunication with the 17th century philosopher Benedict Spinoza, whose ideas foreshadowed the Enlightenment. But Antelman hurls the name of the great communist Leon Trotsky, Lenin's comrade-in-arms and founder of the Red Army, at the signers of the *New York Times* ad. And the liberal anarchist Chomsky, who supports CIA-backed mullahs against the Soviet Army in Afghanistan, would find this almost as much an anathema as the Talmud-thumping rabbis of the Holiday Inn Bet Din. Yet Antelman is right to recognize in Trotskyism the arch enemy of Zionism. For the only ones to consistently fight the Israeli genocidalists while recognizing that the right to self-determination for *both* the Palestinian Arab and the Hebrew-speaking peoples can only be realized in a socialist federation of the Near East are the Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency.

Isaac Deutscher remarked in his penetrating essay, "The Non-Jewish Jew," that Spinoza and Trotsky along with Karl Marx and Heinrich Heine, Sigmund Freud and Rosa Luxemburg are in fact part of a very Jewish tradition: the Jewish heretic who transcends Judaism. "They all look for ideals and fulfillment beyond it and they represent the sum and substance of much that is greatest in modern thought, the sum and substance of the most profound upheavals that have taken place in philosophy, sociology, economics and polities in the last three centuries." Raised on the borderline of diverse nations, cultures and epochs, they embody "the moral and political heritage that genius of the Jews who have gone beyond Jewry has left us—the message of universal human emancipation." ■

Vatican Connection...

(continued from page 7)

Ambrosiano and use its financial wealth to help out the hard-pressed IOR. In an interview printed in the Rome *Daily American* (25 November 1982), Carlo Calvi said:

> "Two months before dying, my father went to the Pope in the Vatican and told him that he had established contacts with Opus Dei with the purpose of negotiating to sell them the 16 percent of the Ambrosiano then in the hands of the IOR.... He [the pope] gave his consent to the operation, but immediately Marcinkus reacted strongly, and he had Monsignor Agostino Casaroli [the Vatican Secretary of State] and the Hon. Giulio Andreotti [former Christian Democratic prime minister] on his side."

And Polish Solidarność, that company union for the CIA and Western bankers, where does it fit in? According to *L'Espresso* (5 September 1982) Calvi's associate Flavio Carboni has a tape recording of a conversation in which Calvi screamed at Marcinkus: "Watch out! If it comes out that you were paying the wages of Solidarność, not a stone of the Vatican will remain standing." Carboni split to Switzerland upon hearing of Calvi's death. Earlier, at the time of Roberto Calvi's death, *Il Giornale* (18 July 1982) reported the family's charge of murder:

> "Rather, what seems significant is what Carlo Calvi declared immediately afterwards, when he explained how he does not believe the 'lead' on international arms trafficking, but does not however consider entirely 'unfounded' the hypothesis of a secret service intervention in the murder of his father. And *after having confirmed the story of the financing of the Polish trade union Solidarność by the Banco Ambrosiano*, Carlo Calvi concluded with words that make one's hair stand on end: 'Perhaps in this case, there may be even more serious connections, but if this lead is to be followed, either they'll make us look like madmen or we'll put our own skins in serious danger as well'." [our emphasis]

And of course there had to be a Nazi. To clean up the Ambrosiano mess the Vatican called in none other than Hermann Abs. Abs was a key financier in Nazi Germany during World War II, chairman of the Deutsche Bank and a representative on the supervisory board of I.G. Farben, the German chemical conglomerate which invested $250 million in a plant utilizing slave labor from the Auschwitz concentration camp. The post-war U.S. military government recommended that he be indicted for war crimes. It never happened: Abs was "considered essential to the reconstitution of the West German economy" (*Washington Post*, 30 December 1982).

What ties shadowy right-wing conspirators and criminals like Abs and Gelli to the Vatican's pursestrings is anti-Communism. And Karol Wojtyla is the embodiment of papal anti-Communism. More actively than his cautious Polish colleague Cardinal Wyszynski, the former archbishop of Krakow promoted the clerical-nationalist circles which became the core leadership of Solidarność around Lech Walesa. When Wojtyla was unexpectedly elected pope in 1978, we wrote, "he now stands at the head of many millions of practicing Catholics in East Europe, a tremendous potential force for counterrevolution" ("The President's Pope?" *WV* No. 217, 20 October 1978). And during the next two and a half years Wall Street's man in the Vatican would help push Poland to the brink of capitalist counterrevolution.

Over a century ago the great Italian revolutionary democrat Giuseppe Garibaldi called the papacy "the cancer of Italy." Today the "cancer of Italy" has become part of the general social malignancy that is the death agony of capitalism. ■

Der Spiegel

Archbishop Paul Marcinkus, head of Vatican bank, with the pope: Hiding out in Vatican City where he is immune from prosecution.

"Pope Plot"...

(continued from page 6)

The imperialist bourgeoisie, or at any rate its more far-sighted representatives, understand that the Soviet leaders are *not*, as they profess, communists but narrowly nationalistic—and often cynical and corrupt—bureaucrats who will sell out, especially other people's revolutions. The Soviet Union can be defended against imperialism and regain its rightful place as a bastion of world socialist revolution, as it was under Lenin and Trotsky, only through a proletarian political revolution which sweeps away Stalin's heirs from the Kremlin.

Selling out other people's revolutions will not buy the Kremlin bureaucracy "peaceful coexistence." In this relentless drive to destroy the Soviet Union, the imperialists are willing to employ the wildest, most fantastic lies, like the Russians supposedly are dropping "yellow rain" on the Afghan and Laotian tribesmen. This from the same people who dumped millions of tons of deadly chemicals, not to speak of napalm, on Indochina! Now comes the story Andropov tried to kill "god's vicar on earth," from a ruling class that is planning a "protracted" nuclear holocaust against the USSR, starting by "decapitating" the Soviet leadership! The monstrous terrorists of the world are to be found in Washington, D.C. and its suburbs Langley and Arlington, Va. ■

Quebec...

(continued from page 5)

nationalist party like the PQ and a bourgeois workers party like the British Labour Party, French social democracy or even the ultra-reformist NDP. The latter organizations rest on the institutions of the working class and while they can break strikes and impose vicious austerity measures, they cannot destroy the organized labor movement, especially the trade unions, without destroying themselves. The PQ, however, can turn around and break the unions that have been its most fervent supporters.

While unions in English Canada have sent messages of solidarity to the Common Front strike, militants must demand that these unions go on record demanding that the War Measures Act be abolished, that federal intervention by Trudeau on the side of the PQ government, especially the use of troops, will be met by a general strike of all Canadian labor, and for the unconditional right of Quebec to self-determination.

The fake left capitulates either to Canadian social democracy or Quebec nationalism but the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), the Canadian suburb of Barnestown, USA (a.k.a. Socialist Workers Party) capitulates to both. While declaring their undying loyalty to the English-chauvinist NDP the RWL complains that the PQ is not nationalist enough! The RWL's *Socialist Voice* (24 January) complains "rather than confront Ottawa and the corporations which are totally hostile to the aspirations of the Québecois and are responsible for the crisis, the Parti Québecois is carrying out their goals and their work." And the RWL holds up to the Quebec proletariat the example of...the Canadian Chrysler strike!

This strike occurred only after Canadian UAW director Bob White worked hand in hand with UAW president Fraser to sabotage a company-wide strike against Chrysler. After five weeks Canadian Chrysler workers won a tiny raise and a lousy contract that doesn't keep up with inflation, doesn't close the gap with the other Big Three, doesn't close the gap with U.S. Chrysler workers due to the devaluation of the Canadian dollar, and introduces a new tool for layoffs and harassment called absentee control. The only value to the comparison is that Lévesque figures Quebec is in the same financial shape as Chrysler and he's chairman of the board. The real point about the Chrysler strike is the necessity for U.S./Canadian working-class unity given the integrated nature of their economies, especially when dealing with the same company! The Chrysler strike could only have been won if black Detroit had taken the lead. And this is an important lesson indeed for the Quebec working class.

The Trotskyist League of Canada (TLC), sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, has uniquely fought for the perspective of bi-national revolutionary class unity in which the combative Quebec proletariat must necessarily constitute a vanguard in socialist revolution throughout North America. The TLC warned that the PQ's rise to power would produce exactly what Lévesque has wrought: a vicious anti-labor government that uses the *fleur de lys* to dupe the workers while he cuts their throat. The TLC has fought for the right to independence for Quebec not because separation would be "progressive" but because the forcible national subjugation of Quebec by English Canada is a *barrier* to the class unity of the English-speaking and French-speaking proletariats of North America. The demand, however, for an "independent Socialist Quebec" raised from time to time by confused Québecois centrists and syndicalists, is utopian. No strategy based on separatism—including the utopian "socialist independence"—can truly show the way forward for the working masses of Quebec. A social revolution in Quebec, a Quebec "Commune," would necessarily have to be extended throughout North America or it would be crushed. The proletariat of Quebec will find their social as well as their national liberation only within the framework of a continental socialist revolution, and must look for its leadership to a reborn Fourth International. ■

Norfolk...

(continued from page 3)

should be opened up to black students from the inner city. And in this racist society, the presence of significant numbers of white students will make a difference in the resources allotted to ghetto schools. Black school board member Lucy Wilson who voted against eliminating busing noted, "It was integration itself that caused black neighborhood schools to be treated more equitably."

There is a government sanctioned segregationist/Klan conspiracy against equal education. Boston during 1974-76 was the Northern battleground for integrated education. The liberal-led pro-busing forces stood by as racist mobs stoned black children as they rode the buses to school. The labor movement there should have been brought into the struggle on the side of integration, but that would have meant a fight against the Democratic Party and its loyal henchmen in the leadership of the unions. From the beginning the Spartacist League defended busing and fought for its extension to the suburbs. We insisted that the key to winning the busing fight was labor/black mobilizations to implement busing and stop the racist attacks.

For the capitalist politicians to talk about quality education when soup lines have reappeared, 15 million are out of work, and Reagan's slashing every social program in sight, is ludicrous. The ghetto schools don't teach, because they are little more than concentration camps for black youth who have no future in Reagan's America. We fight for quality public education with an end to tracking and free universal higher education with a state paid stipend for all. But unlike the liberals who have a utopian faith in upward mobility through education, we understand that changes in the education system will have only a marginal impact on black people so long as they remain a race/color caste, concentrated at the bottom of American society and imprisoned in the ghettos.

The fight for school integration and quality education must be linked to the fight against the crisis-ridden capitalist system that breeds racist reaction. The mass, independent labor/black mobilization which stopped the Klan in Washington, D.C. on November 27 shows the road to victory against racist attacks. That demonstration, led by the Spartacist League and supported and built by unionists from the Tidewater area, demonstrates what can happen when you harness the power of labor in the struggle for black equality. It will take a multiracial revolutionary party to lead the struggle for revolutionary integrationism. And that's what the Spartacist League is dedicated to building. ■

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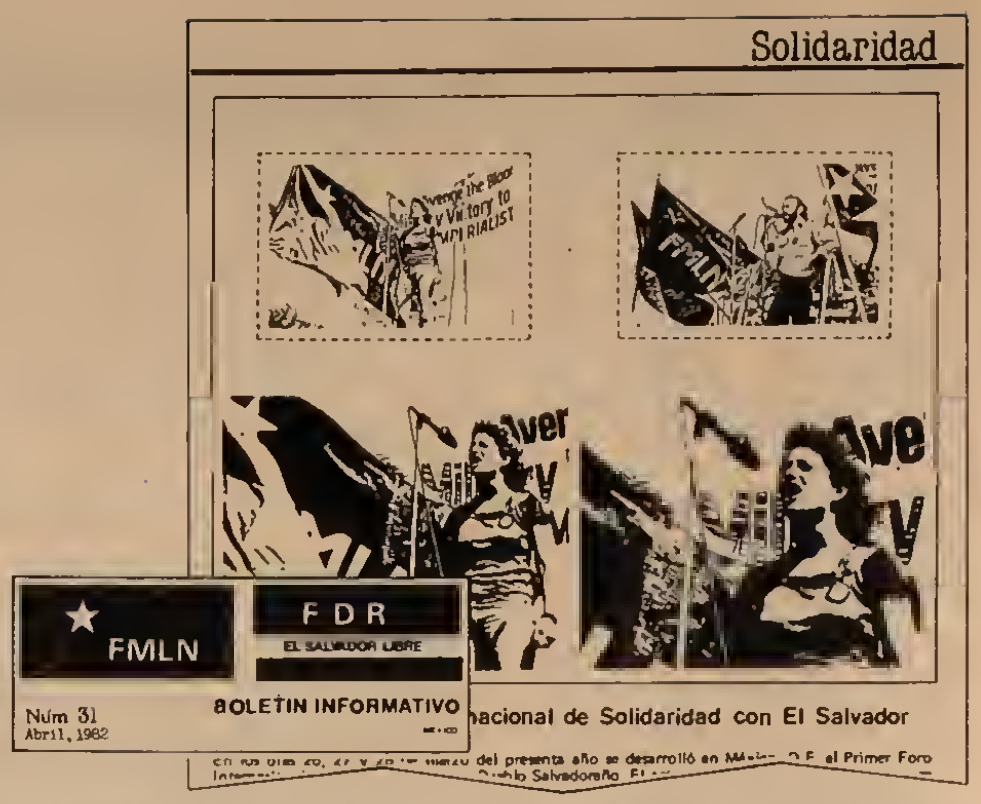

The SL says that the best way to aid the Salvadoran revolution is by fighting to carry out the American revolution. The reformists seek instead an alliance with the imperialist liberals. Our red flags of the Fourth International, FMLN, Cuban and Vietnamese banners and communist politics are a hindrance to their popular-front plans. At the 3 May 1981 El Salvador demonstration at the Pentagon, Workers World/PAM goons linked arms to prevent demonstrators from joining the SL's Anti-Imperialist Contingent rally. But the FDR/FMLN Information Bulletin (April 1982) publishes photos of the Spartacist demonstration on May 3 as an example of international solidarity.

El Salvador...

(continued from page 12)

Nicaraguan *contras* (mostly former National Guardsmen of the Somoza tyranny) escalated their attacks on the FSLN regime. This resulted in the deaths of 38 civilians and Sandinista military personnel during January. Then using the military maneuvers as cover, the Somozaist mercenaries invaded Nicaragua in force, attempting to establish a beachhead at the border town of Bismona. In the ensuing battles with the Sandinista army, 73 *contras* were killed and the attacking force fled back to their sanctuaries in the Honduran province of Gracias a Dios (Thanks Be to God).

The war "games" themselves were on an unprecedented scale for the area, involving some 20 Hercules C-130 transports, Chinook and Huey helicopters, the USS *Spiegel* landing ship, the USS *Boulder* supply ship, and other smaller back-up aircraft and naval vessels. The operation was supposed to be a defense against an attack by a "Red Army" regiment from the mythical country of "Corinth," whose real identity was a mystery to no one. The maneuvers included a parachute drop of 600 Honduran troops to lift a siege at Mocorón, which just happens to be a major *contra* base of operations. Also included was a mock amphibious assault on the Honduran port of Puerto Lempira (whose physical layout is remarkably similar to the Nicaraguan Atlantic town of Puerto Cabezas, just 60 miles down the coast).

These joint operations are part of a general step-up of U.S. military activity in the region. The American destroyer USS *William Pratt* put in a "goodwill call" to show the flag at Puerto Limón in Costa Rica. And in Panama a major military exercise codenamed "Kindle Liberty" will begin on February 10, allegedly to defend the canal. In response the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS) organized some 30,000 people to march to the U.S. embassy in Managua to protest the provocative U.S./Honduran military show of force. But a far larger crowd (100,000) was turned out to greet the ministerial conference of the Non-Aligned Movement on January 12. The great accomplishment of this allegedly "anti-imperialist" body was to pass a resolution watered down to exclude any direct criticism of the U.S. for its campaign of destabilization and aggression against Nicaragua!

The battle for Nicaragua has not been decided. The armed forces of the Somoza dictatorship fled as the Sandinistas entered Managua. But the petty-bourgeois FSLN is not committed to the defense of either proletarian or capitalist property forms. The Reagan administration seems determined to push Nicaragua down the Cuban road, despite the Sandinistas' avowal of a "middle road." Former Sandinista leader Edén Pastora ("Comandante Zero") and Nicaragua's "democratic" capitalist Alfonso Robelo (a member of the post-Somoza ruling junta and good friend of Washington) are conspiring in San José, Costa Rica. And with 60 percent of the Nicaraguan economy in the hands of private businessmen, and the governing apparatus shot through with bourgeois elements, there is a powerful pro-capitalist "fifth column" at work. An effective defense against the all-sided counterrevolutionary onslaught requires the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, and a drive to spread socialist revolution throughout Central America.

Break with the Popular Front—For Workers Revolution!

In the midst of the spectacular battlefield gains in El Salvador, FDR spokesman Rubén Zamora held a press conference in Washington on January 19 to call for "unconditional negotiations." He made clear that the Salvador-

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Open Letter to Casa El Salvador "Farabundo Martí"

Comrades,

This is a moment of decision for Central America. The January offensive of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) in El Salvador has put the American-backed genocidal army on the run. Next door, joint U.S.-Honduran military exercises are a dry run for a counterrevolutionary Bay of Pigs invasion against Sandinista Nicaragua. Ronald Reagan has declared that he will "draw the line against Communism" across Central America as part of his anti-Soviet war drive. It is therefore urgent that leftists everywhere raise the demands: military victory to Salvadoran leftist insurgents; U.S. out of Central America; and defend Cuba and the USSR against the imperialist war drive. Yet the Spartacist League (SL) is excluded from today's demonstration precisely because we put forward this program for struggle against Yankee imperialism, for victory to the working people of Central America and the world.

Yesterday, February 6, a spokesman for Casa El Salvador informed us in a telephone conversation that "our decision is that you cannot participate with your placards because we [Casa] are 100 percent not sympathetic with your [SL] position." Actually, quite a few Casa El Salvador supporters will say privately that they want the FMLN to win the war. Some even say they defend Cuba and the USSR against the Pentagon war threats. Why, then, are you afraid to say so in public, especially now when it matters? So afraid, in fact, that you fall in line with those well-known donkeys for the Democrats, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the Communist Party (CP) and the Workers World Party (WWP), in excluding the Trotskyists.

The Casa El Salvador spokesman, Ruth, said to us "it is not good to use the police, I agree," but in the next breath added we shouldn't "force" them to "take such an attitude" by coming to the demonstration! So you are prepared to call in the capitalist cops to keep out the "reds" of the SL, just as CISPES and the SWP/CP/WWP have done on numerous occasions. As you are well aware, such actions bringing in the class enemy threaten all demonstrators with violence and arrest, putting *non-citizens* at particular risk.

In the past two years these exclusions have been so hard and consistent that, rather than expose ourselves and all the other demonstrators to police attack and provocation, we have often organized demonstrations separate from the pseudo-leftists who are prepared to wreck their own demonstration and get people arrested rather than have a united action with those who carry communist slogans. This has not meant that SL-led protests have been small, though. On the contrary, all across the country—Detroit, Ann Arbor, Chicago, San Francisco—we have mobilized hundreds and thousands to effectively stop the KKK and Nazi fascists. Most recently, last November 27 in Washington, D.C. the Klan threatened to stage a racist march against "illegal aliens." The SL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization brought out 5,000 overwhelmingly black demonstrators who prevented the race-terrorists from marching while the WWP and other reformists gathered a couple of miles away. *We* stopped the Klan, *they* organized a diversionary demonstration for the Democrats.

Military Victory vs. Negotiated Sellout

The liberals and reformists are defending imperialist interests in excluding the communists who call for military victory to Salvadoran leftists. Last year an aide to Democratic Congressman Michael Barnes explained why liberal "doves" favor a so-called "political solution" between the FDR/FMLN and the Salvadoran government: "If the left wins a military victory, almost by definition it would be dominated by the guerrillas. Look at Nicaragua..." Pro-capitalist elements in the FDR/FMLN are also aware of this fact. According to a liberal academic writing on the *New York Times* (4 February) opinion page, "As a senior official in the pro-rebel Salvadoran political coalition, the Democratic Revolutionary Front, warned me, civilian moderates like himself might stand a good chance of retaining power in a negotiated settlement, but little or none with a guerrilla military victory."

What about the guerrilla fighters in the field, who are laying down their lives to liberate their people from poverty and oppression—do they want a "negotiated solution"? The pamphlet "Chalatenango Heroico" distributed by Casa El Salvador says on the question of negotiations: "...if you say to them to lay down their arms, these people would probably shoot anyone who came here saying that." But the FDR/FMLN tops say exactly that! FDR spokesman Rubén Zamora said at a press conference in Washington on January 19 that for the FMLN to win the war militarily could mean "to lose in the end." "Lose" for whom? Certainly not for the exploited masses.

The Spartacist League says that a leftist military victory is necessary in El Salvador because it can open the door to workers revolution throughout Central America, because the real alternative for the masses is revolution or death. The liberals and reformists oppose it because they fear "another Vietnam." We say, "two, three, many defeats for imperialism." It is said by some that the Spartacist slogans are "extreme" or "premature." Look at some of our earlier "extreme" positions, then: "All Indochina Must Go Communist," "Down with the Shah, Down with Khomeini" and our warning that the Allende popular front was preparing the way for bloody reaction. You won't find many leftists today who admit to having been for coalition government in Vietnam, mullah rule in Iran or the "peaceful road" in Chile. But they all were at the time.

Comrades of Casa El Salvador, we realize of course that another 100-200 protesters at this demonstration would not make a great deal of difference. But exclusion of communists is an attack against organizing the American revolution in the belly of the imperialist beast. We, with our Trotskyist program which holds the keys to victory, are merely the continuers of the tradition of the founder of the Red Army, who did after all have a lot of experience in fighting imperialist intervention. Defense of Cuba/USSR begins in El Salvador! U.S. get out of Central America! Military victory to Salvadoran leftist insurgents! Dump Ungo and Zamora—Break with the popular front—For workers revolution! Forward to San Salvador!

New York Spartacist League
7 February 1983

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an opposition coalition does *not* seek to win the war but to end it. According to a report in the rad-lib *Guardian* (5 February):

> "...Zamora cautioned that the FMLN is not trying to achieve a military victory in El Salvador, because the country's problems must be 'solved through dialog, through negotiation, and not... a military solution.' To win only in a military sense, could mean 'to lose in the end.' One purpose of military pressure is to insure that the U.S. administration eventually will accept a negotiated solution that gives the rebel forces a share of the power."

There have been numerous other statements by FDR/FMLN leaders confirming that their program is indeed one of "military pressure." Most recently, in the town of Corinto (Morazán), currently controlled by the rebels, Comandante Miguel of the Resistencia Nacional group reportedly told a rally, "At any moment we are prepared to lay down our arms and end this war" (*Washington Post*, 25 January).

For the Salvadoran working masses and the guerrilla fighters who have already shed so much blood fighting to liberate their people from the rule of a rapacious oligarchy and their jackbooted killers, this would mean disaster. But for the liberal bourgeois and petty-bourgeois politicians of the FDR/FMLN the purpose of the struggle is to achieve some cabinet seats for themselves, so they can forestall the brewing social revolution by legislating reforms. Military victory—the destruction of the butcher army, the core of the capitalist state apparatus—is necessary in order to open the way to the overthrow of bourgeois rule. Where would Nicaragua be today, for instance, if the attempted last minute "negotiated settlement" had taken hold and the National Guard were intact (purged of a few of the more notorious mass murderers)? Pro-imperialist elements like Robelo and Pastora would be sitting in power in Managua instead of cooling their heels in Costa Rica.

The Robelos and Pastoras of El Salvador are at the very top of the FDR/FMLN. These are the shadows of the Salvadoran bourgeoisie, whose role in the popular-front coalition is to act as guarantors of capitalist rule. (Dr. Guillermo Ungo's predecessor as head of the FDR, Enrique Alvarez Córdova, was a scion of one of the "14 families," the coffee barons who have ruled the country for the last century). And the opposition has repeatedly held out the offer of an alliance with Napoleón Duarte's Christian Democrats. (Butcher Duarte was the head of the murderous junta for the first two years of the present civil war!) But the answer is not simply to dump the Ungos and Zamoras. The entire FDR/FMLN popular front is pledged to the program of reforming (and saving) Salvadoran capitalism. The real force for revolution throughout Central America is the working class. And it is notable that throughout the last offensive, from October 1982 to the present, the leftist rebels have not attempted any kind of actions by the workers in San Salvador or elsewhere. Moreover, both of the significant setbacks suffered by the FMLN (the failed general/"final" offensive of January 1981, and the regime's phony elections of March 1982) were due to the fact that no systematic effort was made to rouse the urban masses. Yet the Salvadoran proletariat has not been passive and apolitical. On the contrary, it was a series of general strikes and mass demonstrations during 1978-80 that laid the basis for the present struggle. These were met with bloody repression. But rather than being defeated, the militancy of the Salvadoran masses was dissipated in an endless series of actions lacking any strategy for a revolutionary working-class seizure of power.

Already some of the imperialist press is predicting a government defeat in El Salvador. The *Baltimore Sun* (1 February) quotes a "Western source" saying that by midyear, "The army will be intact in the barracks, but the guerrillas will control the countryside." Nevertheless, the battle of San Salvador is key, and in this the combative Salvadoran workers are decisive. Even in spite of the present bourgeois popular-front leadership of the left, an urban insurrection could develop into a revolutionary crisis. As workers seized the factories and besieged the barracks, a revolutionary communist leadership would be the fundamental element for victory. A Leninist-Trotskyist party, built on the program of permanent revolution, would seek to mobilize the masses for the formation of soviets, as the organizational basis for a proletarian revolution and a workers and peasants government.

The Trotskyists are intransigent opponents of a negotiated sellout, and of the reformist capitalist program which leads to it. Where the FDR/FMLN calls for maintaining "free enterprise," we call for expropriation of the bourgeoisie (not just the aristocratic oligarchy). Where the FDR/FMLN calls for implementing the land reform decreed by the Christian Democratic-military junta, communists call for agrarian revolution—seize the haciendas! And unlike the petty-bourgeois nationalists, who dream of a "Free El Salvador" in cooperation with an "enlightened" U.S. imperialism, a Trotskyist party would seek to spread socialist revolution to all corners of the region. This could transform Central America from Uncle Sam's back yard into the vital link uniting socialist revolution throughout the Americas. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Smash the Butcher Army—For Workers Revolution!

Forward to San Salvador!

U.S. Out of Central America!

FEBRUARY 7—Guerrilla fighters of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) scored a dramatic victory last week by taking Berlin, the second largest city in Usulután province in southeastern El Salvador. With a quarter of the entire government army pinned down in heavy fighting to the north in Morazán, the left-wing rebels struck swiftly, taking four towns in Usulután and blowing up two key bridges along the coastal highway in little over a week. The FMLN had made a significant gain in bringing the war from the eroded scrublands of Morazán and Chalatenango to the fertile cotton, coffee and sugar plantations of the coastal plain. Military officials have said that the three-year-old civil war will be "won or lost" in this rich agricultural region. The taking of Berlin made it clear to all that the leftist insurgents could win the war. The Spartacist League says: "Forward to San Salvador!"

Also last week, 1,600 U.S. troops joined with 4,000 Honduran soldiers in war "games" near the border with Nicaragua. The operation, codenamed "Ahuas Tara" ("Big Pine" in the Miskito Indian language of the region), is the largest yet in a series of military exercises in the Caribbean basin. Held only ten miles from the frontier, these maneuvers were a clear threat and provocation directed at the petty-bourgeois radical government of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) in Nicaragua. Along with an earlier operation last July, these maneuvers have established the forward bases and logistical support network for an invasion by counterrevolutionary mercenaries (*contras*) backed by Honduras and the U.S. In the face of this "most overt covert operation in U.S. history," the Spartacist League demands: "U.S. Out of Central America!"

FMLN leader addresses crowd in city of Berlin after defeating government army. UPI

Against the imperialist war drive to "stop the spread of communism" in this hemisphere, the petty-bourgeois nationalist leaders of the FSLN and the Salvadoran opposition Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) plead with the liberal "doves" to pressure Reagan for a "political solution" to the conflict in Central America. In Washington, House Democrat Michael Barnes remarked, "It should be clear to anyone who reads the newspapers that our side is not winning this war," and called for a negotiated settlement (*Washington Post*, 5 February). *Our side* is that of the worker and peasant masses fighting for their liberation from capitalist oppression, and we warn that gains won at tremendous cost on the battlefield must not be used to promote a sellout deal at the bargaining table. A military defeat of the genocidal army is necessary to open the way to workers and peasants governments throughout Central America and the socialist reconstruction of the devastated isthmus.

FMLN troops form up in Berlin's central plaza. UPI

El Salvador: Army on the Run

In spite of their traitorous political leadership, leftist insurgents in El Salvador have made tremendous gains since the beginning of the year. In taking Berlin, a city of 40,000 in the coffee-rich uplands of Usulután, the rebels brought the war home to some of Salvador's landed elite, members of the so-called "14 families." By cutting off the coastal highway and bombing bridges over the Lempa River (only one is left), the guerrillas have practically cut the country in half. In particular they have tightened their stranglehold on the transport of cotton and sugar, which together with coffee constitute the economic base of El Salvador.

Unable to bolster government troops in Berlin, the military dispatched A-37 "Dragonfly" jet bombers in a desperate attempt to stem the rebel advance. Dropping 500-lb. bombs and launching air-to-ground rockets, the air raids' only "success" was in killing or wounding hundreds of civilians and leveling several blocks of the city center. Replying to FMLN charges of indiscriminate bombing by these U.S.-supplied warplanes, an American embassy spokesman cynically remarked, "The responsibility for the conduct of the war is the Salvadorans'. I can't deny there might be some indiscriminate bombing... but Salvadorans are good pilots."

In northeastern Morazán, government officials were forced to acknowledge the failure of their 20-day offensive against the rebel strongholds. The 6,000-man force, supported by jets and UH1-H "Hucy" helicopter gunships, encountered stiff resistance. In the battle for Meanguera, the elite Atonal Battalion (trained in Fort Bragg, North Carolina) was forced to retreat under heavy fire. And on January 20, Radio Venceremos announced the formation of the "Rafael Arce Zablah" Brigade armed with heavy mortars and 90 mm. cannons recently captured from the army. This enabled the guerrillas to slug it out in pitched battles with government forces. While the latter were able to retake some towns along the paved road north from the provincial capital, the FMLN maintains control of the surrounding highlands.

Meanwhile, in a spectacular raid on January 26, guerrilla forces attacked the San Carlos garrison in San Salvador, the country's largest, holding it under siege through the night. In addition they staged actions in five working-class suburbs of the capital. The attack on San Carlos was only repelled when helicopter gunships machine-gunned the surrounding residential neighborhood just one mile from the U.S. embassy! A few days later, as rebels rolled through Usulután, rattled defense minister José García declared, "We are preparing precisely what is pertinent to satisfactorily resolve the situation...." An imperialist "expert" in San Salvador commented, "If things don't change, within four months the government is going to lose this war."

Sandinista Nicaragua Under Siege

In the month preceding the U.S.-Honduran joint military exercises, the

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WORKERS VANGUARD

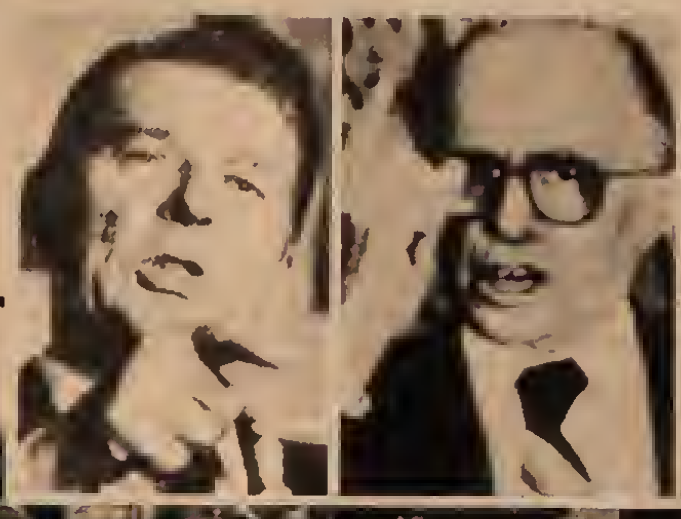
25¢

No. 324

25 February 1983

Zionist, U.S. War Criminals Let Off

Blood of Beirut On Their Hands



UPI Rollo/Newsweek Der Spiegel

Imperialist, Israeli Troops Out of Lebanon!

FEBRUARY 20—Zionist rulers hate comparisons with the Nazis, but no comparison is more apt. After their "blitzkrieg" and "purification" campaign in Lebanon, Israeli officials now claim, just like the defendants at Nuremberg, that they "didn't know" what their Maronite Einsatzkommandos had wrought.

The official Kahan commission of inquiry made the obvious point that "no prophetic powers were required" to know what would happen when the fascistic Phalange was sent into the Palestinian camps of Shatila and Sabra. Nevertheless, the commission goes on to whitewash the Begin regime and the Israeli army in general: "Absolutely no direct responsibility devolves upon Israel or upon those who acted in its name." The only member of the Begin government singled out for even "indirect responsibility," Defense Minister

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Avenge the Victims of the Butcher of Lyons!

Klaus Barbie: From Gestapo to CIA

For 40 years they have waited and remembered. The survivors and families of the victims of Nazi war criminal Klaus Barbie have been waiting too damn long to get simple justice. For 40 years they've waited to avenge the crimes of the mass murderer and torturer who as head of the Gestapo in Lyons, France between 1942 and 1944 was responsible for murdering more than 4,000 people, shipping 8,000 to the unspeakable horror of Hitler's death camps and arresting and torturing thousands more: Jews, members of the French Resistance Movement and other enemies of the Third Reich and of its Vichy collaborators.

They've been waiting 40 years to get their hands on the SS *Obersturmbannführer* known as the "Butcher of Lyons," the sadist with the leather whip who conducted the torture sessions so well remembered: blackjack beatings to unconsciousness; revived by dunking in ice water, beaten again, slashing with razor blades; gasoline poured on wounds causing infection as well as pain, acid injected in the bladder. They remember Resistance fighters dragged behind cars, and death by meat hook. They remember homes burned down with occupants inside. And they remember 6 April 1944 in the village of Izieu, the day Barbie's men, with French assistance, grabbed all 41 children of a

continued on page 12

Damanne

From Swastika to Stars & Stripes: Nazi Berbie in 1943 (above left) later became anti-Soviet hireling of U.S. government.

Death and Taxes

It was a surreal scene on the North Dakota prairie. An armored personnel carrier creeping through the farm fields, with 100 cops cowering behind it, firing tear gas cannisters at an isolated farmhouse. Earlier they had tried to trap their victim with a roadblock on a windswept highway in the middle of nowhere. But he shot his way through the ambush leaving two U.S. marshals dead on the ground. When they couldn't find him on the farm, they set off a manhunt involving virtually all the police power in the Dakotas, including the FBI and the highway patrol. Their target: 63-year-old Gordon Kahl, wanted for tax evasion and still at large.

"One of those income tax fanatics," said U.S. Deputy Marshal Odean Lee of the Fargo office. "They just didn't believe in driver's licenses or anything," he said. Earlier Kahl had done time for income tax evasion in Texas. He was a "hard case" and a member of the neo-fascist fringe group, Posse Comitatus, which does not believe in the government's right to tax, land-use laws or the validity of paper money. Kahl may not have recognized the state, but they sure as hell recognized him. And in the name of the supremacy of the state, they created a crime out of nothing.

The sinister ultra-rightist Posse Comitatus is preparing for an imminent collapse of the U.S. government. Named after an 1878 act of Congress banning enforcement of civil rights laws in the South after Reconstruction, they see themselves as a "backup police force." Their members wear gold lapel pins in the form of a hangman's noose. Posse members have held paramilitary training sessions with the Ku Klux Klan and the Minutemen. A 1981 police raid on their Wisconsin base reportedly turned up a sizable explosives cache, bunkers and tunnels.

Gordon Kahl and the Posse Comitatus are a threat, all right, but surely not to the federal government. When the fascists put on their white sheets and ride into town with their rifles ready for shooting down blacks, trade unionists and socialists, they don't get roadblocks, they get police winks and even, like in Greensboro, a cop informer right in the lead car with them to make sure the murderous attack comes off okay!

As for Kahl's taxes, big businessmen get away with *millions* in unpaid taxes all the time. Does anybody roadblock their limousines? Reagan has practically eliminated income taxes for corporations what with all these tax credits—you can even *sell* your income tax credits to somebody else these days. What the state couldn't tolerate about Gordon Kahl was that he defied its fiat, flaunting his contempt for its divine right to rule. "He didn't believe in nothing, only what he wanted to," complained Sheriff Raymond Weatherby of Crane County, Texas where Kahl was first busted for refusing to file his income tax returns.

In Utah a few years ago, a Mormon fundamentalist set out to build a self-reliant life in the mountains. He pulled his kids out of what he considered "immoral" public schools and taught them himself. The local sheriff, knowing the fiercely independent man packed a pistol, refrained from serving a warrant. Instead, as an ironic *New York Times* editorial entitled "That'll Teach the Singer Children" (21 January 1979) told the story: "But in time, state troopers decided that such continuing disobedience of the law was intolerable. Thursday, after an earlier failure to arrest him, 10 officers surrounded him on snowmobiles. When, reportedly, he pulled out a pistol, they shot and killed him." The mother was thrown in jail overnight. As for the children, we suppose they're now in public school learning that America is a free country.

America likes to fancy itself a nation of rugged individualism, the pioneering spirit and all that. This is supposed to be a country where you can basically do whatever you want, as long as you don't hurt anybody else. "Don't Tread on Me" was the slogan of the American Revolution. Well, we believe in "Don't Tread on Me" as much as the next guy, but we think it ought to include blacks, and Latins, the Haitians, the Mexican immigrants, everyone who's managed to make it to this country. And we know this spirit is the polar opposite of the massive and growing official terror of the capitalist state.

America breeds a particular type of right-wing populist who regards "big government" (along with the unions, Jews and blacks) as the consummate source of social evil. They go for politicians like Ronald Reagan who promise to "get the government off your back." Then they find the government not only on their backs, but all over their paychecks, in their bedrooms, their libraries, their cars, and sometimes on their front lawns in tanks.

The development of modern capitalism runs hard and fast against the American grain of "high noon" individualism. What's going on is the inevitable, poisonous result of a century of American imperialism. It's an invidious worldview: after decades of bullying and slaughtering from the Caribbean to the Pacific, from Vietnam to South America, the decadent American ruling class and its special state repressive forces have turned on their "own." It's going to take a socialist revolution to sweep away the corrupt, murderous killer elite of the state and their capitalist masters. Then, and only then, will America be at last and for the first time truly a free country.

By the way, there's no income tax in Russia. ■

1776: "No taxation without representation!"

1983: Taxation or annihilation.

AP

Letter

Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!

Antigo, Wisconsin

Hello,

At the time the Red Army went into Afghanistan I was a subscriber to the Workers Vanguard. I wrote a letter to cancel my subscription in outrage over what I thought at the time was an invasion. Due to the subsequent revelations about who the Afghan "freedom fighters" are, mostly rich land owners, and the lack of resistance by the urban proletariat, I have to admit I was wrong.

When Reagan hails the "freedom fighters" and when the CIA funnels weapons to them thru the "democratic" government in Pakistan, it is time for a reassessment of the situation.

For awhile I was enamored with the so-called Marxist-Leninist movement with their constant fawning over Stalin and Enver Hoxha. Then I read "Stalin" by Deutscher and "The Revolution Betrayed" by Trotsky and changed my mind about Stalin being a great socialist.

Also, I have read much about the SL's involvement against the Klan. Your group seems to be the only one who realizes how to handle them.

So after saying all this, I would like to subscribe to the Workers Vanguard.

I've read the Militant but they seem to be a clone of the Daily World, with their constant dwelling on parliamentary action.

So, please send me some info on how to subscribe to Workers Vanguard. This time I won't cancel.

Mike Brandow

The author's earlier letter is printed in WV No. 249, 8 February 1980.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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EDITOR: Jan Norden

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SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office
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(212) 732-7860

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Spartacist Candidate on the Ballot

Martha Phillips for Oakland City Council!

Martha Phillips will be the Spartacist candidate for council member at large in the Oakland City Council elections scheduled for April 19. A veteran of the antiwar and women's movement, a member of the International Typographical Union and well-known spokesman for the Bay Area Spartacist League, Phillips will appear on the ballot with the designation "Socialist Union Militant." Her 150-word statement (see accompanying box) will be mailed to all Oakland registered voters before the election.

But simply getting on the ballot required a fight with city officials. Eager to censor the views of an outspoken revolutionary socialist when Phillips and her attorney, Valerie C. West, attempted to file her qualifying papers on February 10, Oakland city clerk Arrece Jameson refused to accept the ballot designation "Socialist Union Militant" and threatened massive deletions in the candidate's statement. Under the guise of "non-partisanship," Jameson declared unacceptable such words as "socialist," "Spartacist," "Democrats," "Nazis," "KKK," "Klan" and, last but not least, "Trotskyist." This is only the latest in a series of attempts by California election officials to use the state's "non-partisan" election laws to muzzle the views of class-struggle opponents of the capitalist system and its Democratic and Republican Parties.

Phillips, refusing to alter her statement, demanded a meeting with the City Attorney where, several days later, she and her attorney insisted that her ballot designation and statement be printed without censorship. The City Attorney was faced with last year's precedent, when the San Francisco registrar of voters had been forced to correct similar attempted censorship against Spartacist candidates Richard Bradley and Diana Coleman. Bradley and Coleman's ballot designation of "Socialist Union Militant" had been deleted and all critical references to "Democrats" excised from the sample ballot and Voter Information Guide. It cost the city of San Francisco in excess of $40,000 to correct this censorship by a special mailing to all voters and by correcting the ballots on all the city's 4,000-plus voting machines.

In the face of stepped-up Klan and Nazi terror attacks, aided by the racist cops, in nearby Richmond and Contra Costa County, it would have been particularly outrageous to prevent Phillips from even mentioning these race-hate terrorists in Oakland, a majority black city with a sizable Latino population. Phillips was an organizer of the Spartacist League-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization, which stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. November 27, and stressed her right to oppose the Klan/Nazi thugs here. After several days' deliberations, the City Attorney informed the candidate that, after all, "Socialist Union Militant" and her campaign statement would appear as originally submitted.

This is a victory not only for Martha Phillips but for the entire workers movement and supporters of democratic rights. It is also a victory for the voters of Oakland, a working-class and minority city hard hit by the truly bipartisan cutbacks, layoffs, plant closings and runaway shops. Spartacist organizers are gearing up to take Phillips' class-struggle program to factories and union halls, to the black ghettos of west and east Oakland, where youth unemployment runs in excess of 50 percent, and to the predominantly Latino neighborhoods. Those wishing to assist the campaign and/or make contributions should contact the Spartacist Party Campaign Committee at 408 13th Street, Suite 260, Oakland, California 94612 or call 835-1536. ■

Statement Filed by Martha Phillips

Without socialist revolution catastrophe threatens mankind. Reagan, with Democratic support, prepares war against the Soviet Union. The bosses and their government attack workers, minorities, youth, the aged. Feeding on reaction, the KKK/Nazis boldly attempt a campaign of racist terror.

I am a Trotskyist and helped organize the Spartacist-initiated labor/black mobilization that stopped the KKK's November 27 Washington D.C. march. We need an integrated workers party whose aim is a workers government that will take the productive wealth of this country, including the idle factories, from the hands of the capitalists and establish a socialist planned economy.

Oppose anti-Soviet war preparations! Military victory to Salvadoran leftists! Israeli/imperialist troops out of Lebanon! No gun control! For labor/black defense against Klan/Nazi terror! For massive public works under union control! Jobs for all, decent housing, free transit, medical, childcare, education, abortion! Stop INS raids—citizenship rights for undocumented workers!

☐ Please send further information on the campaign

☐ I endorse the campaign of Martha Phillips for Oakland City Council

☐ Enclosed is $_____ contribution to the campaign

Help build the campaign! Call (415) 835-1536.

Name _____

Phone ( ) _____

Address _____

City _____ State ____ Zip _____

Make checks payable to/mail to:
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408 13th St., Suite 260, Oakland, CA 94612

International Women's Day Spartacist Forums

International Women's Day: A Proletarian Holiday

Speaker: Rosalind Garcia, SL Central Committee

Wednesday, March 8, 7:30 p.m.
Harvard University
Phillips Brooks House
CAMBRIDGE
For more information: (617) 492-3928

Black Women and the Fight Against Triple Oppression

Speaker: Topaz DuBois, SYL National Committee

Wednesday, March 9, 12 noon
Merritt College
Student Lounge, R Building
OAKLAND
For more information. (415) 835-1535

Trotskyism: The Revolutionary Answer to the Triple Oppression of Black Women

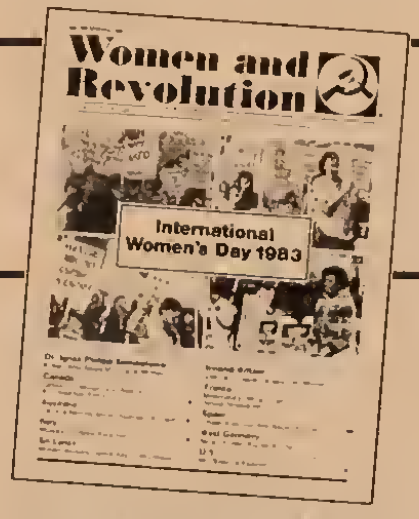
Speaker: Dora Apel, SL

Monday, March 7, 7:30 p.m.
Wayne State University
Hilberry A
DETROIT
For more information (313) 961-1680

Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Speaker: Martha Phillips, Spartacist candidate for Oakland City Council

Tuesday, March 8, 7:30 p.m.
UC Berkeley
Tilden Room (5th floor)
Student Union
BERKELEY
For more information (415) 835-1535



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Black Women and the Fight Against Triple Oppression

Speaker: Topaz DuBois, SYL National Committee

Thursday, March 10, 12 noon
San Francisco State
Student Union, Room B114
SAN FRANCISCO
For more information (415) 863-6963

Debate

Marxism, Socialism and Feminism—Which Strategy for Women?

Speakers:
Diana Coleman, Spartacist candidate for SF Board of Supervisors, 1982
Deirdre English, Editor, *Mother Jones Magazine*
Merle Woo, Freedom Socialist Party/Radical Women
Sally Gearhart, Chairperson, Dept. of Speech and Communications, SF State

Wednesday, March 9, 2-4:30 p.m.
San Francisco State
Student Union
Barbary Coast Room

Workshops

Featuring SL/SYL Speakers

History of International Women's Day

Tuesday, March 8, 12:30-1:30 p.m.
SF State Student Union
Conference Room A-E

Women and the Russian Revolution

Friday, March 11, 11 a.m.-12 noon
SF State Student Union
Conference Room A-E

Sponsored by San Francisco State Women's Center

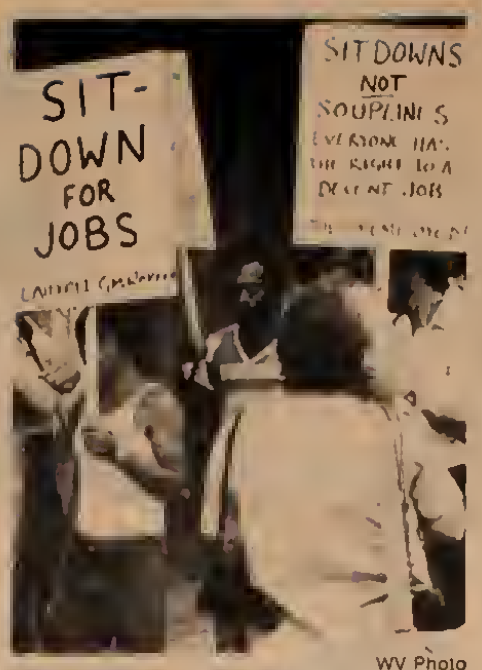
UAW Tops Surrender 3,600 More Jobs

Flint Needs Sitdowns!

FLINT, Michigan—This General Motors "company town" has become Depression City USA, with the highest unemployment rate—over 25 percent—in the country. Now GM plans to shut down yet another plant, Fisher Body, site of the historic 1937 sit-down strike which sparked over a thousand plant occupations in the Midwest and was key to finally unionizing auto. The Fisher Body closing is part of a GM scheme to consolidate a "Buick City," and it will mean the loss of over 3,600 jobs. Incredibly, GM president F. James McDonald told the working people of Flint that they should "view this as a tremendous vote of confidence by General Motors"! Go to hell, McDonald! Flint auto workers—the 20,000 unemployed linked up with the 57,000 still in the plants—have the power to spark a militant fight against the layoffs and givebacks that could spread to the heart of auto, Detroit, and bring the companies to their knees.

On Friday, February 11, officials of the United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 599 at Flint Buick sponsored a "White Shirt Day" to commemorate the 46th anniversary of the 1937 sit-down battle. (This referred to the day the strikers marched triumphantly out of the Fisher Body plant in clean white shirts after having held out for 44 days against the company and the government.) An "unemployed rally" that afternoon drew sparsely from the ranks of Flint GM workers, who knew the bureaucrats only intended to hoist the white flag—again. Plant occupations are ancient history for UAW president Doug Fraser & Co., who have done nothing to prevent layoffs while ramming billion-dollar givebacks down auto workers' throats. One hundred twenty Buick workers turned out, only to be subjected to a barrage of pro-company protectionism and told by Local 599 president Al Christner that "there's not too much to say these days that's encouraging to the unemployed"!

The bureaucrats' invited speaker was Democratic Congressman Dale Kilbee, who called for protectionist "domestic content" legislation directed against the U.S.' imperialist rivals like Japan, and for a "first-class" military machine aimed at the USSR. Far from an "alternative" to Reagan reaction, the Democratic "guns *plus* butter" program, backed to the hilt by the UAW bureaucracy, is solely designed to line up the working class behind a drive to revive the American profit system through war. We say: the real enemy is at home!



WV Photo

Flint auto workers, employed and unemployed, picket GM headquarters in Detroit last August.

The key task facing union militants and leftists is to break labor's chains to the Democratic Party through a political struggle to oust pro-capitalist misleaders like Fraser. But reformist outfits

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12 Overrule 1,006

CWA Witchhunters Throw Out Recall Petitions

Reprinted below are excerpts from a leaflet circulated by the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) in Local 9410 of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), continuing Workers Vanguard*'s coverage of the fight to stop the seven-month-long attempt to purge MAC leader Kathy Ikegami. For more background we refer readers to "CWA Witchhunters Get Burned," in* WV *No. 322 (28 January).*

* * * * *

On Jan. 20th, twelve Election Committee members did the dirty job Imerzel appointed them for: they declared their opinions more important than a thousand members and denied the recall petitions against the Local

WV Photo

MAC spokesman Kathy Ikegami campaigns for class-struggle program in the CWA.

9410's officers. They had the nerve to call the page-long list of charges the members signed—"vague and frivolous." Over a thousand of us—25 percent of the local's members—said that we'd had enough of union officers who conceal the company's plans to cut our jobs, waste our time and union money on Stalin-style purge trials, and try to pass off McKenna's attendance at a Klan meeting as "civil rights work." So we signed up for a referendum to throw the Imerzel clique out of office, and this arrogant bunch on the Election Committee spat on all of us when they denied us this right. Don't let this outrage go unanswered! The final say in recalling these sellouts belongs to the membership. For a start, call the local hall to protest (777-9410). Then beat them big in the current delegate elections—mail your ballot in today. MAC organized the recall drive—for a decent union that fights to protect our jobs, Vote the MAC Slate for Convention Delegates: Ikegami, Costan, Burnham, Gonzalez, Sonntag!

The Company Voted, Too—For the Officers!

The Election Committee's action is the only good news Imerzel's heard for some time—and we'll bet that the company's cheering, too. Jim only has his ambitions for higher office and the unpleasant prospect of having to go back to work for Ma Bell to worry about. The company, however, has some serious job-cutting it wants to do, and a number of takeaways it wants to get from our contract in August. The last thing PT&T wants to see now is an active militant union leadership, so they tried to kick petitioners out of buildings, breakrooms, and cafeterias. It's *so* obvious they feel more comfortable with the current local leadership. And Imerzel did his part to help, saying he didn't consider the petitioning "legitimate union activity." The sentiment of the membership to get rid of the Local 9410 misleadership was too strong to stop, and no wonder. While the officers passed on the company's assurances that "no layoffs are projected," the number of departments declaring surpluses and intent to layoff is increasing. In a rare flash of honesty (which he quickly overcame) Secretary McKenna stumbled and almost said that the temps just axed from Administrative Surpluses were "laid off"—he recovered to say that he wasn't sure of the "proper term." And Reagan tries to say you're not out of a job when your unemployment benefits run out—but you're still hungry. Call it whatever you want, the *fact* is that phone worker jobs are being eliminated, just like these union officers *knew* and *denied*.

Imerzel, Malliett, McKenna and Anderson know that dirty work is done best in the dark, so they gave NO public notice to the membership of the Election Committee's meeting. Observers were "allowed" only after a vote narrowly passed (6 to 5). We were denied permission to tape the meeting—no surprise, considering what they had to say. All votes were taken by secret ballot—rightly fearful, these 12 people, of recriminations from the 1,006 petition signers. Tom Knipe (Imerzel's prosecutor in the Ikegami trial) ran the whole show—much like the purge trial. Slander and red-baiting were the name of the game. Knipe repeatedly said, "members didn't know what they were signing." He went on and on about "coercion and intimidation"—yet offered not a shred of evidence.

The most outrageous and vile statements were made by Pete Strain regarding McKenna's attendance at a Klan meeting. He equated the Klan to communists, Jews, Arabs, and "other terrorists," and asked "how can we condemn an organization like the Klan, which *recognizes the American flag*, when we don't condemn organizations that don't?" (!) The disgusting argument they used was that McKenna could do what he wanted on his own time! (Does this include racist terror?) *All charges were voted as "vague and frivolous"* by these *12* people.

What Next—Imerzel: "Emperor for Life"?

At the Jan. 18th membership meeting, the top four officers came up with a new "rule"—only *they* can speak. No executive board member can give reports (guess who they want to silence? MAC member Ikegami). No discussion from the floor, only questions. No "good and welfare." Nothing—we're apparently only allowed their opinion. We'd like to see them enforce this in a packed membership meeting!

Just a followup note about the IWP (International Workers Party). At the Nov. Executive Board meeting, a motion was passed supporting the IWP and its supporters in CWA Local 11502. This motion endorsed the hammer-wielding attack on SL members and trade union supporters. Yet when this was brought up at the membership meeting, Malliett refused to talk about it and squashed discussion. Maybe the members wouldn't take too kindly to their endorsement of attempted murder. ■

It Takes Money to Stop the Klan!

On 27 November 1982, labor and blacks organized by the Labor/Black Mobilization and the Spartacist League successfully kept the Klan from marching through the streets of Washington, D.C. Instead, the anti-Klan demonstrators took to the streets, following the Klan's planned route. This was an important victory for blacks and working people in this country. But such victories cost a lot of dough! To date over $20,000 has been raised toward these expenses, over $5,000 of which was raised by the German, English, French and Canadian Spartacist groups from supporters of black rights and labor/black solidarity. Most of the people of the world see the United States as one sodden reactionary mass; but this action broke through that limited vision and sparked an impressive outpouring of financial solidarity.

But thousands of dollars are still needed, to pay the bills of that successful mobilization against the KKK race-haters. Send your contributions now to: Labor/Black Mobilization, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

Beat Back Bosses' Decertification!

Defend Steelworkers Union at Newport News!

NEWPORT NEWS, Virginia—Four years after a bitter hard-fought strike to bring industrial unionism into the open shop South, battle lines are once again being drawn at the mammoth Newport News shipyard. On one side stands Local 8888 of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), veteran of 12 weeks on the picket lines where it endured brutal, Virginia-style "right-to-work" repression administered by state and city police. On the other side is the Houston-based Tenneco conglomerate, owner of Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, and its well-financed company union. Ousted by Local 8888 in an NLRB-run representation election in 1978, Tenneco's Peninsula Shipbuilders Association (PSA) is attempting to make a comeback. If the PSA can gather the support of at least 30 percent of the shipyard workforce it will be able to force another representation election. Meanwhile Tenneco is preparing to wage knock-down, drag-out class war against the USWA when the union's contract expires next November 1, three months after the contract covering 270,000 Basic Steel workers runs out.

The outcome of this struggle will affect the existence of this key Steelworkers local and *the very future of union organizing in the South*. As pickets repeated time and again throughout the 1979 strike, the industrial Tidewater region is "labor's gateway to the South." While the rest of the capitalist economy wallows in depression, this area's military-oriented industries are thriving as part of Reagan's drive to unleash nuclear Armageddon against the Soviet Union. Turning the heavily black shipyards of southeastern Virginia into a stronghold of industrial unionism would give the labor movement a springboard into North Carolina and beyond. But to succeed, such an organizing drive must confront the racist reaction used by the employers to divide the workers and maintain a "union-free environment." Less than 200 miles southwest of Newport News is Greensboro, North Carolina, where in 1979 the Ku Klux Klan/Nazis massacred five black and white leftists and unionists who were trying to organize the Southern textile mills. The Klan must be stopped—through labor/black struggle, like the November 27 mobilization that prevented a KKK parade in Washington, D.C.

The Spartacist League (SL), initiator of the successful November 27 mobilization, stressed the crucial importance of the 1979 Newport News strike (see "Newport News: Key Battle to Organize the South," *WV* No. 227, 16 March 1979) and noted that only "decisive action to shut the shipyard down" could beat Tenneco, thereby securing the union's existence and opening up the perspective of a labor march into the South:

> "Now more than ever the strikers must understand that it is lethal to rely on help from the bosses' courts! While J.P. Stevens is still unorganized after years of impotent consumer boycotts, Newport News is the first important attempt in decades to crack the 'open shop' South through powerful *strike action*. The entire labor movement and particularly steel workers across the country must back it to the hilt. Victory to the Newport News strike!"

WV Photo

Pickets chanted "88! Shut tha Gate!" after USWA president McBride ordered tham to let scabs through.

Lessons of the 1979 Strike

The failure to win such a decisive victory over Tenneco in 1979 laid the basis for the current crisis. And central responsibility for that failure falls on the USWA International headed by Lloyd McBride, with its strategy of relying on the bosses' government and so-called "friends of labor" in the Democratic Party. McBride placed his hopes in then-lieutenant governor Charles Robb and Jimmy Carter (who had just invoked the "slave labor" Taft-Hartley Act against the militant mine workers strike) to *prevent* a strike by bringing Tenneco to the bargaining table.

Faced with the company's intransigence, McBride reluctantly permitted a strike to begin on January 31, but within a couple of weeks he was downplaying its importance by calling it a "blunder" to have boosted the Newport News struggle as "an expansion into the South." Pickets were ordered not to interfere with scabs in accordance with the state's union-busting "right-to-work" laws. The no-win strategy of the International was aptly expressed by USWA organizing director Elmer Chatak: "The sole purpose of the strike was to expedite the legal process"!

The Newport News strikers had other ideas. They thought the strike's purpose was to win union recognition and a good contract. In line with this aim, rank-and-file strikers improvised ways to implement the popular picket line slogan, "88! Shut the Gate!"—such as flying squads to patrol Washington Avenue in front of the yard in order to deal with scabs. But when a federal court in early April backed Tenneco's challenge of the original representation election, McBride hastened to end the strike. On Monday, 16 April 1979, hundreds of militant strikers fought this betrayal and mobilized to keep the strike alive by shutting down the shipbuilding works. They were given a lesson in how the bosses "expedite the legal process" in Virginia: state troopers and city cops in riot gear swept up the avenue, savagely clubbing and turning their dogs on anyone they came across. Then they carried out a storm trooper assault of Local 8888's strike headquarters. Nearly 50 strikers were injured—some requiring hospitalization—and over 60 were arrested. "Bloody Monday" stands as a symbol of the government's true function: to defend capitalist property and profit.

UPI

Newport News cops errast militents in 1979 shipyard strike.

Aided by the mailed fist of the state, McBride was able to liquidate the 12-week-old strike. Later, in response to a court ruling that denied the company's challenge of the representation election, Tenneco formally recognized the USWA and finally signed a contract with the union in March 1980—more than two years after the shipyard workers voted to be represented by the USWA. Far from a decisive victory over Tenneco, these developments represented a stalemate that left critical issues of union defense unresolved: maintenance of open shop conditions, which the company has used to undermine the USWA's base of support; failure to secure the right to strike over contract violations, giving Tenneco a free hand to virtually dictate shop floor conditions; continued racial and sexual discrimination; fired USWA activists left out on the street, where some of them remain even today. These victimized workers are some of the best fighters for the union. They stood up against the PSA because it provided *no* recourse for victimized workers, its officials were paid by the company, it helped maintain workforce discipline. While the NLRB and the courts sluggishly decide the fate of these fired militants, it is *now* that Local 8888 critically needs their experience, energy and authority *inside* the shipyard.

The current difficulties facing Local 8888 could have been prevented. The key to victory in 1979 was the picket line. The Spartacist League insists that "picket lines mean don't cross" and fights for effective mass picketing instead of depending on phony "friends of labor" in the bosses' Democratic Party. Thus *Workers Vanguard* vigorously defended Keith Anwar, the USWA Local 1010 member who was fired by Inland Steel in 1979 for refusing to cross a picket line. (An NLRB ruling last fall upheld Anwar but is being appealed by the company.) After Bloody Monday we pointed out that, "At times, of course, it is necessary for even the best of the trade-union leaders to carry out tactical retreats," but warned that the McBride leadership would try to prevent a renewed fight even under more favorable circumstances (*WV* No. 230, 27 April 1979):

> "It is imperative that militants in the yard reassemble their forces and fight for resumption of the strike.
>
> "As we emphasized from the inception of the Newport News battle, victory could not be attained without class-struggle methods. And central to that was the issue of the picket line. As we said, 'The lessons of labor history are clear: no major strike, particularly against a bitterly anti-union company, has been won by letting scabs in!'"

Both effective mass picketing and the closed shop are essential weapons of working-class defense that are prohibited by "right-to-work" laws in Virginia and other Southern states. "Bloody Monday" showed how brutally the bosses will act to enforce these laws. This means that any serious struggle to organize unions in the South must either become a political *class* struggle against the bosses' government or go down in defeat. Under such circumstances a militant strike leadership must prepare for the inevitable confrontation with the capitalist state, recognizing that, as in all class struggles, the outcome will be decided by which side mobilizes greater power.

Working-class solidarity is therefore an essential weapon to win such struggles. The Tidewater region is full of union supporters who would willingly aid a USWA strike at Newport News that could bring the "right-to-work" structure crashing to the ground. This includes the mainly black International Longshoremen's Association, which has the power to shut down the Hampton

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German Trotskyists Oppose Resurgent Nationalism

West German Elections Cold War Turning Point?

Der Spiegel Photos

Clockwise from bottom left: Christian Democrat Helmut Kohl (left) takes over chancellorship from Social Democrat Helmut Schmidt (right); Right-wing demagogue Franz Josef Strauss; Social Democratic hopeful Hans-Jochen Vogel. Europacifist demonstration in Bonn, October 1981: Petty-bourgeois radical fringe of Social Democracy.

The West German elections scheduled for March 6 are being presented, especially by spokesmen for U.S. imperialism, as a potential watershed in postwar European politics. While the ruling Christian Democrats are being held up as NATO loyalists, the opposition Social Democrats (who are equivocating on planned deployment later this year of American middle-range nuclear missiles in West Germany) are increasingly labeled "neutralist," a gross exaggeration. Running on the slogan, "In German Interests," the Social Democrats have, however, become a vehicle for resurgent German nationalism expressed in anti-American as well as anti-Soviet terms. Underlying the new German nationalism of the left (and also, of course, of the right) are the revanchist ambitions of German imperialism, the strongest power in capitalist Europe, toward the Soviet-bloc degenerated/deformed workers states.

While the foreign press has naturally focused on the international aspects of the German elections (dubbed "the missile elections"), this parliamentary contest is also taking place amid the worst economic conditions—two-and-a-half million unemployed—since the immediate post-World War II period. When the Christian Democrats maneuvered Helmut Schmidt's Social Democrats out of office last fall, the new, more austerity-minded Kohl/Strauss/Lambsdorff government was greeted by the largest, most militant and most political trade-union demonstrations in decades. The Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD), German section of the international Spartacist tendency, intervened in these important working-class actions around the slogans, "You Can't Fight Strauss with Social Democrats!" and "Bring Down the Kohl Government Through Mass Strikes—Break with the Social Democrats!"

The following article is adapted from two articles in the TLD's *Spartakist* addressing the significance of the change in government and the subsequent mass trade-union protests against the Christian Democrats.

ADAPTED FROM SPARTAKIST NO. 45, OCTOBER 1982 AND A DECEMBER 1982 SPARTAKIST SUPPLEMENT

In the context of an anti-Soviet war threat and the international crisis of capitalism, the coalition between the bourgeois liberals of the Free Democratic Party (FDP) and the Social Democratic Party (SPD) collapsed on 1 October 1982. After 13 years of the SPD's class-collaborationist coalitionism, Helmut Schmidt's "Model Germany" came apart at the seams, and now the Christian Democrats (CDU) are in power. The Social Democrats are divided by disputes over NATO's "two-track" decision (on the stationing of Pershing and cruise missiles). Meanwhile, wage cuts and mass unemployment increasingly destroyed the illusions in the SPD of large sections of the working class. When the FDP departed from the coalition, fleeing into the arms of Helmut Kohl's new "transitional government," West Germans could only observe the change in governments from the sidelines. And anyone looking at the 200-pound nonentity Kohl sees Franz Josef Strauss looming behind him just waiting for his chance.

Strauss is feared and hated as a warmonger and enemy of the unions, the embodiment of the "strongman" who is now attempting to achieve through parliamentary maneuvering what he couldn't accomplish in the 1980 Bundestag elections. The SPD is making hay of this fear, once again pushing the slogan "Fear Strauss." When the [metal workers union] IG-Metall characterized the way in which the change of power in Bonn had been effected as a "blow against democracy," the CDU ominously labeled this a "left-fascist attack." And now the CDU is pushing laws against the Greens [ecology party] and Alternatives [left social democrats] as "enemies of the constitution." During the vote of confidence debate, Helmut Schmidt [then SPD chancellor] prattled about the spirit of the constitution. But when Schmidt speaks of the constitution, he means the office for the Protection of the Constitution [the *Verfassungsschutz*, West Germany's FBI]. The SPD in power was the party of police terror and terrorist manhunts.

If the Kohl government carries out only the first stages of its program, tens of thousands of workers will lose their unemployment benefits. Every social gain is under attack, right down to sick pay. But the CDU is only taking up where the SPD left off. The Social Democrats, who went into the 1980 elections under the slogan "Enter the '80s securely," left two million unemployed; three to four million are expected next year. The SPD's "Model Germany" meant the deportation of hundreds of thousands of foreign workers to their countries of origin where mass poverty and, as in Turkey, the brutal terror of NATO generals await them. It meant concentration camps for political refugees seeking asylum from the war and terror in Lebanon, Sri Lanka and Pakistan. Now, in his first major public statement, Kohl threatened the Turkish ["guest"] workers with intensified efforts to get them out of Germany.

The SPD/FDP coalition was useful to the capitalists until they required a more reliable instrument for their offensives against the working class. And the SPD, while administering the capitalist system, is tied to the interests of its "own" bourgeoisie. Preservation of class peace (in the reformist vocabulary, "social partnership") was rendered significantly easier for the SPD against the powerful pressure from the trade-union rank and file by pointing to its bourgeois coalition partner. But even without a coalition partner, the SPD cannot even claim to defend the interests of the working class. It will continue its openly anti-proletarian policies, as Schmidt admitted without any pretense: "The policies of the federal government would not be an iota different if the SPD were ruling alone" (*Die Tageszeitung*, 11 October 1982). The Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands says: You can't fight Strauss with the SPD!

The Politics of Détente and the SPD as a "Party of Peace"

The change of government in Bonn has set off discussions around the globe as to whether the policy of détente and trade with the Soviet bloc, pushed by Schmidt against Reagan's opposition, will be continued by the CDU/FDP coalition or whether the tensions between Bonn and Washington will be dissipated. However, Krupp, Mannesmann, Thyssen [West German steel giants] and above all AEG [German General Electric, the turbine manufacturer], whose very survival hinges on trade with the East bloc, cannot afford to give up the "deal of the century," the Soviet pipeline, for the sake of the crazed first-strike fanatic in the White House. The protectionist measures of American imperialism and the advance of the Japanese competition are heightening the strategically important value of trade with East Europe for the extremely export-dependent West German industry and are strengthening its *Drang nach Osten* [drive to the East].

But construction of the pipeline is above all a symbol of the tactics of German imperialism aimed at being able to plunder its old markets in East Europe via economic penetration, credits, trade and joint enterprises. The SPD's *Ostpolitik* [eastern policy] is the expression of the path chosen by the German bourgeoisie to reverse the results of the Second World War: the division of Germany and the creation of the East European deformed workers states by social revolution from above, a course forced on the Soviet bureaucracy by the Cold War drive of American imperialism. The fact that the SPD/FDP coalition's détente politics, the necessary diplomatic counterpart to trade with the East bloc, prevailed over the ossified anti-communism of the CDU of the early '70s was thus not at all a shift to the left. Nor is it a vindication of the Kremlin bureaucracy's criminal policy of "peaceful coexistence." Imperialism will *never* be reconciled to having been driven from a sixth of the planet by the revolutionary Russian workers and peasants.

"Missile elections" highlight resurgent German nationalism in "left" pacifistic form.

For the last couple of years the SPD was increasingly torn apart by debates about the NATO "two-track" decision. Schmidt even risked his chancellorship to push through the decision on stationing intermediate-range missiles in West Germany. But the demonstrations against the missiles, and Sehmidt's threats to resign, reflected differences in emphasis *within* the SPD. Leading left Social Democrats assisted in launching the campaign against the Pershings. And it was Social Democrats who mobilized 400,000 against Ronald Reagan's visit to Bonn last June 10. Today the nationalist, anti-Ameriean and anti-Soviet "peace" movement is playing the role of a vanguard for the SPD's imperialist *Ostpolitik*. The SPD is attempting to exploit West Germans' justified fear of the warmonger in Washington, whose former secretary of state Haig wanted to explode an atom "demonstration" bomb over the Baltic, and to steer this fear onto a nationalistic course.

This "pacifist" facc of the SPD, which enabled Helmut Schmidt to win as "peace chancellor" over Cold Warrior Strauss in the 1980 Bundestag (parliament) elections, reflects the increased strength and independence of West German as opposed to American imperialism. From the closest anti-Soviet NATO ally of Washington in the '60s, Bonn has become the "reluetant ally." Part of the West German ruling class, with thc FDP as its spokesman, opted for the Soeial Demoeracy and its détente policies as the best expression of its capitalist interests. The SPD still aims at reconquering East Europe for eapitalist exploitation, as it did back in Cold War I when its Ostbüro was a key instrument for CIA penetration of the Soviet bloc. But it does so today as a bourgeois workers party beholden to the *German*, not the American bourgeoisie.

The successor state of the "Third Reieh" has never abandoned its counterrevolutionary claims to East Germany and the western regions of Poland. West Berlin, artifically kept alive by massive injections of financial aid as a NATO advance post in the heart of the DDR, is a symhol of these unfulfilled revanchist appetites. But the German bourgeoisie knows that *at present* it can only lose in a military confrontation with the Soviet Union. So it prepares. Under the direction of the SDP/FDP coalition the imperialist Bundeswehr together with the apartheid regime in South Africa and the Argentine junta, has developed its own atomic bomb. And the Social Democracy, agent of imperialism in the ranks of the workers movement, is attempting to capture the proletariat, under thc banner of nationalist pacifism, anti-Americanism and anti-Sovietism, for the interests of the steel barons and banks.

It is above all the so-called leftists in the SPD who are the most vehement proponents of a "neutral Germany" and of the nationalist "our Germany is occupied" ideology. The counterrevolutionary echo of "left" nationalism in the Dresden "peace" movement is utilized by the Epplers and Lafontaines to advocate the disarmament of the DDR and Soviet Union that much more energetically. In Poland these Social Democratic revanchists were within striking distance of their goal. The ruinous indebtedness of the Polish economy to the Frankfurt bankers drove the country to the brink of counterrevolution. Membership in the International Monetary Fund, that pitiless enforcer of international high finance, was demanded by Walesa's and Wojtyla's Solidarność. Victory of this company union in the service of NATO and the German bankers would have meant mass unemployment for Polish workers and opened the road to the capitalist reunification of Germany.

When Soviet soldiers raised the red flag on the Berlin Reichstag in April 1945, this could have sparked proletarian revolution throughout Europe. But the Stalinists sold out the future of the European proletariat in order to defend their own parasitic interests and sealed the division of the German working class. Although they suppress the political power of the proletariat in East Germany, every elass-conscious worker must defend the conquests of the workers state against the imperialist revanchism of the German bourgeoisie and their soeial-democratic lackeys, who, in taming the West German working class after the war, ensured that West Germany would become the anti-Communist bulwark of Europe against the DDR and the Soviet Union. For the unconditional military defense of the workers states against imperialism and internal counterrevolution!

150,000 German trade unionists demonstrate against Christian Democratic austerity measures in Stuttgart, 30 October 1982. German Trotskyists say: "Bring down the Kohl government through mass strikes! Break with the SPD!"

Spartakist Photos

German Workers March Against Kohl/Strauss

Demonstrations called by the Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund (DGB—German Trade Union Confederation) in late October and early Novemher brought over 500,000 people onto the streets in West Germany. The heavy battalions of the working class—steel workers, dock workers, miners and metal workers—formed the hackhone of the largest trade-union protests in over 30 years. Tapping workers' rage at the assaults of the CDU/FDP coalition and their fear of Cold Warrior Strauss, the DGB leadership used the mass protests to once again sell the SPD to the workers as the "lesser evil." But they were playing with fire. In Stuttgart, shop stewards from the metal workers union in Köln carried a sign reading: "What is to be done? How about a general strike?" DGB head Ernst Breit wrung his hands: "I fear for the social peace in this country."

Breit has reason to be worried. The DGB leaders were forced to call the mass protests when the SPD was still in power. They postponed them as late as possible into the fall in order to avoid the embarrassing situation of a direct confrontation with Schmidt. Lo and behold, when the first demonstration took place, the Christian Democrats were already in power. But the number of workers ready and eager to fight Kohl, Strauss and Lambsdorff [former FDP economies minister] was several times greater than originally expected. In Dortmund and Stuttgart, the most militant workers evoked the worst fears of the reformist trade-union leadership. "Enough is enough! Social peace is over and done with!" The banner of the TLD stood out with its fighting program and perspective, "Bring down the Kohl government through mass strikes! Break with the SPD!"

Meanwhile, unmentioned in the capitalist press and isolated by sabotage and the lack of support action from the union leadership, there were daily factory demonstrations, strike actions and even some plant occupations last fall. On October 14 in Kiel 6,000 dock workers marched to the state parliament where the new CDU premier was being sworn in, announcing "Barschel, we're coming!" In a small town like Völkingen in the Saar more than 20,000 steel workers protested in the streets against threatened layoffs. And in early November workers at a subsidiary of the same firm occupied the factory in the face of threats to close it. Workers from the Saar to the Ruhr know that if they don't fight to save their jobs, there is no future for them. And so the labor bureaucracy begins talking hypocritically of "Resistance now."

The DGB bureaucrats organized an "action" following the October demonstrations, but it had absolutely nothing to do with working-class struggle. On November 10 they called for an anti-Communist boycott of Polish products in support of Solidarność. Not so the Trotskyists. Standing in front of the Frankfurt post office, the TLD demanded: "No boycott, no strike for Solidarność—company union in the pay of NATO and the German bankers!" Our slogans fell on receptive ears among postal workers, who remembered only too well that the Solidarność-loving DGB tops sold out their 1980 strike. And we saluted the Hamburg harbor workers who put out a fire on a Polish coal freighter on November 10 despite the boycott.

German Workers, Foreign Workers: Same Class, Same Struggle!

In the worst capitalist crisis in 50 years, gigantic enterprises like International Harvester, Chrysler and AEG-Telefunken stand on the brink of collapse. And as in the 1930s, the cutthroat anarchy of the international capitalist market has come down to a struggle between U.S. imperialism, a Europe dominated by Germany, and a Japan in the process of rearming. From steel to autos to video recorders, we're seeing a trade war. And trade wars lead to shooting wars. The workers can only lose through the protectionist measures against "economic imperialism from the Far East" called for by the IG-Metall leadership. But they can win through a joint struggle, e.g., the steel workers in the Saarland joining with their class brothers in the French and Belgian steel industries, who are equally threatened with mass firings.

Anti-Sovietism, whether of "leftist" or rightist coloration, protectionism and skyrocketing unemployment, especially among youth, provide fertile soil for racists and fascists. Fifty years after the Nazis came to power, the brown bands, though still small and fragmented, are carrying out almost daily acts of terror. On November 17 a murderous arson attack was perpetrated on ten Turkish families in Thalfingen near Ulm; only five days later a Turkish woman and her three children were burned alive in Wolfenbüttel in Lower Saxony. This bloody terror of the fascist arsonists, along with growing anti-Semitism reminiscent of the "Kristallnacht" pogrom, must be stopped through trade-union-organized self-defense guards of German and foreign workers to smash the Nazi rabble.

Yet thc DGB bureaucracy is not lifting a finger for its foreign trade-union members, instead limiting itself to moral appeals against "hostility to foreigners." When at last year's May Day demonstration in Frankfurt Turkish workers were attacked by soccer fans mobilized by the fascists, the DGB tops told German participants in the mass meeting *not* to defend their Turkish collcagues but to let the reactionary scum, who were given a lesson hy the foreign workers alone, depart unhindered! The chauvinist trade-union bosses fear common

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For Permanent Revolution in Central America!

Stalinism Under the Gun in El Salvador

The overthrow of the Somoza dynasty in Nicaragua in July 1979 opened a revolutionary crisis in Central America. Today, as U.S.-instigated military aggression against the radical-nationalist Sandinista regime in Managua escalates, as Salvadoran leftist guerrillas put the genocidal government troops on the run, civil war is spreading throughout the region. From Washington, the Reagan administration has vowed to "draw the line" against Communism across the isthmus. And as the puppets totter, their imperialist masters grow increasingly desperate, raising the danger of massive direct American intervention. Accordingly, the question of what strategy and program are necessary to defeat such powerful enemies—the most dangerous imperialist power in history and some of the bloodiest landlord-capitalist ruling classes—takes on global importance. A socialist revolution beginning in El Salvador, ironically referred to as the "Tom Thumb of the Americas" by Chilean poet Gabriela Mistral, could arouse the sleeping giant of the Mexican proletariat, send shock waves throughout the continent and shake the North American colossus to its core.

Granma

Schafik Jorge Handal, Salvadoran Stalinist party boss.

This is far from the first time Latin America has been swept by revolutionary ferment. The Cuban Revolution led by Fidel Castro awakened tremendous hopes among the exploited masses and radicalized youth in the early 1960s. But after several abortive attempts to replicate the "guerrilla road" ended in the tragedy of Che Guevara in the Bolivian jungles, Cuba remained isolated, relying for survival on its Soviet lifeline while diplomatically maneuvering among the bourgeois-nationalist regimes of Latin America. In the early '70s came the doomed attempt at a "peaceful road" to socialism in Allende's Chile. There a class-collaborationist alliance with allegedly "progressive" sectors of the bourgeoisie and supposedly "constitutionalist" officers sealed the fate of the Chilean workers and peasants. From the Southern Cone to the Caribbean, the U.S. imperialists naturally mobilize their resources to the hilt to prop up their tyrants and crush the "communist threat." What's needed to defeat this rapacious enemy is internationalist workers revolution. Yet in every case the chief obstacles to this struggle have been the reformist/nationalist misleaders of the left itself.

A particularly nefarious lot have been the official (pro-Moscow) Communist parties of Latin America. Born for the most part in the period of the degeneration of the Russian Revolution, they slavishly carried out Stalin's counterrevolutionary policies of "socialism in one country," "two-stage revolution" and the popular front. During Stalin's World War II "anti-fascist front" and later, Caribbean CPs formed live-and-let-live pacts with their local U.S.-backed dictators (Batista in Cuba, Trujillo in the Dominican Republic, Somoza in Nicaragua). In El Salvador, following the counsel of American CP leader Browder, they formally dissolved the party for some years. They stopped at nothing in strangling proletarian revolution. Argentine CP leader Codovilla did yeoman's service for Stalin, the "great organizer of defeats," in murdering proletarian revolutionists in Spain. The Mexican CP organized an attempt on the life of Leon Trotsky a year before the GPU finally assassinated the co-leader of the Russian Revolution and founder of the Fourth International. And the Bolivian CP turned its back on Guevara as he was being hunted down by the CIA. These Latin American Stalinists are truly hangmen of the workers movement.

But under the impact of the Sandinista victory in Nicaragua and the civil war raging in El Salvador, a number of Central American and Caribbean CPs have been talking rather differently of late. A recent pamphlet by Salvadoran Communist Party (PCS) leader Schafik Jorge Handal presents a far-reaching self-indictment: "In Latin America, two great true revolutions have taken place, that in Cuba and in Nicaragua, and in neither of these two cases was the Communist Party at the head." In particular, Handal concludes from "the experience of two armed triumphant revolutions and...the defeat of two attempts to triumph by pacific means, in the two most democratic countries of the continent: Chile and Uruguay," that "the idea of a peaceful road to revolution in Latin America is, in my opinion, tied to reformism" (Schafik Jorge Handal, "Power, the Character and Path of the Revolution and the Unity of the Left," reprinted in *Intercontinental Press*, 15 November 1982). He ought to know: Handal led his party down that road right up to a dead end in 1979.

The Strange Idea of "Two Revolutions"

In his recent "we are not Trotskyists" speech in Chicago, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) leader Jack Barnes quoted extensively from this pamphlet, praising Handal and other CPs in the region as "committed revolutionary Marxists." Ever since taking unchallenged control of the SWP several years ago, Barnes has sounded the constant theme that the Caribbean basin is "the real center of all politics in our epoch" and Havana is the new Third Rome. In 1979 he proclaimed the "Castro leadership team" in Cuba to be "superior to the Bolshevik leadership, once you leave aside Lenin, Trotsky, Sverdlov, and people like that." Then came Nicaragua and Grenada, lumped together by the SWP as the three "revolutionary giants of the Caribbean"! Super-*fidelista* Barnes wants to claim that pro-Castro Stalinists in the region have now rediscovered the path of Lenin. And Handal does make some unaccustomed noises. He writes, "Lenin's theses of April are still the models of how to judge the problem of power." He even locates the source of the CPs' reformism in their fundamental strategy, remarking with feigned naivete:

> "I don't know where this idea came from, but our Party, and it seems to me many other Communist parties of Latin America, have worked for many decades with the idea of two revolutions...."
>
> —Handal, "Power, the Character and Path of the Revolution..."

Claiming that CPs throughout the area have become "revolutionized," Barnes points to a conference in Havana last April on "Characteristics of the Revolutionary Processes in Latin America and the Caribbean." He quotes a speech by Cuban Communist Party (PCC) functionary Jesús Montané, who says that "In this continent we are seeing an inseparable combination of democratic tasks linked to socialist tasks..." (*Granma* [daily edition], 29 April 1982). In the same vein, Dominican Communist Party (PCD) political bureau member Carlos Doré y Cabral remarked at the conference, "Thus you cannot establish a forced separation between a so-called democratic and anti-imperialist revolution and another, socialist one..." (*Hablan los Comunistas*, 6-13 May 1982).

But Barnes carefully ignored the *programmatic conclusions* drawn by the Castroite leaders. Thus Montané says that leftists should *not* "pose socialism as an immediate task" nor "base their platform on the proclamation of this goal." Instead, he claims, "what is on the agenda in this continent is the broadest anti-imperialist, anti-fascist, democratic and popular struggle." And a second PCC spokesman, Manuel Pineiro, summed it up in the telltale formula that "victorious revolutions [can] advance in an *uninterrupted process—albeit in stages*—in a single historical process to socialism" (*Granma*, 28 April 1982 [our emphasis]). This phrase is a classic Stalinist noose to hang the working people of Latin America. In the name of the impermissibility of "skipping stages," the proletariat is restrained from "going too far," and the counter-revolution gains time and political space to organize.

It's noteworthy that in Barnes' speech and a long article on the Handal pamphlet (*Militant*, 24 December 1982), the SWP never once mentions the PCS leader's reference to the fateful "idea" of "two revolutions." Much less do they explain its origins in the Stalinist/Menshevik "stagist" dogma which has strangled innumerable revolutions, from China in 1927 to Spain, Indonesia, Chile and elsewhere. Naturally not, for to raise this would pose the heretical questions of Trotskyism and the permanent revolution—precisely the "baggage" which Barnes & Co. want to dump in order to ingratiate themselves with the Castroites.

So what, then, *is* the program of the Salvadoran CP? If there is to be "one revolution," what is its class character? Handal answers:

> "If we look into the future, what we have proposed is the democratic anti-imperialist revolution; if we look back after achieving that revolution...the democratic anti-imperialist revolution will not look to us like a separate revolution, but rather like the accomplishment of the tasks of the first phase of the socialist revolution."

So it's sleight-of-hand: promise "anti-imperialism" and deliver "socialism." But how are the masses to understand this? Answer: they're not supposed to. Handal's formula is a recipe not for socialism but *at best* for a Stalinist-run deformed workers state on the Cuban model, ruled not by proletarian democracy but by a bureaucratic elite. Moreover, whether presented in the guises of "phases" or "stages," any talk of an "anti-imperialist revolution" means calling for "democratic" capitalist rule to replace the domination of the oligarchy. As has repeatedly been shown by historical experience, by blocking proletarian revolution this only prepares new bloodbaths.

Based on the Russian Revolutions of 1905 and 1917, Leon Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution explained that the bourgeoisies of the backward capitalist countries are so closely tied to imperialism, and so fearful of social revolution, that they are incapable of carrying out even the democratic tasks

Granma

Salvadoran Communist Farabundo Marti, martyred leader of heroic 1932 insurrection against bloody oligarchy. Stalin denounced him as "ultra-left."

UPI

Leftist guerrillas after taking village in Usulután. Forward to San Salvador!

of the bourgeois revolution. Agrarian revolution, national liberation and political democracy can only be achieved by the working class, standing at the head of the peasantry and the oppressed masses, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and overthrowing capitalist rule. This was the lesson of October 1917. And it is doubly true of El Salvador today, where classes are so polarized that even the bourgeois mini-parties allied with the left-wing guerrillas through the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) are terrified that a rebel military victory could unleash workers revolution.

Stalinists Under the Gun

"The pacific route is not the path of revolution," writes Handal. What a discovery! And why today? Back in 1968, the Salvadoran Communist Party rejected the "armed struggle road"; two years later its general secretary, Salvador Cayetano Carpio, quit the party to found a "politico-military" guerrilla group. As recently as five years ago the PCS was still following the "electoral road," in alliance with the Christian Democrats and social democrats. Yet the army kept stealing elections and the "armed left" kept growing. Following the 1977 vote fraud, popular revolts exploded around the country. The CP was in danger of becoming "marginalized," so in 1979 it finally picked up the gun. What's going on here is that Yankee imperialism is on the anti-Soviet warpath in the Caribbean basin. Uncle Sam has made it clear there is no room in his backyard for even moderately leftist regimes. And with "anti-imperialist" Nicaragua today getting the same treatment as "anti-fascist" Guatemala did during an earlier Cold War, even dyed-in-the-wool reformists are seeing that their "peaceful road" is illusory.

It's not the first time. After the first few months of the Cuban Revolution, the U.S. rapidly escalated its attacks leading to the counterrevolutionary Bay of Pigs invasion. Simply in self-defense, the Castro leadership was forced to go beyond its original bourgeois-democratic goals and expropriate both American and domestic capitalists. The Second Declaration of Havana (1961) announced that "in the present historical conditions of Latin America, the national bourgeoisie cannot head up the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle." Che Guevara proclaimed that "in the Americas the peaceful road is almost liquidated as a possibility," and that it was "very probable" that revolutions here "would give rise to regimes with a socialist structure." Yet all this did not stop Castro and Guevara from seeking political alliances with bourgeois leaders such as Quadros and Goulart in Brazil, and even opposing guerrilla struggle in the Brazilian Northeast in order to shore up the Goulart regime. Only when the U.S. blockade had thoroughly sealed off the island did Havana embark on its short-lived guerrilla "international," OLAS, abandoned almost as soon as it was founded in 1967.

Or take the case of Mao Tse-tung's China. While Khruschev & Co. were dreaming of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism (Brezhnev's "détente"), having Soviet armed might behind them, Peking was facing a wounded imperialist tiger still smarting over "who lost China" and vowing to crush the Vietnamese revolution on its southern doorstep. So Mao split from Moscow denouncing the idea of a "peaceful transition to socialism." His chief lieutenant, Liu Shao-chi, around that time floated the identical formula the Cubans are pushing today: "uninterrupted revolution," but passing through "stages" (Enrica Collotti Pischel, *La rivoluzione ininterrotta*). In the West there sprang up groups of radicals claiming that Maoism posed a revolutionary alternative to the conservative Kremlin Stalinists. Yet in 1965, the Indonesian Communist Party was destroyed in a monstrous bloodbath that left *half a million* dead, because they had followed the criminal line of their Maoist mentors in supporting nationalist demagogue Sukarno in the "national-democratic stage" of their brutally "interrupted" revolution. And a few years later Peking entered an anti-Soviet alliance with the U.S.

So when they're really up against the wall, with imperialist hardliners intent on toppling the tamest popular front, some Stalinists have even discovered that the "idea" of "two revolutions" is downright uncommunist. Lenin's *State and Revolution* is dusted off and his "April Theses" are removed from their hiding places, where they have been kept out of fear of confusing new comrades recruited along the peaceful road. The only thing missing from Handal's piece is the "hegemony of the proletariat in the anti-imperialist alliance"—i.e., a popular front with a left face. Whether they talk of stages or a "democratic" and "anti-imperialist" revolution, however, all the Stalinists and nationalist-reformists are clear on one thing: they are *not* calling for proletarian revolution. Yet only the revolutionary expropriation of the bourgeoisie as a class can liberate the oppressed masses from the iron heel of the dictators, oligarchs and populist demagogues who have followed each other in lording it over Latin America since the days of the last Spanish viceroys.

Lessons of the Chilean Popular Front

Basically, it comes down to a balance sheet of Allende's Chile, where the last major revolutionary opportunity in Latin America (prior to the current Central American struggle) was criminally betrayed. Handal is quite clear on the conclusions *he* draws from the Unidad Popular (UP) disaster. Fundamentally, he shares the Cuban line that all they needed was guns. As Castro put it in a speech shortly after the bloody Pinochet coup, "The Chilean example teaches us the lesson that it is impossible to make the revolution with the people alone—weapons are also necessary!" A little late for that advice. During his three-week tour of Chile in 1972 the Cuban leader made numerous talks on the "revolutionary process," but not *once* did he call for arming the masses! Even after the fact Castro made it clear that Havana supported the UP's "attempt to bring about revolution by peaceful means."

Handal writes of a missed opportunity in Chile when there arose "a sector of the Chilean army that clearly understood the necessity of solving the problem of who held power." This turns out to be Allende's defense minister, "constitutionalist" general Carlos Prats. So Handal says on the one hand that "power has to be snatched from the bourgeoisie and the bureaucratic military apparatus of the bourgeoisie has to be destroyed," and then turns around and calls for reliance on a sector of the capitalist officer corps. Yet it was precisely from among these "constitutionalist" officers that some of the leading coup plotters came!

Handal says the key opportunity was when "Prats' faction was predominant, after it had put down the 'tancazo' (attempted coup d'état in June 1973)...." This was the time when the Chilean armed forces were using the "arms control law" to carry out raids on factories and leftist party offices. In his diary (*Una vida por la legalidad*) Prats quibbled about how the law was being carried out, while doing absolutely nothing to stop the military's terror raids and insisting "there must be arms control." In August, when the wives of ultra-rightist officers demonstrated outside his home demanding his resignation, Prats complained about "cowards [who] hide behind women's skirts" ...and then resigned. It was, he said, "the supreme service I can render to my institution." But he was only being consistent with the "Statute of Constitutional Guarantees" accepted by Allende three years earlier, which promised to respect "the hierarchical and organic structures of the armed forces."

Handal complains about people who denounced Prats as representing "the presence of the bourgeoisie" in the government. But the UP itself included representatives of the class enemy, as a guarantee that it would not go beyond the bounds of capitalism. The Spartacist League warned from the very beginning

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Sygma

Campregher/Newsweek

From Chile to El Salvador popular frontism leads to bloody counter-revolution. Above: Castro with Pinochet, paving the way to bloody 1973 coup. Below: Current FDR leader Guillermo Ungo (center) in Jimmy Carter's "human rights" junta, October 1979.

El Salvador...

(continued from page 9)

that this class-collaborationist coalition was paving the way for a reactionary debacle. We wrote: "It is the most elementary duty for revolutionary Marxists to irreconcilably oppose the Popular Front in the elections and to place absolutely no confidence in it in power. Any 'critical support' to the Allende coalition is class treason, paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism, is ready" (*Spartacist* No. 19, November-December 1970). Tragically we were proven right.

There *was*, however, a sector of the Chilean armed forces that in July-August 1973 saw the need to resolve the question of power in a revolutionary manner. Sergeant Juan Cárdenas had organized a cell of sailors and petty officers to refuse to obey orders for a coup. Unfortunately they were discovered and arrested by the navy *with the explicit endorsement of Allende*. (In the U.S. and Europe the Spartacists defended Cárdenas while the official pro-UP Chile committees *refused* to touch this case, because it so clearly exposed the treachery of the popular front.) Prats indignantly supported the arrests and told the president, "in the face of an uprising of the fleet involving parties of the UP, I would have had to order the bombing of the ships if the commander-in-chief of the Navy had requested it."

Prats was replaced by another "constitutionalist" officer, the commander of the army, who had stood with the government in the "tancazo." The new defense minister had even visited Cuba, and when Castro came to Chile he was part of the government welcoming committee. (In a picture on the back cover of the CP's *Fidel in Chile* he is barely visible standing just behind the Cuban leader.) His name: Augusto Pinochet. Two weeks after he took office he led the coup that toppled the UP regime. Allende went to his doom with dignity while 30,000 Chilean workers and leftists were murdered, 100,000 were sent into concentration camps and a million fled into exile. These are the bitter fruits of the popular front.

Lessons of El Salvador's "Bloody October"

The Spanish Civil War and Chile 1970-73 are not just "ancient history," whose lessons are applicable only to imperialist and relatively advanced capitalist countries. They have burning importance for Central America today, particularly because the popular front has *already* once derailed workers revolution in El Salvador, in October 1979. The people responsible are today the leaders of the opposition FDR and the guerrilla coalition, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), among them the Communist Party of Schafik Handal.

Following the July 1979 overthrow of dictator Somoza by the Nicaraguan Sandinistas, there was a rising crescendo of mass struggle in neighboring El Salvador. Strikes against Salvadoran and multinational firms adopted militant tactics such as plant occupations and kidnapping plant managers as insurance against murderous raids by the armed forces. Several different coup plots were hatching in the army, ranging from ultra-rightist to liberal. Jimmy Carter's State Department told Salvadoran president General Romero it was time to pack his bags for a trip to Miami, before things really got out of hand. Everyone was poised for the government to fall, which it did on October 15. The chances for mass insurrection were excellent, yet it did not happen. Why?

The new regime proclaimed that it had taken power "to prevent the country from drowning in chaos...due to constant strikes, left-wing demonstrations," etc. However, it included representatives of the Young Officers movement, who in turn had been negotiating with the liberal opposition grouped in the Popular Forum (including Christian Democrats, social democrats and a PCS front group). And since the self-proclaimed "revolutionary junta" was putting on progressive airs, the left hesitated and *did not oppose it*. Instead of calling the workers into the streets, they adopted a wait-and-see attitude. Yet within hours, the armed forces began an orgy of killing—of workers, peasants, students, leftists—that has continued to this date, taking altogether more than 50,000 lives.

The very next day, October 16, government troops made a sweep of the occupied factories along the strategic Army Boulevard, blasting their way through the front gates with tanks and arresting the strikers. They occupied the workers suburbs of Mejicanos, Cuscatancingo and Soyapango. There was sporadic resistance by one of the left groups (ERP/LP-28), and *a week later* another group (FAPU/RN) held an anti-junta rally, which was murderously attacked by government troops. In the junta's first two weeks of existence, the "security forces" killed approximately 200 people and "disappeared" another 50 or so. Meanwhile, a spokesman for the PCS, Roberto Castellano, gave a press conference on October 18 (*after* the assaults on the factories), urging the mass organizations to "adopt an understanding attitude and call on the junta to carry out its promises"!

Of all the Salvadoran left, the Communist Party was the most opportunist. In an article published a week after the "human rights coup," Schafik Handal complained that Castellano's press conference made the PCS sound more favorable to the junta than it was. He instead took a highly ambiguous position, saying "it's not a question of supporting the junta or not, but of using the present conjuncture to deepen the struggle" and the like ("El Salvador: El golpe de estado del 15 de octubre de 1979"). He also claims, "It has been said that we are attempting to participate in the government.... This is not true." But it was. On that very same day (22 October) a prominent CP member, Gabriel Gallegos, was appointed minister of labor.

Later, in an interview with the Cuban newspaper *Granma* (1 June 1980), Handal admitted that the CP took part in the first junta government, saying:

> "The PCS took part because the Salvadoran revolution also needs the democratic forces. The revolutionary movement alone cannot win.... And since the PCS was the revolutionary organization with the oldest ties to the democratic forces...it had to accompany those forces...."

And who are those "democratic forces" it was necessary to accompany? Junta member Guillermo Ungo, social democrat; junta member Colonel Adolfo Majano, representative of the Juventud Militar; education minister Salvador Samayoa, FPL; presidential minister Rubén Zamora, Christian Democrat. Today Ungo is head of the FDR, Zamora and Samayoa are leading FDR spokesmen, and Majano is their Number One "democratic officer." In calling for a "negotiated settlement" of the Salvadoran civil war, the FDR/FMLN are proposing to repeat the tragic experience of "Bloody October" 1979.

Break with the Popular Front!

Adopting a tone of understatement, Schafik Handal declares in his pamphlet that, "For forty years our party suffered more from the sickness of reformism than from the leftism...." But despite his protestations of having undertaken a "fundamental revolutionary change," the Salvadoran Communist Party leader still defends the Stalinists' general line. "The participation of the PCS in the electoral struggle was right on the mark," he asserts. This refers to the CP's 1972 alliance with Christian Democratic presidential candidate Napoleón Duarte (the future junta butcher) with social democrat Ungo as his running mate, and a similar popular-front combination in 1977. Furthermore, Handal boasts that "we strengthened ourselves in expounding and developing our policy of alliance.... The credit goes to the PCS for having first raised and systematically defended the banner of the unity of the left." And it is true that Handal & Co. played a key role in engineering the FDR popular front.

Concretely this means tying the Salvadoran working class to an explicitly capitalist-reformist program. Handal pointed out in *Granma* that the PCS was the only party that had published a platform calling on the junta to carry out agrarian reform and other structural changes. "And that program, albeit mutilated, is the one the second junta is using to try to stay in power"! Precisely. The FDR platform advocates a land reform giving land to the "great masses of the people who work it," but not affecting "small and medium landowners." In effect, they are calling for completing the land distribution program initiated by the Christian Democratic/military junta! This would mean not an agrarian revolution rooting out the *latifundia* system in the Salvadoran countryside, but a plan to simply expand the class of petty-bourgeois peasant producers and thus create a conservative counterweight against the working class.

In El Salvador, which has suffered for half a century under military dictatorship, the second major task of the bourgeois revolution—political democracy—is inseparable from the question of the army. The FDR calls for a new "people's army" which, however, will include "non-corrupt, patriotic and worthy elements of the present army." Like Colonel Majano, presumably, or his Chilean counterpart, General Prats. Yet Majano presided over the October 1979 massacre of strikers in San Salvador just as Prats countenanced the disarming of Chile's proletariat and the destruction of those soldiers and sailors who were prepared to fight against the bloody Pinochet coup. Bolsheviks call instead to split the bourgeois army horizontally, mobilizing the worker-peasant ranks against their bourgeois officers.

In the modern epoch there is no fundamental distinction between semi-feudal and capitalist rulers. The landowners, industrialists and bankers of El Salvador are all members of the same families, who are also closely tied to the imperialists. What fundamental social change would be achieved by expropriating the lands of the De Sola clan while leaving them their soap and margarine factories linked to Britain's Unilever trust? How can the death squads be eliminated while leaving intact the bourgeois officer corps which spawns them? The Salvadoran masses suffer from the poverty and repression of backward *capitalism*, and they can only be liberated by a workers and peasants government—a proletarian revolution which sweeps away the landowners, industrialists, bankers and army officers who together form a single ruling class.

In the past, writes Jorge Schafik Handal, "we saw the Cuban experience as a 'peculiar exception'":

> "We reacted so much and so many times against the leftist idea of the struggle for direct implantation of socialism with no prologue,...we convinced ourselves that the democratic revolution is not necessarily to be organized and promoted principally by us...."

Today Central American Stalinists (and North American ex-Trotskyists) take Cuba as a model of a "democratic revolution" led by leftist forces. But Cuba is an exception, where petty-bourgeois forces were forced by the pressure of imperialism to go further than they wanted. Nicaragua today is still trying to perform a precarious balancing act between capitalism and socialism, under the watchwords of "pluralism" and a "mixed economy." This is the logic of guerrillaism, which bases itself on the petty-bourgeois peasantry.

But this "middle way" is *impossible*, particularly in El Salvador where class divisions are much sharper than they were in Nicaragua. No substantial section of the Salvadoran bourgeoisie has joined with the guerrilla struggle, only the faint shadows of the bourgeoisie represented by Ungo/Zamora/Samayoa & Co. But this does not diminish the deadly danger of the popular front. As Leon Trotsky wrote of Spain during the Civil War:

> "Without any theory of 'permanent revolution,' the Spanish bourgeoisie understood from the outset that the revolutionary mass movement, no matter how it starts, is directed against private ownership of land and the means of production, and that it is utterly impossible to cope with this movement by democratic measures.... "Without in the slightest degree representing the Spanish bourgeoisie, the left republicans still less represented the workers and peasants. They represented no one but themselves. Thanks, however, to their allies—the Socialists, Stalinists, and Anarchists—these political phantoms played the decisive role in the revolution. How? Very simply. By incarnating the principles of the 'democratic revolution,' that is, the inviolability of private property."
>
> —"The Lessons of Spain: The Last Warning" (December 1937)

The Stalinists and social democrats who prated about "democratic revolution" in Spain led to a bloody defeat of the proletariat and almost four decades of Francoist dictatorship. In El Salvador they propose to rob the masses at the bargaining table of the gains won at tremendous cost on the battlefield, calling it a "negotiated settlement." A military victory of the leftist rebels, the destruction of the murderous capitalist state apparatus, is the entrance way to proletarian revolution that must spread throughout the Americas and beyond. ■

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League Forums

Forward to San Salvador!

Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents!

Speaker: Tom Janota, Last Peace Corps teacher to leave El Salvador
Member, Spartacist League

Saturday, February 26, 7:30 pm
625 South Lafayette Park Place
For more information: (213) 663-1216

LOS ANGELES

Tuesday, March 1, 4 pm
UC Berkeley
100 Wheeler
For more information: (415) 835-1535

BERKELEY

Sunday, February 27, 7:30 pm
U.C. Extension
Auditorium
55 Laguna

Wednesday, March 2, 12 noon
San Francisco State
Student Union
Room B112
For more information: (415) 863-6963

SAN FRANCISCO

El Salvador Aflame!

U.S. Hands Off Nicaragua!
Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents!
For Workers Revolution,
Not Popular-Front Betrayal!

Speaker: Jen Norden
Editor, *Workers Vanguard*
SL Central Committee

Saturday, February 26, 7:30 p.m.
310 W. 43rd Street (near 8th Avenue)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY

Beirut...

(continued from page 1)

Ariel Sharon, was simply switched to minister without portfolio while remaining in the cabinet's defense and Lebanon negotiations committees. "There was a reshuffle of portfolios, and that's the end of the problem," commented this cynical arch-war criminal.

In a sense the biggest cover-up of all is that the U.S. government, which provides the Israeli war machine with billions of dollars of the most up-to-date weaponry, has escaped all blame for the Shatila/Sabra massacre. Yet remember, it was U.S. Marines who (with Arafat's agreement) escorted the PLO commandos out of Beirut, thus leaving the camps defenseless. The Kahan commission report documented that the Phalangists *refused* to enter West Beirut as long as the PLO forces were there.

And in Lebanon, Sharon's "final solution" to the "Palestinian problem" continues. Recently 15 bodies of Palestinians were unearthed near a refugee camp near Sidon. According to a UN agency, "Christian Phalangists have begun using threats, violence and terror tactics against middle-class Palestinians in an effort to drive them from the area" (*New York Times*, 13 February). Needless to say, there has been no outcry against these continuing atrocities from the American admirers of Israeli "democracy."

"We Were Only Giving Orders"

The official Kahan whitewash asserts that the Israelis just wanted to "take advantage of the Phalangists' professional service and their skill in identifying terrorists" (!), and that "in having the Phalangists enter the camps, no intention existed on the part of anyone who acted on behalf of Israel to harm the non-combatant population"!! We are supposed to believe that the Israeli army surrounded the camps, provided flares in the night for the Phalangists' dirty work, but the Israeli officers at the forward command post overlooking Sabra and Shatila neither saw nor heard what was transpiring *for three days*.

But even if unwittingly, the report revealed that the Israeli government did know at every level. Chief of Staff Rafael Eytan said *beforehand* that the Phalange militiamen were "seething with a feeling for revenge" following the assassination of their leader Bashir Gemayel. Yet he then *ordered* them into the Palestinian camps. "We could give them [the Phalange] orders, whereas it was impossible to give the Lebanese Army orders," he told the commission. The relation between the Phalange and Israeli army could not be clearer.

The decision to send the Phalange into the camps apparently came out of a meeting between Sharon and the Gemayel family on September 15, but details of this critical meeting are reportedly locked away in Appendix B of the commission report, a section not published for "security reasons." According to *Time* magazine (21 February):

> "Sharon reportedly told the Gemayels that the Israeli army would be moving into West Beirut and that he expected the Christian forces to go into the Palestinian refugee camps. Sharon also reportedly discussed with the Gemayels the need for the Phalangists to take revenge for the assassination of Bashir, but the details of the conversation are not known."

Begin was allegedly told for the first time about the Phalange entry into the camps at the cabinet meeting of September 16. "For two days...he showed absolutely no interest in the camps," according to the commission report. Begin, the butcher of Deir Yassin, knew what his subordinates were doing without having to ask. Meanwhile, reports were coming in from every conceivable direction. Still the killing went on into Saturday. Nobody did anything to stop the massacre since the Begin regime and its imperialist paymaster in Washington were agreed on a murderous goal: root out the Soviet-backed "terrorists," which in Zionist terminology means not only the PLO but *all* the Palestinians, including women and children.

White House Whitewashes Zionist War Criminals

Now American bourgeois politicians and the media are oozing fulsome praise for the Kahan commission cover-up. "A Cry of Conscience," intoned the *New York Times*. "This is heartening evidence that the moral foundations of Israel are strong," declared liberal Democratic Senator Paul Tsongas. In fact, the Kahan commission report is very much what Washington ordered. The U.S. clearly wanted Sharon to take all the heat and also regarded his expansionist policies and mad-dog image as an obstacle to a Pax Americana in the Near East. Shortly after the Shatila/Sabra massacre *New York Times* columnist William Safire, an ardent Zionist and former Nixon speechwriter, addressed a "Letter to Sharon," urging the defense minister to shield Begin by resigning "for the sake of a strong and independent Israel" (*New York Times*, 27 September 1982). There is little doubt that Safire, whose connections with the Reagan administration are excellent, was expressing more than a personal recommendation.

Miner/Sygma

Fanatic Zionists hail Begin/Sharon's Holocaust in Lebanon—complete with Nazi-inspired slogan "One nation, One army, One government."

Sharon/Begin's expansionist policies have cut across Washington's grand design for an anti-Soviet alliance embracing *both* Zionist Israel and various reactionary Arab regimes (the so-called "strategic consensus"). Reagan hopes to pacify the Palestinians by setting up a West Bank Palestinian "entity" under the guns of Jordan's King Hussein, the butcher of Black September and Washington's most servile client in the region.

For the likes of Begin/Sharon, the only pacified Palestinian is a dead one. The only Palestinian "entity" they envision are the mass graves of Shatila/Sabra. Openly defying Reagan's admonitions, the Begin regime is stepping up Zionist settlements in the occupied West Bank. These frictions between the Zionist fanatics and their imperialist paymaster, frictions which have existed for a number of years now, have not, of course, obstructed the massive flow of Pentagon arms for the Israeli war machine. The Spartacist League says: Not one U.S. bullet or plane for the butchers of Shatila/Sabra! Israeli and imperialist troops out of Lebanon!

Israel Becomes Unstuck

It is a sign of the increasing fragility of Israeli bourgeois democracy, a racist "democracy" for Jews only, that the Kahan commission report triggered unprecedented violence within the Hebrew community. One liberal Zionist Peace Now demonstrator was killed by a hand grenade right under Begin's window. The victim, Emil Grunzweig, was an emigrant from Czechoslovakia who settled on a kibbutz. Any Soviet-bloc Jews who believe that Israel is "a promised land" would do well to consider the fate of Grunzweig, who doubtless once shared this same illusion.

Israeli society with its high degree of military mobilization motivated by a fanatical, almost mystical nationalism has always had a strong bonapartist side. And this side is increasingly coming to the fore. When Sharon proposed that the military general staff form a "common front" to resist the Kahan commission's recommendation that he resign, according to one Defense Department source, some officers "smelled a trace of putsch" (*Newsweek*, 21 February).

The violence over the Kahan commission exposed for all to see the seething racial and class antagonisms within the "democratic" Zionist community. The Peace Now protesters are overwhelmingly Ashkenazim (Jews of European extraction) who were the original Zionist colonizers and today form the upper echelons of Israeli society. The Begin/Sharon supporters are based heavily among the Sephardim and other Jews from Arab countries who are concentrated in the lower classes. The polarization between the two groups is intense and growing. "They shouldn't have rescued you from Hitler in 1945!" one Begin supporter shouted at the anti-government demonstrators last week. "These do-gooders, they're educated," another declared in contempt. Outside a hospital emergency room, three Begin supporters attacked a Peace Now demonstrator as a "traitor" and beat him up. In turn, Peace Now leaders like "Labor" party member of parliament Shulamit Aloni responded with racist insults: "The barbarous tribal forces are here, and they exist in the streets."

The severe economic pressures on the Israeli garrison state and the increasing fragility of its racist "democracy" could lead to a sizable emigration by the Ashkenazi elite. Already there are some hundreds of thousands of Israeli emigrants in the U.S. Zionism has created its own diaspora! And a significant outflow of the Ashkenazi would erode the present vastly superior technical capacity of the Israeli military as against the Arab regimes.

But the Peace Now and "Labor" party opposition offers no alternative to the growing militarization of Israeli society which is inherent in Zionist expansionism. It was under "Labor" (not a reformist workers party but the ruling Israeli bourgeois party for three decades) that the racialist state of Israel was created, that the occupied territories were first occupied in the 1967 war. It was under "Labor" that a regime of police-state terror was imposed on the conquered Palestinian populations of the West Bank and Gaza. It was under "Labor" that the Zionist settlements in the West Bank were begun. And it was under "Labor" that Israel's military relationship with the Phalange was cemented during the 1975-76 Lebanese Civil War. Sharon himself was chief military adviser under the last Labor government of Rabin.

The Sephardic and oriental Jews (now a majority of the population) support the right-wing Zionists not only because they were treated with contempt for decades as second-class citizens by the Ashkenazi elite. Labor offered no credible solution to the military and economic problems created by its own expansionist policies. Since the oriental Jews did not have the option of pulling up stakes and moving to New York, they see hardline policies and strong-man rule as the only way to preserve their relatively privileged, but precarious position in the Arab East.

This is the path to self-destruction. Unless the Israeli proletariat is broken from Zionism, there is no future for the Hebrew people in the Near East. The Zionist madmen are but a screwdriver's turn away from their own nuclear weapons, and already openly discuss the atomic annihilation of Arab cities. Since they occupy a vital point in U.S. imperialism's global anti-Soviet axis, their destructive frenzy could unleash a thermonuclear World War III—the ultimate holocaust.

Smash Pax Americana in the Near East!

With Israel's destruction of the Soviet-backed Palestinian forces in Lebanon and its humiliation of Syria, Moscow's principal client state in the region, U.S. imperialism is flaunting its power in the Near East. Reagan as "soft cop" to Begin's "hard cop." A few weeks after the Shatila/Sabra massacre the *New York Times* "national security" expert and former Pentagon spokesman Leslie Gelb wrote in a self-satisfied tone:

> "For one reason or another—Israeli dependence on American ties and military aid, the futility of the military option for Arabs now, the fact that only Washington might be able to pry negotiating concessions from Israel—the United States has fallen into and assumed the role of Middle East policeman."
>
> —*New York Times*, 3 October 1982

And indeed PLO chief Yasir Arafat, not so long ago considered the embodiment of "anti-imperialist" Arab nationalism, negotiated sending the U.S. Marine "peacekeepers" to Beirut. Moreover, *all* wings of the PLO, not only the "moderate" Arafat but also the "radicals" George Habash and Nayef Hawatmeh supported the entry of the imperialist forces and so share responsibility for the ensuing and predictable massacre in the Palestinians' camps. And the recent Palestinian National Conference in Algiers gave Arafat the green light to pursue the Reagan plan for a Palestinian "entity" under Hashemite overlordship with only token opposition from Habash.

Having transformed the PLO's Arafat into a humble petitioner and demonstrated the impotence of Syria's Assad, the Reagan gang recently decided to have another go at that "radical" Arab loudmouth, Libya's Colonel Qaddafi, decmed in Washington a Soviet "surrogate." In August 1981 when U.S. Navy jets shot down two Soviet-built Libyan fighters over the Gulf of Sidra, the White House and Pentagon celebrated as if they had just conquered the Crimea. Last week Reagan officials were screaming that the Libyan strongman was about to overthrow the pro-American government in neighboring Sudan. To counter the new "Libyan threat" AWACS planes were sent to Egypt with much fanfare and the aircraft carrier *Nimitz* ordered from the waters off Lebanon to the Egypt-Libya area. When Qaddafi protested his peaceful intentions, Secretary of State George Shultz declared triumphantly, "Qaddafi is back in his box where he belongs."

Pax Americana means continued capitalist enslavement and murderous national oppression for the toiling masses of the Near East. As long as Israeli and imperialist forces remain in Lebanon there will be more Shatilas and Sabras. The liberation of the Palestinians is inseparable from the struggle against imperialism and for social revolution throughout the Near East. What is needed is a communist vanguard which can unite the Hebrew-speaking working class and the Arab toilers against the Begins, Husseins, Assads and Qaddafis and open the road to a socialist federation of the Near East. ■

Barbie...

(continued from page 1)

Jewish orphanage, aged 3 to 13, piled them into trucks and sent them screaming with fear to the crematoria of Auschwitz.

Now at 69, Barbie has been expelled from Bolivia. He arrived in France on February 6 where he was imprisoned at Montluc (his Lyons torture center) to face charges of "crimes against humanity." But why have his victims, and all the enemies of Nazi barbarity, had to wait? Why has Klaus Barbie—the most well-known Nazi war criminal who ever operated in France—lived comfortably since the end of the war continuing his fascistic activities in South America?

It is because Barbie along with thousands of Nazis were enlisted as "freedom fighters" in the U.S. Cold War apparatus. Thus Klaus Barbie is only one—and not even the worst one—of a large number of Nazi beneficiaries of the anti-Soviet crusade which periodically raises the bloodstained banner of "human rights." It is because Klaus Barbie is another "human rights" Nazi that it is such a sticky mess for the imperialist bourgeoisies. It exposes again the CIA's Nazi network, the widespread Nazi collaboration by the French bourgeoisie, and the barbarous purposes of imperialism from Bonn to La Paz.

NY Post

Berbie (see arrow) orders execution of e member ot the French Resistence. He wes responsibie tor torturing and murdering 12,000 Resistence tighters and French Jews.

Who Is Klaus Barbie?

Today, imprisoned, Klaus Barbie compares himself with Napoleon as he appeals to the large numbers of French collaborators and to anti-Semitism everywhere. "What is there to regret?" asked the unrepentant Barbie after he was exposed in Bolivia: "I am a convinced Nazi.... I would be a thousand times what I have been" (*Newsweek*, 21 February). And it was precisely because he was a convinced Nazi and fanatic anti-Communist killer that the U.S. government found Barbie useful after the war for its anti-Soviet espionage activities. Like many hundreds, if not thousands of Nazis, the U.S. rescued Barbie. They set him up with a false identity, paid him handsomely, got him to Bolivia in the early 1950s, and until this month successfully shielded him from prosecution.

Erhard Dabringhaus, a former U.S. military counterintelligence agent, now a teacher at Detroit's Wayne State University, recognized Barbie from TV pictures as the man he had paid and protected in 1948 in occupied Germany. Dabringhaus said he was ordered to maintain Barbie in a safe house in Augsberg near Munich where he paid him $1,700 a month (a huge sum in post-war Europe). Dabringhaus confirms accusations of Nazi hunters Serge and Beate Klarsfeld who document repeated refusals by the Americans to turn Barbie over for trial. They point to a secret French Army report showing that Barbie was employed by U.S. and West German intelligence in Bolivia (*New York Times*, 16 February).

The Klarsfelds tracked down Barbie in Bolivia and exposed him 11 years ago; they have been trying to get him prosecuted ever since. Certainly he had little to fear from West Germany, where in 1971 a Munich prosecutor wanted to drop his case for "lack of evidence." The French had known about Klaus Barbie for at least eight years and didn't try to get him expelled. It was the U.S. which arranged to smuggle Barbie and family out of Europe on Red Cross travel documents. And the successive Bolivian juntas which worked closely with him, of course, would not extradite him.

Barbie arrived in Bolivia in the early 1950s where he took the name Klaus Altmann, and developed close ties with the indigenous fascists and junta butchers. Barbie/Altmann was a well-known and influential figure in Bolivia. After 1964 he worked closely with the secret police, the Bolivian government's official instrument of torture against leftists and trade unionists. He had particularly strong ties with the Falange Socialista Boliviana (FSB), and after the coup by Hugo Banzer in 1971, Barbie became adviser to the Minister of Interior. As Barbie said in 1972, Bolivia was a "comforting" place for an old Nazi:

> "I am an old National Socialist.... When I arrived in Bolivia in 1951, by chance I had a comforting vision: a parade of the FSB with its uniforms almost identical to ours...later I had the opportunity of becoming intimate with members of the Party.... I procured aid for these people."
>
> —*El Diario*, 25 May 1972

More recently Barbie was instrumental among the collection of fascist thugs who helped pull off the "cocaine coup" in 1980 in which General Luís García Meza cornered the Bolivian drug traffic. According to the Italian magazine *Panorama* (27 September 1982) Barbie headed up "Nazi Central" in La Paz and worked with the paramilitary groups in the arms and drug traffic. The fascistic mercenaries maintained their own air force with a black eagle emblem, and their own torture prison. Barbie was connected with a special hit squad called the "Novios de la Muerte" (Fiancés of Death), together with Joaquim Fiebelkorn who was accused by Italian judges of involvement in the August 1980 Bologna train station massacre which killed 85 and wounded hundreds.

...And Why Has the U.S. Protected Him?

U.S. protection and counterrevolutionary collaboration with its Nazi killers is notorious. What is exceptional in the Barbie case is that even after 40 years he got caught. Brooklyn D.A. Elizabeth Holtzman, who pushed for prosecution of Nazi war criminals when she was in the U.S. Congress, noted that "the Barbie allegations are not new in the sense of involvement of the U.S. government with ex-Nazis and war criminals" (*Baltimore Sun*, 19 February).

South America is riddled with Nazis, some of whose war crimes make Barbie's seem small-time by comparison. Josef Mengele, the infamous doctor of death, is thought to be in Paraguay, but extradition has been refused. Walter Rauff, architect of the mobile gas chamber, helped to establish Chile's DINA, Pinochet's secret police: extradition refused.

It is now very much an open secret that the U.S. imported Nazi war criminals as a matter of policy. A 1978 government report by the General Accounting Office lists CIA connections to 22 "ex"-Nazis living in the U.S. The real figure runs into the thousands. The U.S. is a "free world" haven particularly for the mass murderers of the SS *Einsatzkommandos* and their administrative collaborators. Their victims feared these local Eastern European butchers even more than they feared the German Nazis. The *Einsatzkommandos* slaughtered Jews and other "undesirables" by the thousands a day. As we wrote in "U.S. Imports Nazi War Criminals" (*WV* No. 318, 26 November 1982): "Instead of serving the Third Reich they continue their anti-Communist subversion on behalf of a so-called Free World." Thus Hitler's Russian experts became Truman's Russian experts.

The most spectacular U.S./Nazi post-war collaboration was the wholesale recruitment of the Nazis' anti-Soviet spy network through its chief, Wehrmacht General Reinhard Gehlen. Gehlen's entire organization was maintained intact, and its plans didn't have to change much as it shifted from Hitler to the CIA. The Gehlen organization, which was instrumental in the slaughter of more than a million Jews on the Eastern Front, became the key to the CIA's anti-Soviet spy network in Eastern Europe. Without all the Cold War II rhetorical sanctimony of "human rights," Allen Dulles, director of the CIA in the 1950s, explained why the U.S. worked with Gehlen: "He's on our side and that's all that matters. Besides, one needn't ask him to one's club" (John Loftus, *The Belarus Secret*). (It is worth noting that it was in the postwar recruitment of ex-Nazis, for anti-Soviet activities, that Henry Kissinger first cut his teeth on covert action [*Atlantic Monthly*, December 1982].)

French Collaboration and the Mystique of the Resistance

For the French, *L'affaire Barbie* raises the uncomfortable history of collaboration with the Nazis. For the bourgeoisie it raises it from the dead where they wish it would stay: "The Devils Exhumed," headlined *Le Figaro*.

The Mitterrand government speaks of a trial to re-establish the historical record of Nazi atrocities. But this historical re-examination promises to be hypocritical indeed, limited to the refurbishing of the chauvinist popular-front myth of the "Resistance," according to which France was a nation of 30 million Patriots pitted against the German occupation forces and a handful of ignoble Collaborators. Thus the bourgeois press has singlemindedly concentrated on Barbie's murder of Resistance leader Jean Moulin in June 1943. One of Mitterrand's first official acts was to celebrate the memory of Moulin, who, as a "man of the left" chosen by de Gaulle as his emissary to the Resistance forces, incarnates the popular-frontist "national unity" against France's historic imperialist rival.

Today a significant part of French bourgeois public opinion is uneasy about the Barbie affair, recognizing the fragility of the social-patriotic myth of the "Resistance." For outside of Eastern Europe, it was in France that the Nazi regime received its most massive collaboration. This was not the act of a few quislings. The vast majority of the French bourgeoisie, haunted by the mass strikes of 1936 and the specter of the Paris Commune (result of France's last military defeat!), preferred occupation to the threat of workers revolution. Even the Socialist Party had to expel two-thirds of its National Assembly members for collaboration with Pétain's regime.

So Vichy, which had lost its army but not its police, offered itself up as the willing ally of the European "New Order." The end of the war saw the French bourgeoisie discredited. It took the U.S. imperialists, abetted by the reformist workers parties (above all the Stalinists, blocking with and building up the authority of de Gaulle), to restabilize French capitalism. That is why the postwar trials for collaboration were never more than half-measures and why vengeance for war crimes remains such a burning question in France even today.

The question of the extermination of six million Jews is an explosive issue in France. For before the deportations to the Nazi death camps even began, 3,000 Jews were already dead in *Pétain's* concentration camps. In its very first months in power, the Vichy regime enacted a series of anti-Semitic laws in no way dictated by the Nazis. And in August 1942 it was once again Vichy—and not the Nazis—which proposed the deportation of Jewish children to the gas chambers. It is indisputable that without the aid of the *French* police, the mass roundups could never have taken place. Until late in the occupation, a Jew or a Resistance fighter could be arrested, judged, imprisoned and deported without ever seeing a German soldier or SS man. Things were so dangerous for Jews in Vichy France that many fled to the relative safety of Italian-occupied Nice.

And official terror did not take place only under the Nazis. It continued in "democratic" France often through the same men. Consider the case of Maurice Papon, police prefect at Bordeaux during the war. This same Papon became de Gaulle's police commissioner in Paris and a minister in the Giscard

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regime. What could better illustrate the revolting anti-Semitic role of the French bourgeois state during the "final solution." Papon, who was finally indicted last month for "crimes against humanity," was responsible for rounding up thousands of Jewish children for deportation.

Subsequently, as a "democratic" guardian of capitalist "law and order," Papon was up to his neck in other crimes of the French bourgeoisie which are more taboo—the torture and mass murder of the dirty colonial wars waged by every French government (including all the various postwar popular fronts) from 1945 to 1962. On 17 October 1961 Papon's police viciously repressed a peaceful demonstration by Algerian immigrant workers in Paris for Algerian independence. Some 12,000 Algerians were rounded up and put in makeshift concentration camps. The police opened fire with machine guns, or tortured, then drowned their victims in the Seine. No one really knows how many died, but the total must number in the hundreds.

But "October in Paris" has vanished from France's historical memory as though it had never happened. And this summer Mitterrand (who, as minister of the interior in the first years of the Algerian War, is also guilty) pardoned the last of the generals of the OAS (the terrorist organization of the French army officers and *pieds noirs* in Algeria, which turned against de Gaulle when he negotiated the French withdrawal).

Death Should Have Come to Barbie A Long Time Ago

It is no surprise, then, that Barbie's defense is that the French state has no right to judge him. Perhaps Holland, where Barbie also did his dirty work for the Gestapo, and where in 1942 a general strike was staged against the deportation of the Jews, has a better claim to judge him. In any case, we hope that in his attempt to save his skin, Barbie will implicate as many French officials as possible.

When Klaus Barbie arrived in Lyons, the daughter of a deportee (who herself had been sent to the camp at Drancy—at the age of five) was arrested carrying a loaded rifle. It is deeply unfortunate that she didn't succeed (unlike Solomon Schwartzbard, a Jewish anarchist who in 1926 in Paris executed the Ukrainian Hetmin Petlyura, responsible for mass pogroms during the Russian Civil War; Schwartzbard was acquitted in a celebrated trial). For there is no doubt that Barbie deserves to die.

The French right wing, however, is using the Barbie case as the opening wedge of a campaign to restore the death penalty. As communists we oppose the death penalty. But we know there is plenty of justified killing after a bloody war. War criminals like Barbie should have their fate decided by a tribunal of their surviving victims. He should be judged by the Jews of Buchenwald and Auschwitz, the tortured French of Lyons, the German Communists and Socialists he hunted in Holland. But not even this elementary measure of justice will come from the bourgeois state, popular front or no.

Were it not for the U.S. intelligence rescue operation, Barbie would have and should have been killed a long time ago. (The Nazi mass murderers who fell into Soviet hands after the war had all been hanged by 1946.) That is the most important point of the Barbie affair: anti-Communist imperialism needs its Barbies and Mengeles. The CIA not only recruits the fascists of the past, but of the future. Counterrevolutionary, anti-Soviet imperialism cannot do otherwise.

It is not even a down payment on justice for all his crimes to have the French state now send Barbie to his death or to the French version of Spandau prison. Justice will come when the socialist revolution ends bourgeois rule and at last wipes its fascist terror off the face of the earth forever. ■

Flint...

(continued from page 4)

like the Communist Party (CP) and Workers World Party (WWP) see their role as providing a left cover to the Democratic/labor coalition. Thus at the rally a supporter of the CP's *Daily World* put up a "Jobs or Income Now" resolution calling for passage of the Solidarity House-backed "domestic content" bill. This poisonous protectionism tries to pit American auto workers against Japanese auto workers instead of attacking the corporations who have looted the industry by refusing to invest for years and now are trying to make U.S. workers (and consumers) foot the bill. The CP supporter went on to praise Kilbee and urge the UAW labor-traitors to jump on the Kennedy "nuke freeze" bandwagon, which is aimed at *strengthening* the anti-Soviet war drive by building up the military's conventional weaponry.

A supporter of the WWP took the floor to beg the bureaucrats to back a court suit for cheese and powdered eggs for the unemployed as a diversion from real class struggle. Such reformists "organize" the unemployed only as voting cattle for the Democrats. This soup-line "socialism" and the Democratic Party cheerleading of the rally was challenged by Nowell Davis, a member of the Rouge Militant Caucus in UAW Local 600 at Ford's River Rouge. Davis denounced Fraser's racist protectionist scheme and said:

> "I think every laid-off worker and unemployed worker here should be appalled at the Democratic Party sending its slick-haired political pimps into our union hall to try to hustle us for votes when we are faced with rampant unemployment, no jobs. The only thing that Reagan is offering the unemployed is stale moldy cheese, but the fact of the matter is that the Democrats are only offering us more of the same. We should just not be tricked into believing that the only thing that we can do is to write letters to our Congressmen or to vote Democrat. That's not true. What we can do is what was done in 1937 and that's to occupy these plants with militant sit-down strikes—labor action...."

Significantly, while auto workers are taking the brunt of the worst capitalist depression since the 1930s, at this meeting called to commemorate the historic Flint strike only the Rouge Militant Caucus called for sitdowns *today*. Davis went on to pose the need for a workers government, the only answer to the capitalist rot that is so visible in Flint and Detroit.

The decline of auto and other U.S. industries is due not just to foreign competition but rather to the boom-bust system of production for profit. The bosses now speak of a "recovery" which will maintain a mostly black reserve army of some *12 million* unemployed workers. The working class must fight for a socialist planned economy... or starve. What's required is militant labor action and a class-struggle fight to get rid of the bosses' "labor lieutenants" and build a workers party to lead the struggle for a workers government that will expropriate GM and all the bosses. *This* is the way, the only way, to secure jobs for all. The Spartacist League and class-struggle unionists such as the Rouge Militant Caucus say: Sitdowns not soup lines! ■

Fremont...

(continued from page 16)

the auto bosses.

If Fremont has proved anything, it is that the worst thing is for workers to go down without a fight, and the best time to fight for jobs is while you still have them. Thrown into a "job market" swelled by dozens of plant and warehouse closings in Alameda County, by December 1982 only 12 percent of the laid-off Fremont workers had found work of any kind—temporary, part-time, minimum wage or otherwise. The escape clauses in the so-called Guaranteed Income Stream soon shook virtually everyone out from collecting. Even high-seniority workers were cut off when they refused to take jobs "offered" in Oklahoma (!) with no seniority and no security against new layoffs. For most of these unemployed auto workers, the story has been repossessions, evictions, broken families.

But there remains among these workers a strong untapped will to fight. Fremont Local 1364 members reacted angrily to GM/Toyota's union-busting announcement. Dozens began to show up spontaneously at the union hall across from the plant to see what the union would do. One outraged worker with 30 years' seniority declared, "That plant isn't going to open" unless the laid-off workers are recalled. "There would be a lot of hostility—right in the roadway," said a member of the local shop committee. But any hint of class struggle is taboo to UAW bureaucrats like Local 1364 president Willie Mays, who moved quickly to silence the rank-and-file wrath.

But the fight against GM/Toyota's union-busting is not just that of its immediate victims, the laid-off Fremont workers. This is a challenge to the entire labor movement. The fight to prevent Fremont being reopened without recalling the laid-off union brothers and sisters must engage all UAW militants and Bay Area labor activists.

Beware Protectionist Poison

Fraser's protectionist frenzy has the aim of lining auto workers up behind their "own" capitalist bosses, blaming layoffs on Japanese auto workers and relieving the UAW bureaucracy of any responsibility of fighting the auto companies. This anti-Japanese racism is inflamed by the bourgeois media and capitalist politicians, especially "friend of labor" Democrats such as presidential hopeful Walter Mondale. The press has tried to present the Fremont union-busting effort as wholly "made in Japan," as if GM was not a senior partner in the operation. "Toyota 'No' on GM Workers" was the headline in the *San Francisco Examiner* (15 February). And black Democratic Alameda County supervisor John George termed the GM/Toyota anti-union announcement a "day of infamy," a reference to Pearl Harbor. Pearl Harbor was provoked by American and British economic warfare against Japan, the same kind of trade warfare that union bureaucrats like Fraser are now pushing. If anti-Semitism is "the socialism of fools," as the old German Marxist August Bebel said, then anti-Japanese protectionism is "the economic planning of fools."

To counter the increasing protectionist climate in the U.S., Toyota, Nissan, Honda, etc. are opening plants in this country. And just like the American auto companies, they prefer to locate these in depressed and rural areas to keep unions out and wages down. Nippon KoKan is currently negotiating to buy the steel plant in the huge Ford River Rouge complex in Dearborn on the condition of getting big contract concessions out of the union (see accompanying box).

In general, Fraser has *encouraged* Japanese and other foreign producers to demand the *maximum* concessions and more already granted to the Big Three. In trying to sell a sweetheart contract to GM/Toyota at Fremont, the UAW chief assured them that he is "ready to sit down and negotiate an agreement on all issues, including new work methods which we are actually already using at GM and Ford" (*Los Angeles Times*, 19 February)!

Through plant closings and runaways, through government bailouts and protectionism, and above all through multibillion dollar contract concessions, the auto bosses have recovered their profits during this depression by gouging it out of the workers. From Framingham to Fremont, and especially in Detroit, auto workers are being reduced to soup lines as a direct result of the betrayals of the UAW bureaucracy which acts as an enforcer of the company takeaways and mass layoffs.

But a seething anger is building up at the base as the Fraser gang sells out every basic union gain won over the course of decades. The bureaucracy's complicity in the flagrant union-busting at Fremont could spark a real explosion. As Fremont UAW Militant Caucus member Karen Allen replied to local president Willie Mays at a membership meeting right before they shut down the plant:

> "You're not interested in using the power of the union to increase our benefits or save our jobs, but I say our members are! The unions will fight. There will be strikes and you guys will be swept aside."

Only by building an internationalist, class-struggle leadership can auto workers defeat the bosses—Japanese and American—who are trying to cripple the union. ■

Report From River Rouge

DETROIT—At the Ford River Rouge complex in Detroit, United Auto Workers (UAW) members in Rouge Steel (the ninth largest steel producer in the U.S.) are under the concessions gun for the third time in as many years. Using the proposed sale of 75 percent of Ford's steelmaking operation (constituting almost a third of the Rouge workforce) to Nippon KoKan, Japan's second largest steel producer, and under the threat of shutting down the plant, Ford wants to slash wages and incentive pay to be "competitive." The Japanese and U.S. bosses are pressing this assault simultaneously with the massive givebacks being negotiated by United Steelworkers president Lloyd McBride in Pittsburgh.

Two years ago Local 600 president Mike Rinaldi, Coke Ovens division president Rick Martin and Rolling Mill division president Nick Nestico blackmailed Rouge Steel workers with the lie that "concessions save jobs." Now with Steel and the rest of Rouge operating at less than half of capacity, with 10-to-15 years' seniority workers from almost every unit on the street, they are proving once again their loyalties to the capitalists, be it Ford or a joint Ford/Nippon KoKan steel mill. The UAW bureaucrats are walking a racist anti-Japanese tightrope—they want Rouge workers to submit to more givebacks while simultaneously pushing the broader aims and military program of U.S. imperialism against its technically superior trading enemies.

Rouge workers are watching GM/Toyota's union busting at Fremont closely. They know that if this "out of town tryout" works, it will soon play in Detroit. The Flatrock and Specialty foundries are closed, Ford plans to close the Dearborn Assembly Plant and the Frame Plant is on the chopping block. Local 600 members must fight to smash the givebacks and defend their jobs. In the face of threats to close Steel, Rouge workers must respond with plant occupations, spreading to the other units and appealing to the hundreds of thousands of unemployed and poor in this city, to wage a class-struggle *political* fight by the largely black proletariat of Detroit.

W. Germany...

(continued from page 7)

struggle of foreign and German workers.

Foreign workers constitute approximately a sixth of the industrial proletariat and can play a central role for revolution, not just in West Germany but in all of Europe. It was the Turkish workers who in 1973 during the wildcat strikes in the Ruhr fought most militantly for the organization of work stoppages and picket lines. Foreign workers also know that they can expect nothing of the SPD and its "social state," which under Schmidt armed Turkey's NATO butcher General Evren and supported the Zionist holocaust in Lebanon through "development assistance" to Israel. CDU politicians speak of kicking out another 800,000 foreign workers. But it was the SPD that unloaded the worst results of the 1973-74 capitalist crisis onto the foreign workers, mercilessly sending hundreds of thousands back to the poverty and terror of their homelands. Trotskyists demand: Full citizenship rights for foreign workers and their families now!

No to the Phony "Lesser Evil"!

The demonstrations in the fall marked the beginning of efforts by the DGB bureaucracy to hoist the SPD back into the government saddle again. And the "left" is not far behind. During the coalition years, a considerable left-social-democratic layer arose which sought to pressure the SPD from the outside. Now they too are busily seeking to put together new editions of an SPD-dominated coalition. Support for Schmidt's coalition politics as a "lesser evil" has always served to strengthen illusions in the Social Democracy. Revolutionaries can employ the tactic of critical electoral support to a bourgeois workers party in order to destroy such illusions. But such a tactic is automatically excluded when the SPD comes out openly for a coalition with bourgeois parties such as the FDP.

The appetites of the successors to the Extra-Parliamentary Opposition [West German New Left]—more and more occupied with pasting up election posters for the Greens—are expressed openly by the pseudo-Trotskyist Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM, West German section of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat). The GIM is waging a campaign for a "new left majority" composed of "Greens, Rainbows, socialists" organized in a single electoral slate to "put pressure on an SPD government and tolerate it as opposed to a CDU/CSU-led government" (*Was Tun*, 30 September 1982). The GIM's program today simply means calling for a new popular front, in which Count Otto von Lambsdorff and his austerity program will be exchanged for little Lambsdorffs in lavender overalls offering austerity...with trees. The Greens, deeply anti-proletarian prophets of zero growth, who have a genuinely bourgeois component, would probably have won the sympathy of Morgenthau [postwar U.S. Secretary of the Treasury] with his plans to turn Germany into a gigantic potato field after World War II.

The Kommunistischer Bund (KB, Communist League) goes even further in suggesting a "reform bloc" which "can only come into existence when there are massive breaks and splits in the SPD and FDP" (*Arbeiterkampf*, 20 September 1982). A split of the FDP? Since when do communists have a tactic of splitting bourgeois parties? Does the KB really have the perspective of splitting the bankers and businessmen that finance the FDP from their "treacherous" leadership?

In contrast to the various open appendages of the Social Democracy, the Marxistische Gruppe (MG, Marxist Group) was able to create a leftist image with its anti-NATO demonstrations during Brezhnev's and Reagan's visits to Bonn. Their answer to the change in government is "No sympathy for the SPD!" but the contradictory character of the SPD as a bourgeois workers party remains impenetrable to the MG's idealist worldview. Lacking a strategic orientation to winning leadership of the working class, the anti-Marxist Group regarded the October 23 trade-union demonstration as nothing but an electoral mobilization for the SPD. While capitulating to the class collaboration and nationalism of the SPD along with the rest of the "peace" movement, on the other hand it refuses to have anything to do with the Social Democratic workers. With its petty-bourgeois disdain for the conquests of the working class ("Thirty years of the DGB are enough"—a slogan that would meet with approval from Strauss) the MG has set sail on a dangerously anti-proletarian course.

For a Trotskyist Party!

No variant of the policy of pressuring the SPD will stop the reactionary Strauss. The ostensible leftists, the "peace" movement and the Social Democrats who are now looking around for a new home can bring forth only a nationalist, anti-proletarian and anti-Soviet popular front that will strengthen the hegemony of the SPD over the German proletariat. And this in a world in which the alternatives of revolutionary communism or unbelievable barbarism are being posed ever more sharply.

As workers at giant monopolies such as AEG face mass layoffs and factory shutdowns they must directly challenge capitalist property and the bosses' supposed "right" to throw thousands onto the street. A workers' occupation of a major factory could signal plant takeovers throughout West Germany, igniting mass strikes that would unleash the mighty power of the trade unions in a counteroffensive of the entire working class. To counter the treacherous DGB leadership's fake call for a 35-hour week (in the indefinite future) communist fractions in the trade unions would demand strikes now to fight for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay. For a sliding scale of wages and hours, to divide the available work among all available hands! A fight for this demand would foil the attempts to drive a wedge between workers, German and foreign, male and female, employed and unemployed. Equal pay for equal work! It's the same class, the same struggle, work for all! A program for socially useful public works under trade-union control at union wages must be won. For full COLA and big wage hikes!

Realization of these demands is possible only in the framework of a comprehensive economic plan resting on the expropriation without compensation of the banks, commerce and industry. That requires a workers government—not the SPD in Bonn but a revolutionary workers government resting on the organized might of the proletariat expressed in organs of workers democracy. In West Germany the fight for a workers government—the dictatorship of the proletariat—is inseparable from the task of the revolutionary reunification of Germany. The West German proletariat should look to the East German workers as allies in the struggle for socialist revolution in the West and political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy in the East.

Militant class struggle is necessary—not subordination to reformist traitors and bourgeois parliamentarians. Only Trotskyism has a program and a perspective that opens a future for the German proletariat. Only the Trotskyists say the truth about the SPD and refuse support to any form of bourgeois coalition politics. The powerful German working class—with its strategic component of foreign workers—must fight for and win its class independence. It must draw the lessons from the results of the SPD's coalition politics: it must take up the struggle for a Trotskyist workers party capable of splitting the SPD and breaking its stranglehold on the organized workers.

The interimperialist conflict over the pipeline deal is a powerful confirmation of the perspective already pointed to by Leon Trotsky during World War I: the fight for the United Socialist States of Europe. The obvious need for the gas pipeline, even in the face of capitalist irrationality and the mismanagement of the Kremlin bureaucracy, is a foretaste of the possibilities a planned economy would open up: employing all the labor power, technical and natural resources from the Siberian tundra to the Iberian peninsula. But this perspective requires an implacable fight to break the proletariat from the social-imperialist, anti-Soviet nationalism of the SPD.

Twenty million Soviet workers and peasants died in the Second World War beating back the onslaught of German imperialism. The German proletariat has the power to see that they didn't die in vain and ensure that the peoples of East Europe do not have to again fear this rapacious monster. We fight for the *revolutionary* reunification of Germany, proletarian revolution to overthrow the bourgeoisie in the West and political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy in the East. A workers' Germany, establishing the rule of soviets in the industrial powerhouse of Europe, would be the spark for a revolutionary uprising of the proletariat on the entire continent, opening the possibility of a rational planned economy in a socialist United States of Europe. ■

USWA...

(continued from page 5)

Roads (the waterway separating Newport News from Norfolk). Such workers should be organized to help man mass picket lines, refuse to handle struck products or raw materials, etc. It is necessary to fight for *political independence*: the labor bureaucrats' political ties to the parties of capital—the Democrats and Republicans—are a guarantee of defeat in a strike that must challenge the capitalists' laws in order to win. Break with the Democrats—for a class-struggle workers party!

The task of winning the support of the masses of black workers (who for example now comprise some 70 percent of the Newport News workforce) can be accomplished only by a leadership that mobilizes the union's power to *fight racial oppression* both inside and outside the workplace. The November 27 Labor/Black Mobilization enlisted significant support in the Tidewater labor movement—highlighted by the participation of a union-organized Nat Turner Brigade—testimony to the keen sense of outrage against the Klan provocation felt by black workers in the area. Labor militants must also be prepared to rally all the oppressed to beat back segregationist attacks, like the Norfolk school board's recent moves to end busing.

Such policies are taboo to misleaders like McBride, who would rather organize defeats than wage class struggle. The giveback contract now being prepared by McBride & Co. for the Basic Steel core of the union could be the defeat of the decade! The PSA is making full use of the USWA's loser image, building its (no doubt largely fraudulent) base of support in part by making the equation: USWA=concessions. McBride & Co. say givebacks are necessary due to the weakness of the U.S. steel industry, but it is their own concern for capitalist profit that paves the way for concessions by straitjacketing the USWA membership. With the International laboring mightily to avoid strikes at any cost in both the steel industry and at Newport News, there's no guarantee that the next shipyard contract won't be far *worse* than the existing one. But this no-strike stranglehold can be broken. What is required is that militants in the steel plants as well as in the shipyard organize a class-struggle fight to oust the pro-company International leadership.

Among the chief apologists for the sellout policies of the USWA tops are the sellout "socialists" of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). SWP supporter and 8888 member Eli Green has run for senator of Virginia but remains virtually silent on Tenneco's campaign against the union. For years the SWP's rag, the *Militant*, sang the praises of Ed Sadlowski, the so-called USWA "insurgent" who is now peddling givebacks for McBride in Chicago. In its coverage of the Newport News struggle, the *Militant* served as a mouthpiece for the International. Thus in the summer of 1979 when many workers began to realize that it was vitally necessary to resume the strike against Newport News Shipbuilding, the *Militant* came out against any action and even praised the USWA leadership for "avoiding a strike that many workers considered ill-timed"! Afterwards the SWP joined the bureaucrats in claiming that the outcome of this no-fight strategy was..."victory"!

The South will never be organized by crying "victory" where the battle has yet to be won. Such dishonesty can only aid the union bureaucrats and, ultimately, the bosses. It is necessary to speak the truth: Local 8888 has a hard fight ahead of it. Even if the current PSA challenge falls through, Tenneco's drive to root out industrial unionism will continue. The company's resistance must be utterly and decisively crushed! Many Newport News workers are seeking a way to get that job done.

But the racist anti-labor drive is being directed straight from the White House. On 19 September 1981 a half-million workers, including many Tidewater unionists, turned out in Washington because they urgently want to stop Reagan reaction. The union misleaders, however, channeled the anti-Reagan sentiment of Solidarity Day into a pep rally for the Democrats, as if *their* program of austerity, givebacks and anti-Soviet war buildup were any alternative. The Spartacist League says it's necessary to build a workers party that will combine the struggle to unionize the South—as well as uproot Jim Crow racism and stop KKK terror—with the struggle to *bring down* Reagan through labor action. Smash the PSA—Defend Local 8888! For a class-struggle leadership in the USWA! ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area
Fri. 5:00-8:00 p.m., Sat. 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone (415) 835-1535

Chicago
Tues. 5:30-9:00 p.m., Sat. 2:00-5:30 p.m.
523 S. Plymouth Court, 3rd Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone (312) 427-0003

New York City
Tues. 6:00-9:00 p.m., Sat. 12:00-4:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, N.Y. Phone (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto
Sat. 1:00-5:00 p.m.
299 Queen St. W., Suite 502
Toronto, Ontario Phone (416) 593-4138

Chicago...

(continued from page 16)

Chicago is certainly *not* the city that works: 35,000 area steel workers are unemployed. A third of the city's blacks subsist below the poverty line, with one out of five on welfare. And the voters of Chicago are faced with a trio of capitalist Democratic Party pols—the Machine's mistress, its kid and its black front man—all of whom want to administer four more years of the same. But Chicago may not be able to take much more.

Cicero Jim Crow

Forty percent of the population of America's "Segregation City" is black, packed into the sprawling South Side and West Side ghettos. They are cordoned off to the north by the Loop business district and to the south and west by a ring of lily-white industrial "suburbs" populated by residents of East European descent. And nowhere is there a more infamous example of a Jim Crow suburb than Cicero, Illinois, nationally notorious for decades as a bastion of racist reaction.

Suddenly last month the Reagan administration, under attack for its racist policies, began a suit against Cicero town officials for systematically violating federal laws against racial discrimination. What hypocrisy! This is the administration which has launched a wholesale attack on every aspect of black people's lives, from jobs and housing to cutbacks of food and school lunches; which has moved against voting rights while refusing to enforce even those token anti-discrimination laws on the books. Now, after five years of bargaining for "voluntary desegregation" with Cicero, the federal government has noticed, in the words of a Justice Department official, "the most egregious aggravated case of racial discrimination."

Cicero is the extreme which proves the pattern. *Not one single black child attends Cicero public schools.* Not one black is employed as a municipal worker. Cicero demands that its municipal workers have lived in Cicero for at least one year, while town officials are accused of physical harassment of blacks trying to live there. Of the 61,232 residents (according to the 1980 census) in this six-square-mile area stretched along Chicago's West Side ghetto, only 74 are black. Almost all of Cicero's black residents are employees of Sportsman's Park Race Track who live in the track's cinderblock huts only during racing season. In 1980, two black families living on the Race Track grounds tried to enroll their children in the Cicero elementary school just three blocks away. A racist mob terrorized the children on the first day of school while the school officials declared that the safety of the children could not be guaranteed. There was no second day of school in Cicero for black schoolchildren.

Chicago blacks know it isn't safe to walk into Cicero. Even those who work there take their lives in their hands as Jim Crow is enforced not only by mobs but by the town cops. A resident of the wealthier part of Cicero told *Time* (7 February) magazine, "Down here anyone who sees a colored person walking along the street without a delivery uniform on calls the police." And what the police are likely to do is illustrated by the recent case of a young black man, Ronnie Stackhouse. When he tried to rent an apartment in Cicero his car was shot; last April it was firebombed as well. When he went to the police to complain, he was slapped into jail on bogus charges of "disorderly conduct" while at the same time his charred automobile was being finished off right in the cops' parking lot.

The Reagan government has picked out Cicero to try to deflect increasing criticism of its racist policies, but Cicero isn't the only example of Chicago's "suburbs' rights" pockets of Jim Crow, just the worst. Three other towns surrounding Chicago's West Side are less than one percent black: Berwyn, Oaklawn and Des Plaines. For years Chicago's Jim Crow suburbs have refused as much as $26 million in federal housing funds out of fear that the money might come with the strings of integration. And they have done so not only under Reagan racism but also under Democrat Jimmy ("ethnic purity") Carter.

WV Photo

UPI

Black Machine Democrat Harold Washington (left) runs against strikebreaker Democrat "Crazy Jane" Byrne (right). No choice for workers, blacks.

Down With Chicago's "Voluntary Segregation" Plan! Extend Busing to the Suburbs!

In Chicago itself segregated housing and schools have become official policy upheld by the Democratic Machine and blessed by the courts. One look at metropolitan Chicago's segregated housing pattern shows that busing would be the only way to even begin to integrate the schools. But on January 6 the federal district court approved the so-called "Chicago plan" of "voluntary" school desegregation. As phony compensation, all black schools are supposed to receive extra funding to improve the quality of education. This is of course nothing but the old racist lie of "separate but equal."

Developed under Carter, this "Chicago plan" for segregation has had the active or tacit approval of the Democratic Party for years. By 1978 two-thirds of the city's 512 elementary schools were 90 percent black or 90 percent white (*Chicago Journal*, 26 January). Busing is simply not considered. Harold Washington's campaign for instance *does not call for busing or for open housing.* He doesn't want to openly oppose the NAACP's legalist suit against the "voluntary segregation" plan, and certainly doesn't want to upset the Jim Crow deal struck over busing. So he tries to duck the issue. But when asked pointblank by *WV*, "So he [Washington] doesn't advocate busing in Chicago?" Washington's press representative Chris Chandler replied with a flat "That's right." Despite a lot of rhetoric about being the candidate from the " 'hoods"—the solidly black South Side and West Side ghettos—Washington is just another Democratic candidate who supports the gentleman's agreement to preserve the racist status quo.

It will take powerful labor/black struggle to break up the racism in "Segregation City." First and foremost this means a fight against the Democrats and the Democratic-loyal union bureaucrats who will not even lift a finger for busing—the minimal basis for school integration. The Spartacist League (SL) has long pointed out that although busing is woefully inadequate it is a fight against racist separate-but-unequal. We say extend busing to the suburbs where the white population and the decent schools are. The power of labor must be brought to bear against the capitalist state which is busily putting its legal stamp of approval on increasing segregation—encouraging racist mobs who have filled the streets from Boston to Cicero to Los Angeles.

Cicero and the Defeat of the Liberal Civil Rights Movement

It was in Chicago and particularly in Cicero that the liberal-led civil rights movement was overcome by the racists. When Martin Luther King "came North" in 1966 to protest segregated housing, the civil rights movement was up against the economic conditions underlying racism. It was one thing to march for integrated lunch counters when a section of the bourgeoisie wanted to get rid of anachronistic Jim Crow in the South. But not in the North. The pacifist King signed the Palmer House Agreement and called off a planned march into Cicero in a deal with Boss Daley in which the city offered the empty "promise" to pursue open housing. King called the empty Palmer House Agreement "one of the most significant programs ever conceived" (*Time*, 2 September 1966). But Daley and the black Democratic Machine characterized King as an "outside agitator" and when two years later the ghetto exploded in rage after King's assassination, it was Daley who issued "shoot-to-kill" orders to Chicago's police.

Given the history of racism in Cicero, it should have been obvious that liberal-pacifist appeals to the government would not work. Long famous as Al Capone's hometown and headquarters, Cicero made headlines in 1951 when Harvey Clark, a young black CTA bus driver, moved from the South to what he later ironically described as "Abraham Lincoln's state." The night he tried to move into a Cicero apartment a mob of 5,000 rioted and stormed the building, setting it aflame, throwing furniture (including a piano) out the window and ripping out the plumbing. The cops, who earlier had refused Clark and his family access to the building, looked the other way while the fire department, only two blocks away, refused to come to the scene of the fire. The Clarks moved back to Little Rock, Arkansas. In 1966 a 17-year-old black youth was beaten to death for the "crime" of entering Cicero to look for work. And four months later when whites rioted against a CORE civil rights march, the National Guard was called in.

The fact is that a struggle against segregated housing in Chicago and its Jim Crow suburbs could not have any success unless the powerful integrated Chicago labor movement was mobilized. But the labor bureaucrats, tied to the Democratic Party, refused to bring the unions into the fight for black rights. Martin Luther King and the liberal Democrats relied on the federal government. It was a strategy for failure and betrayal.

The legacy of the defeat of the liberal-led civil rights movement has been continued racist reaction. As the segregationist forces grew stronger on the streets, it was fertile ground for the race-terrorist fascists. In 1966 George Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazis were whipping up white racism on the South Side. A decade later open housing marches in Chicago's Marquette Park were met with "white power" mobs numbering in the thousands as the KKK/Nazis incited a riot against the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement organization. The cops reacted to the rising fascist terror and gangs of white racist youth by arresting the demonstrators.

Mobilize Labor/Blacks—Finish the Civil War!

The racist terror continues. In January two black Chicago women were chased out of a white enclave on the South Side. Their car was firebombed and they were terrorized by white racist thugs chanting, "Niggers go home." Last summer, a black woman CTA bus driver moved to the suburb of Burnham; her home was pelted with rocks, windows smashed and garage bombed. And on February 3 UAW worker Bennie Leonard, beaten brutally by two Melrose Park cops back in 1977, had his federal jury award of $360,000 thrown out by the Appeals Court.

The cops have become notorious in their daily terror to keep the ghetto masses in line. Channel 5 television has documented 50 cases of Chicago blacks beaten or murdered by the cops. Harold Washington recently met with victims and the families of murdered victims to build support for his campaign for a whitewashing civilian review board. But his real sentiments on the police were made clear when he pointed out that this was not meant as "an attack on the police department in any way, shape or fashion" (*Chicago Tribune*, 15 February).

The struggle against racist terror must be part of the fight to mobilize the power of labor to fight for the rights of blacks and for the workers revolution which can at last finish the Civil War. That is the program of the Spartacist League (SL). And it works. In 1975 an integrated UAW defense guard from International Harvester protected the home of union brother C.B. Dennis in Broadview when his family was menaced by racists there. This action was initiated by a caucus of militants politically supported by the SL. Last summer the Spartacist League initiated a labor/black-centered action when the Nazis threatened to attack the Gay Pride March in Lincoln Park. And most recently, on November 27 in Washington, D.C. the KKK was stopped from carrying out a provocative march in that overwhelmingly black city by a labor/black mobilization of 5,000.

The black question is central to the class struggle in this race-divided country. While the reformists scurry for the "progressive" Democrat, Harold Washington, life for Chicago's workers and blacks gets worse.

Railroad yards divide Cicero from the West Side ghetto: on both sides of the tracks the capitalist decay exposes the electoral pork-barrelers without pork and ward hustlers without patronage. Just look at Cicero! Look at Cabrini Green! It will take nothing less than socialist revolution to end the racism and poverty which grinds down the working class and cripples its struggle. And the Spartacist League is dedicated to building the Trotskyist party with a strong black leadership component which can break through the divisions that stand in the way of the American revolution. ■

Spartacist League Forum

You Can't Fight Reagan with Democrats, Black or White!

Labor/Black Action to Bring Down Reagan!

Speaker:
Bernard Vance,
SL Central Committee

Friday, February 25, 7:30 p.m.
Lyford Hall (enter by 74th St. door)
South Shore United Methodist Church
7350 S. Jeffery Blvd.
For more information call: (312) 427-0003

CHICAGO

WORKERS VANGUARD

Black Democrat Washington Means More of the Same

Chicago: Segregation City

CHICAGO, February 19—On Tuesday the Democratic mayoral primary will decide who will inherit the controls of the Daley political machine. Will it be incumbent "Crazy Jane" Byrne who's busted strikes by teachers, firemen and transit workers? Or Richard "Son of Dick" Daley who hopes to cash in on his father's "Boss" connections? Or will it be black machine Democrat Harold Washington who is being touted falsely and cynically by the reformists, the black liberal establishment and black capitalist hustler Jesse Jackson as the saviour of the city's ghetto poor?

As the campaign entered the homestretch it was a slugfest in which the key factors were the size of the candidates' war chest (Byrne has collected $10 million, the largest amount ever spent to contest a city post anywhere in the U.S., compared to Washington's piddling $500,000), the black vote and the racist backlash. Already the feds have been called in to supervise the voting, but U.S. Attorney Webb was skeptical: "This may be one of the most honest elections Chicago has ever had," he said, but "precinct captains have quotas they have to live up to...."

The fake-left, meanwhile, is pounding the pavement for the black Democrat. The Communist Party's *Daily World* has practically become a "Washington for Mayor" house organ. The CP sees his campaign as "part of the fight to run Ronald Reagan out of D.C."—in other words, to elect a Democratic president in '84. The usual reformist cover for supporting Washington is to portray him as an anti-Machine candidate: "Harold Washington Takes on Chicago Machine" (*In These Times*); "Black Takes on Chicago Machine" (*Guardian*); "Black Candidate Challenges Racist Power Structure in Chicago" (*Workers World*). Not at all.

Chicago Tribune

Chicago cops brutalize unemployed blacks when 40,000 people show up for less than 4,000 temporary city jobs.

For 15 years a Machine flunky in the Illinois legislature and the inheritor of Ralph Metcalfe's Congressional seat, Harold Washington is not trying to upset the apple cart. As a recent *New York Times* (13 February) article noted, this primary election "will essentially determine not only who runs Chicago for the next four years, but also who will try to run its troubled old machine":

> "Without Mayor Daley, the muted divisions between duchies re-emerged. It is no coincidence, for instance, that Mrs. Byrne is North Side Irish. The young Mr. Daley is South Side Irish. And Representative Harold Washington is an independent black trying to tap his community's growing vote, historically obedient to the machine. 'There's a lot more fragmentation now,' said a top Daley campaign aide. 'No one has the megabutton anymore'."

The article quotes one of the few "independent" alderman saying: "The Chicago Democratic machine is not dead and it's not dying. But it is bruised, and it is changing."

Whoever wins, the workers and poor of this most bitterly segregated metropolis in the U.S. will lose. Today,

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Fremont: Recall UAW Workers, No Substandard Contract!

Defeat GM/Toyota Union-Busting!

FREMONT, California—A sharp battle with tremendous consequences for the United Auto Workers (UAW) and the entire American labor movement has been posed here. What's happening in Fremont is a serious and calculated attack on industrial unionism. It is the direct result of the sellout policies of UAW misleader Doug Fraser and the Solidarity House gang who have given up one hard-fought gain after another to the auto bosses while trying to deflect workers' anger into poisonous protectionism and support for the bosses' Democratic Party. Now Solidarity House is reaping its reward—an open union-busting attack—and thousands of auto workers may have to pay the price.

When General Motors and Toyota announced on February 17 they would reopen the plant in late 1984, they added that the "new company" would *not* recognize the recall and seniority rights of the thousands of UAW members laid off last March. This means that many workers with close to 30 years seniority will have their pensions stolen from them. If the UAW gets any kind of representation of the younger workforce the management has in mind, GM/Toyota are insisting on a contract featuring "flexible work rules" (in plain English, unrestrained speed-up). If the auto bosses can get away with this outrage in the Bay Area—stronghold of organized labor on the West Coast—they will try it everywhere. "Whatever will fly in that [Fremont] plant will be exported to other plants," observed an MIT labor economist (*New York Times*, 22 February).

The United Auto Workers and the Bay Area labor movement must do whatever is necessary to prevent Fremont from operating with any but recalled UAW workers under full contract rights. No substandard contract! No "flexible work rules." Whether is takes mass picketing to seal the plant off or factory occupations—Fremont must not become the spearhead of successful union-busting.

Faced with an auto industry mired in deep depression, the Fraser bureaucracy of the UAW had two answers to "save jobs": givebacks at home and anti-Japanese protectionism abroad. The givebacks did nothing to prevent hundreds of thousands of layoffs over the past few years. Protectionism has now brought Fremont. The new Toyota-GM deal at Fremont is the "success" story of Fraser's protectionist campaign.

Whatever energy the Fraser gang hasn't expended on renegotiating lower wages and benefits for UAW members has been spent lobbying Congress for the so-called "domestic content" bill which would require the Big Three and foreign auto companies to produce in the U.S. 90 percent of the components of cars sold in this country. Anticipating some such protectionist measure, Toyota (in partnership with GM) decided to produce cars with local content at Fremont. Possibly the Japanese auto producer knew Fraser would be so happy to get this local content that he would be willing to give up recall and seniority rights entirely, make god-knows-what concessions on wages and benefits and throw job classifications and work rules out the window. Many auto workers were taken in by the anti-Japanese protectionist ranting coming out of Solidarity House. Well, look at Fremont and see protectionism at work.

When the newly expanded Fremont plant shut down last year, the last 2,000 of what had been a 6,800 person workforce were led out the door by local union bureaucrats using the threat that any fight would jeopardize the supposedly life-time benefits for the highest seniority workers. Before the shutdown, a class-struggle opposition with a ten-year history in the local, the UAW Militant Caucus, waged an urgent campaign for a plant sitdown to keep it open and to appeal to auto workers across the country to launch a wave of sit-down strikes to turn the tide of layoffs and squeeze concessions from

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Fremont UAW workers watch last car roll down the line, March 1982. GM/Toyota plans to reopen plant without recalling laid-off union members.

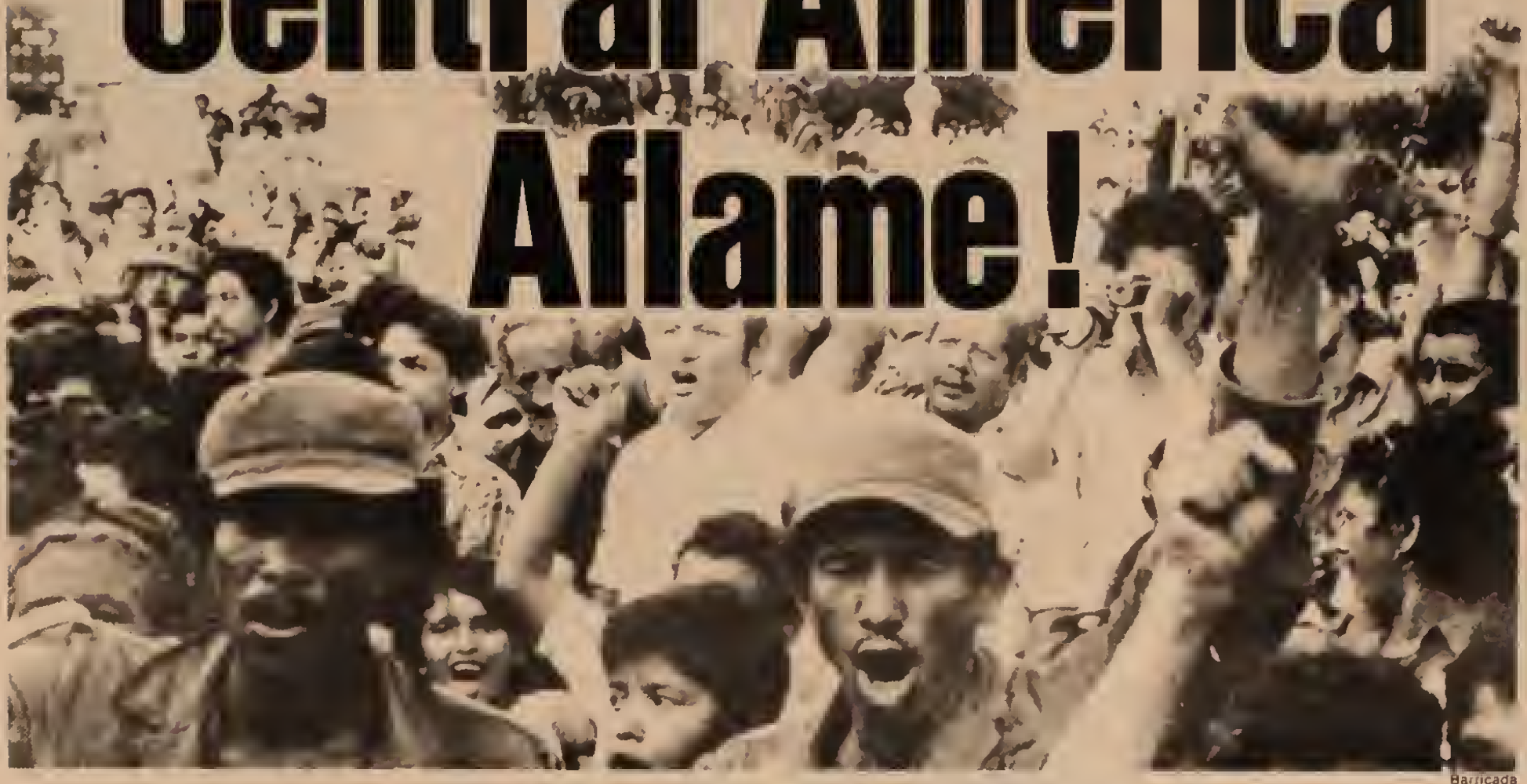
WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 325 11 March 1983

Smash Reagan/Pope Counterrevolution!
Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in El Salvador!

Central America Aflame!



Barricada

Military Victory to Leftist Rebels! For Workers Revolution!

MARCH 8—With the dramatic battlefield successes by leftist guerrillas in El Salvador, Ronald Reagan's plans for escalating U.S. intervention and now Pope John Paul Wojtyla's provocative "pilgrimage" to rally the forces of reaction in the region, it is revolution or bloody counterrevolution in Central America.

The Catholic pope has declared a holy war against the left-nationalist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. From Warsaw to Managua, the Vatican is pushing a virulent anti-Communist crusade in conjunction with Reagan/Carter's Washington. The Spartacist League (SL) says: Defeat the anti-Soviet war drive, from El Salvador to Poland!

Meanwhile, as the Salvadoran insurgents have government forces on the run, the imperialist liberals and nationalist-reformists are clamoring for a "negotiated settlement." They fear that destruction of the blood-drenched army that has run the country for the past 50 years could unleash mass insurrection and social revolution. The Trotskyist SL calls for military victory to leftist rebels, and for the construction of a communist vanguard party that can lead the workers at the head of all the oppressed.

The oligarchic domination that dates back to the subjugation of the Indian masses four centuries ago, a system enforced by the military and sanctioned by the church, is under siege. The workers and peasants of the isthmus face a desperate struggle of survival against murderous capitalist rulers backed to the hilt by their Yankee godfather of the North. But the exploited cannot secure victory within the narrow limits of tiny banana and coffee republics. The land bridge between North and South America must become a platform for launching socialist revolution throughout the hemisphere.

Falling Dominoes

The U.S. administration has pulled out all the rhetorical stops to convince the American bourgeoisie that its class rule and immediate strategic interests are threatened by the conflict in Central America. Speaking on March 4 to corporate executives and politicians at the San Francisco Hilton, Reagan proclaimed: "We believe the Government of El Salvador is on the front line of a battle that is really aimed at the very heart of the Western Hemisphere, and eventually at us." He estimated that "50 percent of everything we import comes through the Caribbean, the Panama Canal." And he added, resuscitating the Vietnam-era domino theory, "If they get a foothold, with Nicaragua there, if El Salvador should fall...Costa Rica, Honduras, Panama, all of these would follow." His lesson: stand by your butchers.

When trying to wheedle military aid out of liberal Democratic "doves" worried that the U.S. is backing another loser in El Salvador, however, administration spokesmen sing a different tune. According to the *New York Times* (2 March), "Mr. [Thomas] Enders [Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs] said: 'The Vietnam analogy is really false. We are not escalating little by little. Nobody has suggested sending in military advisers,' again making a distinction between 'trainers' and combat troops." (We can't help recalling here the line from Phil Ochs' liberal protest song "Talking Vietnam Blues": "Training is the word we use, nice word to have in case we lose.") At another point in his Congressional testimony, Enders predicted that if Salvador is "knocked off by guerrillas" then "in four or five years we'll be fighting along the banks of the Panama Canal and along the Mexican border."

While El Salvador is the "front line" in Reagan's war drive, there is no doubt as to his ultimate target. His sights are set on "rolling back" the Russian October Revolution, reversing the hard-fought gains of socialized property and the planned economy in the Soviet bloc states, and returning them to the chains of capitalist exploitation. If the Soviet Union did not exist, the drug traffickers and casino owners would long since have returned to Havana under the U.S. "free world" auspices. Trotskyists, while calling for workers political revolution

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Terminate the Monarchy!

Britain's Sacred Cow on Reagan's Ranch

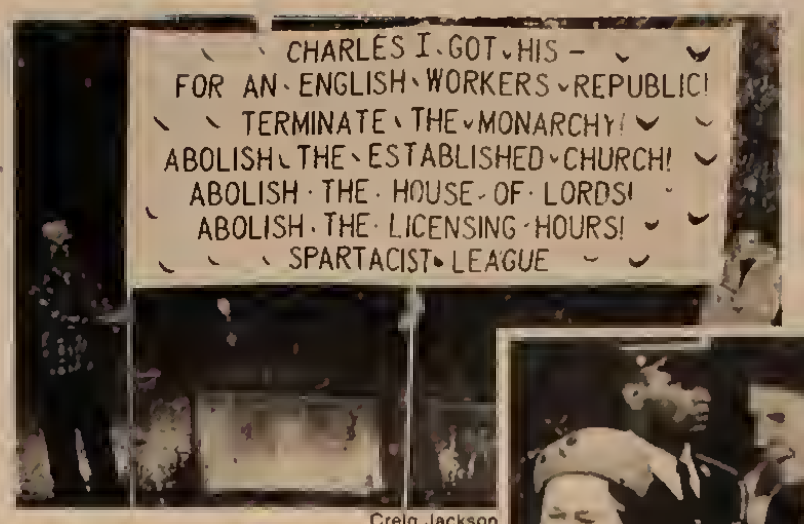
SAN FRANCISCO—Tom Paine writhes in his grave, parents of lunchless black school kids burn with anger, Irish-Americans scream with outrage, and every kind of democrat everywhere recoils in disgust. Queen Elizabeth II—"Queen by the Grace of God and Defender of the Faith"—meets on the West Coast with Ronald Reagan—"Leader of the Free World and President of All the People" (who can afford it). And ten days of spectacular royal insult are added to the economic and social injuries inflicted by imperialism. But for the U.S. bourgeoisie the queen's visit is a Disneyland carnival of reaction, an opportunity to celebrate its sacred principle of social privilege by flaunting a round of festivities the decadence of which would make an old Roman slave merchant envious.

The U.S. bourgeoisie started laying out the royal carpet for this symbol of reaction months before "Her Majesty" stepped off the royal yacht (the world's largest pleasure craft at 412 feet). With her were her consort, Prince Philip, her ladies in waiting, her chefs and food tasters, and the whole complement of traveling grovellers. Reagan, California governor George Deukmejian, the Democratic mayors and their protocol experts made out the royal guest lists and had the Union Jack strewn across building fronts and hung from lamp poles from L.A. to Seattle.

The sycophantic press, particularly on the West Coast, curtsied dutifully, describing the queen's and Nancy Reagan's long gowns and jewelry, their endless rounds of luncheons and dinners aboard the royal yacht, and in elegant hotels. In Depression U.S.A., the papers were glutted with talk of quenelles of goose liver and lobster terrine with golden caviar. The public was apprised of which chardonnays and cabernet sauvignons were selected by Michael Deaver, one of Reagan's closest advisers, who doubles as the arbiter of spirits.

Security for the queen was tight and expensive. So tight that in Yosemite a Secret Service car hit one of the sheriff's cars head-on, leaving three security men dead. The queen's security also delayed welfare checks in San Francisco in a Dickensesque story in which the cops take over the basement of City Hall for a command post, closing off access to a city computer needed to print the checks (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 5 March). Plenty was spent on keeping the sacred cow away from the profane commoners. The press reported that in San Francisco, an entire bathroom was built in the De Young museum for the queen's personal and private use, at a cost of $20,000. The Wolftones, an Irish singing group, announced they were releasing a new song about the royal loo entitled, "Oh, The Can Is For The Queen, And Likes Was Never Seen."

As the queen made her way up the Pacific coast in the royal yacht and Air Force II, more than the unseasonably violent storms rained on this parade of bourgeois hypocrisy. First of all there was Mayor Feinstein and the Irish. San Francisco contains the third-largest concentration of Irish Americans in the U.S. The majority of SF's board of supervisors therefore decided they had other things to do when the queen came to town, declining invitations to various presentations and dinners.



Craig Jackson

Spartacist League protests king and queen of imperialist terrorism in San Francisco.

AP

Feinstein had obviously thought she could sidestep the issue with the ploy she used when she hosted the butcher dictator of the Philippines, Ferdinand Marcos, last fall. To assuage anti-Marcos demonstrators she had promised to raise the issue of "human rights" violations with him in private. However, when she tried a similar tactic at SF's Irish Cultural Center claiming she would speak to Her Majesty about Ireland, the furies of protocol unleashed their dictum: thou dost not speak to the queen about such matters.

Feinstein quickly backed down saying she was "not going to do anything to embarrass the Queen" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 26 February). Indeed not. And to show just how far she'd bow, at the expense of ordinary San Franciscans, Feinstein ordered the city's mostly Irish gardeners removed from their normal duties in Golden Gate Park to what a Laborers Union Local 400 official described as a "POW camp" at the Polo Grounds so they would not be near the queen when she attended the big fete at the De Young museum in the park. Feinstein insisted, not very convincingly, that the gardeners were needed at the Polo Grounds to "trim hedges." But as Local 400 official George Evankovich said sarcastically, "if all those guys spent an hour trimming the hedges, there'd be no hedges left.... Maybe they should put the boys to work dyeing the park orange for the Queen" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 26 February).

Moving Irish gardeners to the Polo Grounds, however, did not stop a number of protests against the queen in San Francisco. On March 2, while the queen was being entertained by Reagan's buddy Frank Sinatra and the entire cast of "Beach Blanket Babylon," an Irish Northern Aid spokesman was thrown out chanting, "Stop the torture!" The largest protest of about 7,000 was held outside the De Young museum where Reagan hosted the queen and a couple of hundred of selected others. Organized mainly by the Irish American green nationalists, the "March 3 Coalition" was the usual lash-up of anti-Reagan pro-Democratic Party reformists with mainstream Democrats: "Let's tell Reagan we want jobs.... Let's tell Queen Elizabeth: England Out of Ireland Now!" However, a prominent SL banner along the route of march proclaimed, "You Can't Fight Reagan with Democrats—For Mass Strike Action to Bring Down Reagan!"

Another SL banner highlighted the socialist attitude toward the queen, recalling the fate of the English monarch who got the ax in 1649 from Cromwellian revolutionaries: "Charles I Got His—For an English Workers Republic!" In this revolutionary spirit, the SL banner demanded: "Terminate the Monarchy! Abolish the Established Church! Abolish the House of Lords! Abolish the Licensing Hours!"

Down with the Monarchy!

The tab for the queen's West Coast visit hasn't been totaled, but estimates run into the millions as money poured out of public coffers as freely as good champagne at a state dinner. In the U.S. as in Britain much of the opposition to the monarchy is based on its expense. In impoverished Britain, the monarchy's castles, jewels, multi-million-dollar maintenance and lavish feudal displays serve an important social function for the bourgeoisie—and cheap at the price. The royal family is the living symbol of the immutability of the class structure, the principle that everybody has "his place" and he had better stay there.

The English bourgeoisie is quite proud that it reached accord with the feudal aristocracy after the bourgeois revolution and absorbed it into the capitalist social order. They became the Establishment, "forever" embodied in the Monarchy, the House of Lords and

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Victory to UTU Rail Strike!

MARCH 8—Yesterday the United Transportation Union (UTU) struck the commuter lines (Metro-North) which run from upstate and Connecticut to New York City. Last Tuesday the UTU had already shut down NJ Transit, and the 160,000 extra commuters have jammed the roads and subways.

The Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) is out to break the back of the UTU locals as part of a takeover of Metro-North. NYC area transit workers are divided into many different unions and locals, who often don't honor each other's strikes, as the transit bosses pick them off one by one. But UTU must not be left to go it alone! Union solidarity, particularly by the powerful Transport Workers Union Local 100, can beat back MTA strikebreaking.

The UTU has been working without a contract since January 1 when the MTA took over the system from Conrail. The TA wants to chop 150 jobs, a quarter of the workforce, cutting anyone with under 15 years. Trainmen and conductors now get no overtime pay and the MTA wants to cut "swing time" pay in half! Not long ago the workers were forced to give up a 12 percent wage increase and mileage pay for the promise that Conrail would keep the bankrupt system rolling. The union has refused to submit to binding arbitration. The workers are fed up with bailing out the railroad companies.

It could be a long strike. The MTA is hardlining it. MTA chairman Ravitch says they won't compromise on the issue of train crew sizes. Racist strikebreaker mayor Koch urged him to "stand fast" against the strikers: "We can do this on one foot." Now Ravitch is calling on Reagan to order the strikers back to work.

WV Photo

NYC transit militants walk picket line with UTU rail strikers.

The TWU must act to stop MTA union-busting! The TWU should shut down all scab operations set up for overload passengers: Shut down the scab buses! Stop rerouting and adding on trains for bused-in passengers in the Bronx and Manhattan! It is criminal that the TWU leadership does nothing while the MTA picks off the small UTU locals.

The TWU got mugged last April when the TA forced a giveback deal down the throats of the workers under binding arbitration, aided and abetted by union chief John Lawe. Since then there's been a return to virtual open shop conditions with job cuts and speedup. The issues in the UTU strike affect all transit workers. Militants in the TWU have called for the union to take action in solidarity. Victory to the UTU strike!

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CIRCULATION MANAGER: Linde Jarreau

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Auto Militants Campaign for Sitdowns Not Soup Lines

Fremont UAW Local Says Defeat Union-Busting!

FREMONT, California—United Auto Workers (UAW) members here declared their intention to beat the union-busting challenge made when General Motors and Toyota announced they would reopen the Fremont plant without obligation to the workers laid off when the GM plant closed one year ago. Over the objections of representatives of the UAW International, which is asking GM and Toyota for a substandard agreement, local members voted to serve notice to union chief Doug Fraser that there will be no new wage-cutting/speed-up contract at Fremont.

UAW militants Karen Allen and Ruth Ryan told *WV* they raised the motion at a February 27 local meeting attended by about a hundred members. The motion passed overwhelmingly. It was reprinted in articles in the *Oakland Tribune*, the *San Jose Mercury*, the *San Francisco Examiner*, the *Los Angeles Times* and broadcast on KSAN and KCBS radio. Several papers quoted Ryan's call for tactics ranging from demonstrations to sitdowns to implement the motion. Not only the bourgeoisie and its press but also the organized working class is watching Fremont as a precedent—one way or the other.

Auto workers want to fight for their jobs. Hundreds showed up spontaneously at the Fremont union hall and milled about in anger after the GM/Toyota press conference. In Los Angeles, 500 laid-off GM workers demonstrated March 1 at the Van Nuys GM plant to demand the reopening of the second shift. The Milpitas Ford plant, a stone's throw from Fremont, and the historic Fisher Body plant in Flint, Michigan (where the great 1937 sitdown strikes won industrial unionism in auto) are both scheduled to close this year. These workers, too, would fight for their jobs. The traitorous leadership of Solidarity House is the roadblock that must be cleared away.

We reprint below a leaflet of the UAW Militant Caucus—being distributed by caucus members and supporters at unemployment offices and union polling places in San Jose, Fremont and Oakland—which exemplifies the program and struggle that are needed on a national scale to dump the sell-out Fraser gang and build a class-struggle leadership in the UAW.

Stop GM/Toyota Union Busting!

At the Union meeting on February 27, Local 1364 members voted overwhelmingly to pass the following motion:

> "UAW Local 1364 will use every tactic necessary to ensure that all hiring at the re-opened Fremont plant will be UAW members strictly according to the seniority agreement, and that there will be no substandard contract in wages and working conditions."

The motion was raised by Ruth Ryan and Karen Allen of the UAW Militant Caucus, a class struggle opposition with a ten year history in the Local, in response to General Motors and Toyota's statements that they had no intentions of rehiring the thousands of laid off Fremont UAW members.

Union members were outraged on February 17 when General Motors and Toyota announced their union-busting plans. Both GM chairman Roger Smith and Toyota chairman Eiji Toyoda said the "new company" would not recognize the recall and seniority rights of UAW members and furthermore they did not even recognize the UAW as the bargaining agent. Smith said the plant could be non-union, noting: "We have operated a non-union plant in Anaheim in excess of nearly twenty years." (*Detroit Free Press*, February 18, 1983). This is a direct and calculated attack on the UAW and industrial unionism itself. The consequences of the battle that have been posed here are tremendous, for the UAW and the entire American labor movement. If the auto bosses can get away with this outrage in a stronghold of organized labor like the Bay Area they will try it everywhere else.

Wilson/Oakland Tribune

UAW bureaucrats at Fremont have hard time answering questions about GM/Toyota deal.

The UAW and the entire Bay Area labor movement must take resolute action to stop this union-busting attack! Every tactic necessary must be used, from mass picketing to seal off the plant, stopping any non-union labor from going in for any work, to plant occupations. GM is already placing orders for new equipment. Our bottom line must be that nothing goes in or out of that plant until GM and Toyota agree that all hiring will be laid-off UAW members, strictly by seniority, with full contract rights on wages and working conditions.

The GM/Toyota union-busting deal is being followed very closely nationally by big business. Articles and editorials appearing in the *Wall Street Journal* and *New York Times* make it clear that this is seen as a prototype for not only auto, but other industries. Therefore the February 27 Local 1364 motion demanding strict recall rights and union conditions has been widely publicized in newspapers and on radio. *The Los Angeles Times* (March 3, 1983) notes:

> "For General Motors the re-opening of the plant is an opportunity to see if a belligerent union local can be pushed into concessions on hiring, wages and work rules which could set a pattern for a new nationwide auto workers' contract when the present one expires in September of 1984."

This fight is a challenge to the UAW and the entire labor movement. Fremont must not be the spearhead for successful union-busting.

From the time the auto companies started their big layoffs UAW president Fraser has been using the sucker-bait of racist anti-Japanese protectionism to relieve the UAW bureaucracy of any responsibility of fighting the auto companies. Fraser aims to line auto workers up behind their "own" auto bosses, blaming the layoffs on Japanese auto workers. Protectionism is the same line used by capitalist politicians like Democrat Mondale. Japanese and other foreign workers are not our enemy. The real enemy is right here at home: the auto companies, the government and both the Democratic and Republican parties. They are all lined up in a campaign to force auto workers and other industrial workers to work at non-union wage levels and working conditions with Fraser & Co. as the enforcers.

In fact Fraser is *inviting* Japanese and other foreign producers to seek maximum concessions in wage cuts and speedup, using multi-billion dollar concessions already given to the Big 3 as a precedent! He assured GM/Toyota that he is "ready to sit down and negotiate on all issues, including new work methods which we are actually already using at GM and Ford." (*L.A. Times* 2/19/83). Right now in Detroit UAW officials are in negotiations with Ford, preparing massive concessions in wages and incentive pay so that Ford can sell 75 percent of its steel-making operation at the River Rouge plant to a Japanese steel company. Yet Fraser is still pushing the anti-Japanese chauvinism, trying to present this union-busting deal at Fremont as Toyota's responsibility and GM as "reasonable". GM is in fact the senior partner in this deal. Toyota is coming in as a partner with GM to offset protectionist measures like the "local content" bill being pushed by Fraser. They're going to try for an open shop, or failing that, hire who they want and hold new union representation elections starting from scratch with massive takeaways. If the UAW gets any kind of representation of the younger workforce the companies have in mind, GM/Toyota are insisting on "flexible

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Jail L.A. Killer Cop!

Racist Child Murder

LOS ANGELES—On March 3 a cop in Orange County drew his gun and forced his way into a Stanton apartment home. The apartment seemed empty, but the policeman, Anthony Sperl, thought he heard a "noise"—so he kicked in the bedroom door and shot and killed a five-year-old child. The little boy, Patrick Mason, was home alone watching TV, carefully locked in by his mother, who was working nights as an auto mechanic to support him. The cop said he thought he saw a "gun" and just opened fire, shooting the child through the neck. Patrick was apparently playing with a little plastic toy pistol, just like any other American kid. Except he was black. So now he's dead.

Killer cop Sperl has already been cleared by the police in a preliminary investigation. And who are the police trying to blame it all on? The child's mother, Patricia Ridge! "Police said they are considering investigating her for child neglect," reported the *Los Angeles Times* (5 March). Patricia Ridge, a single mother, was out that night working to support her family. In Orange County, heart of "Reagan Country," there's no other recourse if you're black and poor; even with welfare plus lousy "workfare" jobs, you can't make ends meet. How was she supposed to know that some killer cops were going to come through her carefully locked front door, then break down her bedroom door, then cold-bloodedly shoot down her baby?!!!

Racist License to Kill

The bourgeois press is whitewashing this cruel, insane murder. They're playing up Sperl's "remorse." But it was no accident. The racially integrated apartment building that Patricia Ridge and her son lived in is considered "anti-police" by the cops—in other words, it has as tenants some of the few blacks who live in Orange County. So when the cops got a routine complaint that the little boy hadn't been in his kindergarten class lately (he had been home sick), they came in armed and ready to kill. This racist, capitalist state gives its police license to kill at will. Especially the notorious Los Angeles-area police know they can get away with murder and will be protected, especially if it's a *black* man, or woman, or even a five-year-old child that they wantonly blow away.

Patrick Mason LA Times

We say, jail the racist, killer cop! A society so poisoned with racism that the forces of "law and order" break into our homes and slaughter even our children is surely near its own death agony. For socialist revolution to sweep away the decaying capitalist system and its racist, murdering cops!

Who Was Guilty of the Crime Against Japanese Americans

The Infamy of America's Concentration Camps

Some 120,000 Japanese Americans were rounded up and incarcerated in barbed-wire concentration camps by the American government during World War II. This infamous crime against an entire ethnic group, victims of capitalist America's war hysteria, was perpetrated at the highest levels, by "New Deal" president Franklin D. Roosevelt and other prominent liberals, including then California attorney general Earl Warren. Now after some 40 years of burying this bourgeois atrocity, finally a Congressional commission decided to "investigate" and has concluded that indeed a "grave injustice" was done to the Japanese Americans. Maybe, the committee announced, they'll even consider giving some reparations—as if any amount of money could ever compensate for the savage degradation, the vile humiliation of enforced "loyalty oaths" to the state that imprisoned them, the homes and livelihoods and land ripped away forever by the racist American state. As a recent TV movie "Farewell to Manzanar" movingly showed, the years of imprisonment of this deeply assimilationist minority literally destroyed the lives and hopes and self-esteem of many.

The Congressional "Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians," which also castigated the brutal forced relocation of the native people of the Aleutian Islands (some 10 percent of whom died as a result of the uprooting), concluded on February 24 that the concentration camps were motivated by "racial prejudice, war hysteria and failure of political leadership." In fact, it reported, "not a single documented act of espionage, sabotage or fifth column activity was committed by an American citizen of Japanese ancestry or by a resident Japanese alien" (*New York Times*, 25 February). The Commission's report noted that even the FBI and members of naval intelligence at the time saw no need for the massive concentration camps, but that Roosevelt simply ignored their reports. So between the imperialist bourgeoisie's need to whip up U.S. war fever after the debacle of Pearl Harbor and historic anti-Oriental racism, egged on by California agribusinesses eager to grab Japanese American farmers' land, the racist deed was done.

Dorothea Lange

Seattle Post-Intelligencer

It can't happen here? In 1942 Japanese Americans were ordered to concentration camps like Manzanar (above).

Who protested at the time? Only the Trotskyists—and a very few individuals, like Norman Thomas, and the Quakers. The American Trotskyists of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party (SWP), although themselves sharply persecuted by the ruling class for their opposition to the imperialist World War II, offered what aid they could to the Japanese Americans. In March 1942 the SWP's *Militant* attacked the "brutal and indiscriminate witchhunt being conducted against non-citizens," while the 30 May 1942 issue charged the roundup was "a repressive measure, based purely on racial discrimination and motivated chiefly by the desires of Big Business for additional profits, which is presented as a necessary part of the 'war for democracy'."

Who did *not* utter a word of protest at the time was, shamefully and scandalously in view of their pretensions to represent the working class and oppressed, the American Communist Party. Indeed, even the bourgeois Congress today has gone further in "self-criticism" than the CPUSA ever has for its despicable actions during World War II. The CP and its *Daily Worker* pledged total loyalty to Roosevelt, enthusiastically *participating in* the slander attacks on the Japanese Americans. The *Sunday Worker* (25 January 1942) was but one example, carrying an article titled "Pearl Harbor Holds Vital Lesson for Cuba," containing such vile slanders as "the fifth column of Pearl Harbor was formed by the Japanese of Honolulu," who had supposedly led the Japanese planes to their targets by "arrows made on the canefields" (see "The Agony of Japanese Americans in U.S. Concentration Camps," *WV* No. 139, 7 January 1977, for fuller documentation). This CP racist filth is the kind of garbage even the FBI wasn't buying back then! And when the U.S. unleashed the world's first nuclear holocaust over Hiroshima and Nagasaki—primarily as a warning to the Soviet Union since Japan was *already* defeated—the CP *hailed* this crime against humanity as part of "war against fascism." So no wonder today the CP pretends it's all news to them, simply printing a bland article supporting the commission's findings in the *Daily World* (25 February) titled "WWII internments racist." They certainly ought to know.

The CP did offer an "excuse" for its actions, in a buried aside in a book review some years ago. Albert J. Lima wrote, in an article titled "Racism—a bone in the throat of the labor movement" (*World Magazine*, 1 January 1972) that:

> "When the war between the United States and Japan began in the midst of WWII, the U.S. Army decided to round up all people of Japanese ancestry and to herd them into concentration camps on the West Coast. Among others who failed to fight this vicious racist action which violated the most fundamental democratic rights in our country was the Communist Party.
>
> "Under a slogan of 'unity' in the struggles against fascism and Japanese imperialism, the Party allowed this act to go unchallenged, decided to drop Japanese from membership, and allowed their members to go to concentration camps."

How can *any* ethnic minority today, any black, any Latin, any "illegal alien" or refugee, trust the CP—who sent even its *own members* to the brutal concentration camps without a whimper? They betrayed when the heat was really on, because their fundamental loyalty is *not* to the oppressed and working class, but to their "own" imperialist bourgeoisie.

It's ironic that this Congressional commission today bemoans the "racial prejudice and war hysteria" of 40 years ago directed against Japanese Americans just as the ruling class is waging a hysterical trade war against its imperialist rival Japan, encouraging workers to such chauvinist stunts as smashing Toyotas in union parking lots. And once again the Communist Party is going along with "its own" bourgeoisie, encouraging protectionist poison. At a recent Flint, Michigan, UAW unemployment rally a supporter of the CP's *Daily World* put up a resolution calling for support to the UAW bureaucracy's "domestic content" bill, which only pits American auto workers against their class brothers and sisters in Japanese auto plants, instead of against their *real* enemy, the capitalist employers.

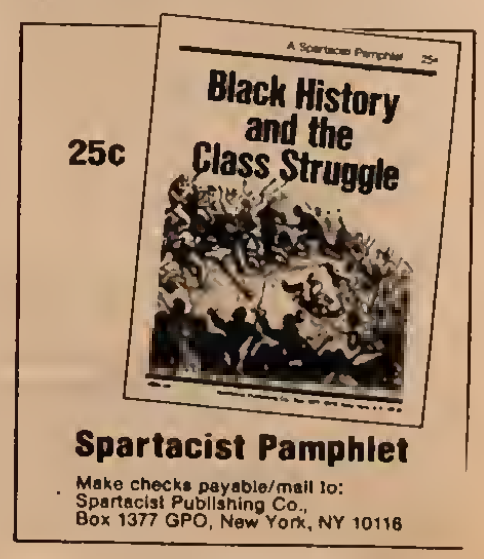
They said the concentration camps could never happen here—but they did, *and they're still here*, kept ready and waiting for the next "national emergency." The war-fever of the American ruling class, today directed centrally against the Soviet Union, will destroy us all—unless we stop them. Today it is the Spartacist League, which carries on the revolutionary internationalist tradition the Socialist Workers Party long ago abandoned, that offers the program and organization that can unite the workers and oppressed minorities in successful battle against the American ruling class. ■

Put Away the Killers of Willie Turks!

The murderers of Willie Turks must not go free! As we go to press, Gino Bova, charged with murder of the black NYC transit worker, was convicted by a virtually all-white jury of the lesser charge of second degree manslaughter. This is a racist outrage! There is no justice for the black man in the bourgeois courts! Bova, one of 15 to 20 white hoodlums involved in the lynch mob murder, struck Turks in the head five or ten times with a stick. Now the jury says there was no intent to kill! The verdict is of a piece with efforts by the defense attorney to portray the *victims* of this racist atrocity as the criminals, saying Bova was "just a young man trying to defend a friend"!

At the trial Dennis Dixon, one of the assaulted transit workers, recounted the horror of racist mob terror in the Gravesend section of Brooklyn last June 22. When the three black workers left the bagel shop that night, a group of white punks surrounded their car yelling, "What are you niggers doing in this area? Niggers get out!" They rocked the car and smashed the windows with sticks, cans and debris. Dixon, who went down after being struck in the face by a bottle, managed to scramble away and run several blocks, bleeding profusely from the head, to find the police. He pleaded with them to save his friends, but the cops did nothing. As more youths descended on the car Donald Cooper too ran for his life. But Willie Turks, his arm in a cast, was dragged from the car, clubbed, and left lying on a sewer with his skull cracked and his face beaten in. A few hours later he died.

Willie Turks' murderers should be locked up and the key thrown away. But that won't end such lynch mob attacks. Black transit workers still have to travel through the Gravesend neighborhood every day to get to work, and blacks in the Marlborough projects face racist abuse all the time. TWU militants have fought for effective union action to stop such racist atrocities. In a leaflet and at union meetings last summer they called for jailing the murderers, for the right to armed self-defense, and called on the union to send hundreds of flatbed trucks with thousands of union brothers and sisters ready to defend the right of black people to walk the streets of Brooklyn. It will take such integrated working-class action, not reliance on the racist "justice" of bourgeois courts and cops, to stop the lynchers in their tracks.



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Mugabe Unleashes Tribal Vendetta

Zimbabwe "Solution": Neo-Colonial Chains

Mugabe's troops beat suspect.

AP

At a mission hospital in southern Zimbabwe a frightened 13-year-old Ndebele girl said that government troops came and demanded to know where the "dissidents" were. "Tell us, or we will kill you," they ordered. The group of villagers she was among was forced into huts, which the soldiers then set afire while shooting into them. The girl, who suffered gunshot wounds in her shoulder and arms and burns all over arms and back, was the only one to survive the massacre. Similar scenes of terror are occurring throughout the area populated by the Ndebele tribe. In mid-February, Zimbabwe premier Robert Mugabe unleashed his praetorian guard, the North Korean-trained Fifth Brigade, to rampage in Matabeleland "until all dissidents are eliminated." "Dissidents" are followers of Mugabe's rival, Joshua Nkomo. So far, the *New York Times* (27 February) reports that "more than a thousand people have been killed and many more beaten and tortured by Zimbabwe's army in the last month."

Fake-laft hailed "Marxist" Mugabe.

Der Spiegel

The eruption of state terror in this southern African neo-colony is of special importance because the "Zimbabwe solution" has been explicitly peddled by imperialist spokesmen as a *model* to be applied from South Africa-ruled Namibia to El Salvador. Whenever a reactionary regime could fall to leftist or nationalist guerrilla forces, some imperialist policymakers put forward a "negotiated solution" to save the bourgeois army from a shattering military defeat. For example, the conservative, pro-Reagan London *Economist* (19 February) argues that the Salvadoran leftist guerrillas should be induced to lay down their arms and accept imperialist-organized elections. The precedent: "a largish international peacekeeping force of the kind sent to Zimbabwe in 1980 could give them [the leftist guerrillas] the protection they need." Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia) is thus held up as a model for "peaceful" reform as opposed to violent revolution.

Similarly, the *Dissent Paper on El Salvador and Central America*, produced in late 1980 by former State Department analysts, has a whole section on the "Zimbabwe option." These imperialist braintrusters pointed out that, as in El Salvador, a section of the guerrilla leadership in Rhodesia-Zimbabwe called itself Marxist: "Mr. Mugabe was a marxist extremist with limited representation until his landslide electoral victory made him a prestigious and influential head of state." And now Mr. "Marxist" Mugabe is one of America's best friends in black Africa.

The "Zimbabwe Solution": Blueprint for Neo-Colonial Oppression

"Zimbabwe Is a Success" declares the title of a recent article by the former deputy chief of the U.S. mission in Harare (formerly Salisbury), Jeffrey Davidow (*Foreign Policy*, Winter 1982-83). And Zimbabwe is a success for imperialist policymakers. In 1980 the black nationalist guerrilla leaders Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo welcomed the return of white-ruled Rhodesia to the status of a British colony so that 1,200 Commonwealth troops under governor Lord Soames could supervise an election. The imperialist-orchestrated deal left intact much of the white colonial-settler order, and the new constitution guaranteed the whites 20 percent of the seats in parliament. The privileged white population, who comprise only *3 percent* of the country's 7 million inhabitants, continue to hold on to nearly half the farmland, including the choicest acreage. Indeed, the number of white commercial farmers has actually increased since independence. And the American diplomat Davidow observes that "as the third academic year after independence begins, the excellent government schools in Harare's posh northern suburbs remain nearly lily white."

Yet Robert Mugabe, who typically styled himself a "Marxist," was hailed by the leftist cheerleaders of "Third World" nationalists. "Zimbabwe Masses Sweep Out Settler Regime!" cheered *Workers World* in 1980, while the SWP's *Militant* called it a "Victory for Black Freedom," the Maoist *Unity* proclaimed a "Historic Victory" and the chic radical *Guardian* announced a "People's Victory." Meanwhile, the victorious Mugabe, whom an aide described as standing somewhere "between Swedish social democracy and Yugoslav socialism," declared his loyalty to capitalism at the very outset of his rule:

> "We recognize that the economic structure is based on capitalism and that whatever ideas we have we must build on that. We are not going to interfere with private property whether it be the mining sector or the industrial sector."
> —*New York Times*, 5 March 1980

But the masses still had illusions in the "socialist" rhetoric of Mugabe's ZANU, and the 1980 elections gave his party an overwhelming majority. The elections also exposed the tribalist roots of the enmity between Mugabe and Nkomo. Mugabe got the votes of the Shona-speaking people, who comprise 80 percent of the population, while Nkomo's ZAPU vote was pretty much limited to the Ndebeles of Matabeleland. Nkomo initially served in Mugabe's cabinet, but beginning in early 1982 the drive toward a tribalist "one-party" state began in earnest. Nkomo was dismissed from the cabinet and his two closest aides from the guerrilla days were arrested on charges of treason. At the same time, hundreds of ZAPU activists have been arrested. In response, thousands of Nkomo's followers from the former guerrilla organization deserted the army and fled back to Matabeleland. Nkomo, who denies leading the "dissidents," was detained last month, while Mugabe's forces have created a tribalist reign of terror in Matabeleland. Zimbabwean troops out of Matabeleland!

Smash U.S./South Africa Axis!

A black African ruler massacring his own black subjects does not unduly upset his imperialist overseers. And for Washington, Mugabe's Zimbabwe remains a success. The Reagan administration, which does not exactly go out of its way to woo black African states, nonetheless renewed the $75 million in aid to Zimbabwe originally granted by Carter.

If Reagan's Washington smiles beneficently upon Mugabe's Zimbabwe, it is in large measure because this black African regime maintains good and close relations with South Africa. White-ruled South Africa has increasingly become a central part of the "free world" as Reagan encourages the apartheid state in its war against the Soviet-armed SWAPO guerrillas in Namibia and its attempt to overthrow the Soviet-allied nationalist MPLA government in Angola, which is defended by 15,000 Cuban troops.

Mugabe's Zimbabwe has emerged as the most pro-Western of the so-called frontline states bordering South Africa. It can be described as a neo-colony shared in different ways among Britain, the United States and South Africa. It is heavily economically dependent upon apartheid imperialism, and has even agreed to honor the debts incurred to South Africa by the former white-settler regime of Ian Smith! The Mugabe regime has also prevented the guerrilla forces of the African National Congress from using Zimbabwean territory to attack its "good neighbor" South Africa. And Washington expects that Mugabe's Zimbabwe will play a helpful role in imposing the "Zimbabwe solution" on Namibia! We say: Down with the neo-colonial "Zimbabwe solution"! Independence for Namibia—Military victory to SWAPO!

Petty-bourgeois nationalists in power have demonstrated time after time their reactionary character. Zimbabwe is only one more example in a very-long list. The only perspective for the toiling masses of Zimbabwe, as well as those of Central America and all backward capitalist countries dominated by imperialism, is that of permanent revolution:

Joshua Nkomo

Jaune Afriqua

proletarian leadership in the struggle for national liberation and democratic rights, aiming at a workers and peasants government. What is needed for genuine national and social emancipation is a Trotskyist vanguard party steeled in combat against nationalist demagogues of the Mugabe type.

In southern Africa the key to permanent revolution lies in the five-million strong black proletariat of South Africa, the industrial powerhouse of the entire continent. As we wrote right after Mugabe came to power (*WV* No. 256, 16 May 1980):

> "...an isolated workers state in Zimbabwe with an unchallenged apartheid regime next door could not maintain itself for more than the short term. But a black workers revolution which began in Zimbabwe, led by a Trotskyist party, would almost certainly detonate a mass upsurge by the powerful South African proletariat."■

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Lebanon erupted into civil war and communalist bloodshed, 1975-76: Rightist Christian Maronites (left) battle Palestinian commandos (right).

After Lebanon:
The Left and the Palestinian Question

From the "Arab Revolution" to Pax Americana

PART THREE

The myth of "Arab unity" behind the Palestinian cause was buried along with much else in the rubble of Tyre, Sidon and West Beirut. The indifference, to say the least, of Arab capitals to Israel's destruction of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was so striking that imperialist and Zionist spokesmen have been positively crowing about it. For example, a prominent American Zionist, Aaron D. Rosenbaum, recently exulted in an article entitled "Discard Conventional Wisdom":

> "Israel invaded Lebanon, besieged an Arab capital, and inflicted a telling defeat upon the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Yet throughout the summer the reaction and retribution many authorities had predicted did not occur. The Soviet Union did not intervene. The Arab states did not mobilize to relieve the PLO nor did they sever relations with the United States."
>
> —*Foreign Policy*, Winter 1982-83

The "conventional wisdom" which Rosenbaum urges be discarded is especially common to the enthusiasts of "Third World" nationalism in the left.

Lebanon demonstrated that when the late Anwar Sadat embraced the Zionist butcher Menachem Begin and signed a "separate peace" with Israel, the Egyptian *rais* (strongman) did not really isolate himself from the other Arab regimes; he merely anticipated them by a few years. Israel could not have invaded Lebanon without first securing its southern border with Egypt, the strongest state militarily in the Arab world. The genocidal terror against the Palestinians in Lebanon is the *direct result* of Pax Americana in the Near East, i.e., Washington's forging of an anti-Soviet alliance embracing both Zionist Israel and various Arab regimes, centrally Egypt. Indeed, Begin justified the invasion by claiming that in recent years, "Lebanon became a Soviet base for the whole of the Middle East."

The 1973 War and the Reversal of Alliances

The October 1973 war was decisive in the transformation of Egypt from the principal Soviet client state to the pivotal American client among the Arab states. Following the debacle in the 1967 war, Nasser put out feelers for Washington to broker a deal with Israel. The Nixon gang told the Egyptians that if they wanted to get the Sinai back, they would have to formally recognize the Zionist state, openly repudiate Palestinian national liberation, break the Soviet connection and become a U.S. client. In brief, Washington aimed to bring about, in Kissinger's words, "a reversal of alliances in the Arab world."

When Nasser died in 1970, his successor, Sadat, accelerated the turn toward Pax Americana. In July 1972 the new Egyptian leader signalled in the clearest possible way his willingness to become Washington's man against Moscow. He expelled the 15,000 Soviet military advisers from Egypt, a rebuff which did not prevent the Kremlin bureaucrats from continuing to shower armaments on its ungrateful friend and soon-to-be enemy. We wrote at the time:

> "Thus, the road for Egypt to regain the Israeli-occupied territories no longer passes through Moscow but through Washington.... By expelling the Russians, Sadat has eliminated at least one of the U.S. rationales for supporting Israel: as a bulwark against Communism. Sadat would like to return to the fold of U.S. imperialism...."
>
> —"Murderous Nationalism and Stalinist Betrayal in the Near East," *WV* No. 12, October 1972

Israel, however, remained intransigent; and the Nixon administration was reluctant to press its ally too hard in part for fear of antagonizing the powerful American Zionist lobby. So Sadat decided he had to do something to shake Israel's confidence, increase his own freedom of maneuver and draw U.S. imperialism more actively into the "peacemaking" process. Hence, the October War.

On 6 October 1973 Sadat ordered the Egyptian army to cross the Suez Canal and attack the supposedly impregnable Bar-Lev line, while the Syrians attacked on the Golan Heights. Caught by surprise the Israelis fell back suffering heavy casualties, but in a week or so counterattacked effectively on both the Egyptian and Syrian fronts. Another week of complex negotiations between Washington, Moscow, Jerusalem and Cairo produced a shaky cease-fire in place.

Israel, however, disregarded this cease-fire and moved to destroy the Egyptian Third Army trapped on the east bank of the Suez Canal. At this point Sadat called upon *both* Washington and Moscow to send its troops to enforce the cease-fire. Trying to maneuver the U.S. into policing Israel, the Kremlin strongly endorsed the Egyptian appeal. The Nixon gang reacted by dramatically reminding Brezhnev that Israel was an ally of the U.S. *against the Soviet Union*. On October 24 the White House ordered a worldwide "Condition 3" nuclear alert supposedly to "forestall Russian aggression." And this was the heyday of détente! The Soviet leaders, of course, had no intention of unilateral military intervention.

The October War thus demonstrated how easily the Arab-Israeli conflict could escalate into nuclear war between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet Union. In this respect the Near East today resembles the Balkans before World War I. However, unlike the inter-imperialist rivalry which exploded into war in August 1914, there exists a *class line* between the imperialist United States and the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state. As we wrote immediately after the October War and Washingon's nuclear "alert":

> "The fundamental hostility of U.S. imperialism to the Russian degenerated workers state tends to drive them into military conflict, even in situations where the leaders of the two nations want to avoid such confrontations. For that reason, it is necessary for revolutionary socialists faced with local wars, such as the present Arab-Israeli conflict, to warn the working masses of the danger of World War III and the need to defend the Soviet Union."
>
> —"More War Ahead!", *WV* No. 32, 9 November 1973

Once again, as in 1967, much of the pseudo-left rallied to the defense of the fictitious "Arab revolution," this time under that unlikely champion Anwar al-Sadat. For example, the not very United Secretariat of Ernest Mandel and the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) declared: "The fourth Arab-Israeli war of autumn 1973 is a new phase in the armed resistance of the Arab peoples to the counterrevolutionary policy of aggression systematically practiced by the Zionist state" ("For the Defeat of Zionism and Imperialism!" *Intercontinental Press*, 5 November 1973).

The elevation of Sadat to leader of the Arab peoples against imperialism was grotesque. Nasser, at least, had nationalized the Suez Canal and established close ties with the Soviet bloc. But Sadat had *already* demonstrated his pro-imperialist orientation by expelling the Soviet advisers from Egypt and abandoning Nasserite pan-Arab rhetoric.

Why then did he attack Washington's main ally in the Near East, Zionist Israel? In order to create the political conditions for a deal with Israel at the expense of both the Palestinians and his Arab allies. As Kissinger explained, Sadat aimed to produce a crisis which "would enable *both* sides, including Egypt, to show a flexibility that was

impossible while Israel considered itself militarily supreme and Egypt was paralyzed by humiliation" (emphasis in original, *Years of Upheaval* [1982]). At the end of the war America's would-be Metternich concluded, "Sadat was staking his future on American diplomatic support rather than Soviet military pressure" (*Ibid.*).

The 1979 Washington-drafted Camp David Accords was the *intended result* of Sadat's limited action against Israel six years earlier. A little noticed aspect of this agreement (except by the Pentagon) was the introduction of U.S. "peacekeeping" forces into the Sinai. (Here Sadat anticipated his then nemesis, PLO chief Arafat.) The "separate peace" with Egypt enabled the Zionist militarists to concentrate their war machine against the rest of the Arab world, especially the Palestinians. A few months after Sadat flew to Jerusalem in 1977 to embrace Begin, Israel celebrated the event by invading southern Lebanon, a dress rehearsal for its full-scale blitzkrieg last summer.

The 1975-76 Lebanese Civil War: From Social Conflict to Communalist Bloodletting

With Israel's invasion and occupation of Lebanon the Palestinian national liberation struggle has suffered a historic defeat. The PLO commandos are scattered in concentration camps across the Arab world, while the half million Palestinians in Lebanon face genocidal terror at the hands of the Israeli army and Christian Maronite militias. Following the lead of Sadat, PLO chief Arafat has turned openly to Pax Americana, brokering the introduction of U.S. Marines and also French and Italian troops into Lebanon.

The Lebanese catastrophe is not, as many of the PLO's left apologists contend, a "moral" or "political victory." Rather the defeat in Lebanon was a culmination of the entire past history of the PLO, its dependence upon one or another of the Arab bourgeois states and consequent principle of "noninterference in the internal affairs of Arab countries."

In early 1975 Lebanon stood on the brink of a social revolution which could have radically altered the political situation in the entire region, most immediately by extending itself to Syria. But the PLO leadership subordinated its forces to the traditional Muslim clan chiefs, notably Druze sect head Kamal Jumblatt, and so contributed to the subsequent communalist bloodletting.

The entity known as Lebanon is a classic product of imperialist divide-and-rule policies. France, which along with Britain carved up the Ottoman empire in the Near East after World War I, created a separate Lebanon in order to maintain a base of support among the Maronite Christian community which feared incorporation into a predominantly Muslim Greater Syria. The French colonialist system of Maronite privilege was preserved in the so-called 1943 National Covenant, when Lebanon became independent after World War II. The president would always be a Maronite, the premier a Sunni Muslim, the president of the Chamber of Deputies a Shi'ite Muslim, and so on. The Christians were allocated a six-to-five majority in parliament, and more importantly the military officer caste was drawn predominantly from the Maronite elite.

However, Christian Maronite domination in this pro-Western outpost increasingly came into conflict with demographic and social developments within Lebanon and the rise of Arab nationalism in the region. The confessional system first broke down in 1958 when the Muslim establishment led an uprising against the attempt of Maronite president Camille Chamoun to prolong his term of office. To suppress this uprising, Chamoun called for U.S. intervention, appealing to the "Eisenhower Doctrine" of containing "Soviet aggression."

Eisenhower duly responded, and 15,000 Marines waded ashore Beirut's beaches in July 1958. The Marines were not sent simply to preserve Lebanon as a pro-Western enclave in the turbulent Arab East. The real target of American imperialism was the Iraqi revolution, based on the strategic oil workers under Communist leadership. As it turned out, the Iraqi Stalinists, under orders from Moscow, betrayed the revolution for the sake of "peaceful coexistence" with Eisenhower. In Lebanon, under the guns of the Marines, a deal was worked out by the Christian and Muslim clan chiefs—"no victors, no vanquished"—which preserved the sectarian constitution and Maronite predominance.

However, the steadily growing weight of the Muslim population, concentrated in the lower classes, built up ever greater pressure against the National Covenant. Adding to the forces potentially arrayed against the Maronite elite were the Palestinian commandos, who after the 1970 Black September massacre in Jordan were concentrated in Lebanon. In fact, Lebanon became the only Arab country where the PLO could operate with any degree of freedom.

The OPEC oil boom of the early 1970s, which Lebanon shared as the main financial center and entrepot for the Arab East, widened the social divisions in this bankers' republic. Peasants from the hinterland, mainly Shi'ite Muslims, and migrant workers from Syria streamed into Beirut and the other cities looking for work, producing a class of desperate slum dwellers. The Beirut slums, called the "belt of misery," existed but a few miles from exclusive neighborhoods resembling the French Riviera. A liberal American academic, Stanley Reed, describes the situation which finally exploded into civil war:

> "The conflict occurred because Lebanon's political and economic structure cheated too many people in too many ways. The Maronite businessmen and bankers who dominated the country refused to part with any of their huge profits derived from handling oil money. Despite a rapidly growing and increasingly urban population, the Government held taxes, and consequently expenditures on public services, to a minimum. In the face of rabid inflation, wages were actually kept stable by importing 300,000 Syrian laborers. This wage-price squeeze produced a spate of violent labor disputes that touched off the war in 1975."
>
> —*New York Times*, 9 July 1982

Selheni/Sygma

PLO commandos end Lebanese left subordineted themselves to Kamel Jumblatt (top), feudalist chieftain of Moslem Druze sect.

In February 1975 the southern city of Sidon was paralyzed by a fishermen's strike against a newly established fishing monopoly headed by none other than Camille Chamoun. When a protest march was fired upon by soldiers, the city erupted and in the subsequent street fighting the plebeian masses forced the army to withdraw. This event foreshadowed the outbreak of civil war two months later.

Kretz/Stern

U.S. nucleer ersenel tergeted et Soviet Union. In 1973 Areb-Isreell wer, Nixon/Kissinger ordered "Condition 3" nucleer alert.

The civil war was triggered in April 1975 when a busload of Palestinians was ambushed and massacred by the fascistic Phalange of Pierre Gemayel, the principal Christian Maronite organization. Underlying the conflict between the Phalange and the Palestinians and Lebanese Muslims was a deep social division. The *New York Times* (19 July 1975) reported that "the fighting was something of a class war between the haves, who are for the most part Christians, and the have-nots, who are for the most part Moslems and who are allied with the heavily armed Palestinian guerrilla movement."

Had a revolutionary Marxist party stood at the head of the Palestinian and Lebanese Muslim toilers, it would have put forward a socialist program capable of attracting the have-nots in the Christian community, splitting and weakening the base of the Gemayels and Chamouns. Instead the struggles of the Lebanese Muslim toilers and PLO commandos were channeled into the efforts of the Muslim establishment to increase its influence in the traditional confessional system. A key figure in derailing the incipient social revolution and transforming it into communalist bloodletting was Kamal Jumblatt, hereditary head of the Druze sect and leader of the so-called Lebanese National Movement, which included the important pro-Moscow Communist Party and also the small Lebanese section of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat. Jumblatt was thus the main intermediary between the PLO leadership and Lebanese left on the one hand, and the traditional Muslim clan chiefs, like the premier Rashid Karami, on the other.

Yet all wings of the PLO—the self-styled "Marxist-Leninist" Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) as well as Arafat's Fatah—subordinated their forces to this sectarian demagogue, as did the entire Lebanese left from the Stalinists to the Mandelites. This line was stated quite categorically by PFLP spokesman Yusif al-Haytham already in an October 1975 interview: "As long as Jumblatt is a major leader in the progressive forces the demands will be in accordance with his ideological framework." But in this same interview he admits that Jumblatt's base is feudalist and sectarian:

> "Kamal Jumblatt's Progressive Socialist Party is a major component of the progressive forces. It is a social democratic party, but it is really based on feudal or tribal affiliations. Jumblatt represents the whole Druze sect as well as the social democratic tendency."
>
> —"Lebanon Explodes: 'Battles for Survival'," *MERIP Reports* No. 44, February 1976

Because the PLO and "progressive" Lebanese forces fought on behalf of the traditional Muslim clan chiefs like Jumblatt and Karami, the Maronite clan chiefs, the Gemayels and Chamouns, were able to mobilize the entire Christian community by appealing to its ancient fear of Muslim domination. And left organizations which joined Jumblatt's National Movement, in particular the Lebanese Communist Party (PCL), were completely eliminated from the Christian areas. A book by two Lebanese socialist journalists reported:

> "The PCL, which counted hundreds of Christian members and had a dominant influence in some Christian villages, saw its membership and its influence in the Mount Lebanon area crumble in a few months. Communist militants were chased out or massacred, and their houses burned.
>
> "By going in on the Muslim confessionalists' game, the PCL was able to implant itself in the Muslim areas of Beirut; but at the same time it lost most of its ranks in the Christian regions."
>
> —Selim Accaoui and Magida Salman, *Comprendre le Liban* (1976)

The *changed* character of the civil war was unhappily recognized by the PFLPer al-Haytham:

> "The battles started as a fight between reactionary and progressive forces and ended up as a fight between Muslims and Christians, principally Maronites. Whether or not we like to admit it, it is a fact. The battles ended up in the street, among the ordinary people of Lebanon, between Christian and Muslim."

Somewhat in the spirit of self-criticism al-Haytham notes that the Palestinians' indiscriminate bombardment of Christian neighborhoods in Beirut strengthened the hold of the Phalange over the Maronite masses:

> "The essential character of the battles in Beirut is urban warfare, but the tactics used are those appropriate to the mountains—that is, shelling from one hilltop to another hilltop. In Beirut, however, there were a lot of houses and civilians between the hilltops. This of course lent credence to the *Kataeb* [Phalange] analysis that it is a battle between Christian and Muslim. A bomb cannot differentiate between a progressive and a reactionary Christian."

By the beginning of 1976 the war had become a succession of communalist massacres and counter-massacres. The Phalange sacked the isolated Muslim enclave of Quarantina in East Beirut, killing some 1,500 defenseless men, women and children. The Phalange and Chamounists also overran and destroyed the Palestinian refugee camp of Dbaiye, whose 3,500 inhabitants were Christian Palestinians. In reprisal and to relieve the pressure on other besieged Palestinian camps, PLO forces and Druze militia attacked the Christian village of Damur south of Beirut, the home base of Camille Chamoun. Damur was then put to the torch, 500 villagers killed and the rest driven out at machine-gun point. One youthful Palestinian commando exclaimed: "From now on, there is going to be no mercy.... They used to say that Damur is the cemetery of the Palestinians, but now it's a cemetery for them" (*New York Times*, 22 January 1976).

(In their genocidal campaign against

continued on page 12

For Permanent Revolution in Central America

Workers Revolution vs. the Guerrilla Road

Geographical Magazine

Combetive Selvedoran trede unions pleyed key role in repeated mess mobilizations such as the 200,000-strong protest in Sen Selvedor, Januery 1980.

In the three years that a civil war has been raging in El Salvador, a curious phenomenon has been observed. The harder the leftist guerrillas fight, the more successful they are militarily, the more insistent their leaders are in offering to exchange what has been won on the battlefield for some cabinet seats and promises of reform. At the height of the recent fighting a Salvadoran opposition spokesman held a press conference in Washington to call for immediate negotiations and offer a cease-fire. According to the rad-lib *Guardian* (5 February), "[Rubén] Zamora cautioned that the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] is not trying to achieve a military victory in El Salvador, because the country's problems must be 'solved through dialog, through negotiation, and not...a military solution'." Meanwhile, in the U.S. El Salvador protests exclude the Spartacist League for carrying our slogan, "Military victory to leftist insurgents!" Why? If the guerrillas defeat the government army, in class-polarized El Salvador it could unleash a mass uprising and social revolution. But if the butcher army is *not* smashed, a cease-fire will just mean giving a free rein to the death squads and the massacres will continue.

Another curious fact: in this region of mini-countries smaller than most U.S. states, the leaders of the Central American left do everything possible to keep the struggle within narrow national bounds while the right-wing dictators aid each other constantly and are openly supplied by the United States. Neither the Sandinistas, the Cubans or the Soviets provide substantial amounts of weapons to the Salvadoran rebels, and the FMLN refuses to call for international brigades. Moreover, even though the various "armed struggle" organizations all grew out of the Cuban Revolution, when the Trotskyists of the SL proclaim "Defense of Cuba, USSR begins in El Salvador" their American supporters start screaming "provocation." These groups which were inspired by Che Guevara and the Vietnamese struggle now raise as an official slogan "No more Vietnams," while the Spartacists say: "Vietnam was a victory: two, three, many defeats for imperialism!" But Ronald Reagan has placed Central America in the front line of his global war against Communism, like it or not. And he has his own "domino" theory, beginning with drowning the Salvadoran rebels in blood, overthrowing the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, then rolling back the gains of revolutions from Cuba to Poland and the Soviet Union.

Granma

Petty-bourgeois guerrillaists took to the hills, refused to organize for proletarian insurrection.

For the last 20 years, ever since the Cuban Revolution, the Latin American left has been dominated by two main currents: first in the 1960s the "guerrilla road" inspired by Castro and Guevara, and then in the early '70s the so-called "peaceful road" of Allende's popular front in Chile. The Chilean debacle is still fresh in people's minds with its tens of thousands of workers, peasants and students massacred in cold blood. However, guerrillaism was no less a road to disaster. A whole generation of leftists throughout the continent picked up the gun and Che's handbook and headed into the hills, only to be ruthlessly slaughtered by Pentagon-trained counterinsurgency squads. Guevara himself, the most heroic advocate of guerrilla warfare, tragically was murdered by the CIA and its local flunkies in Bolivia in 1967. But the Guevarists were not just outgunned—their guerrilla road *could not* lead to socialist revolution.

Now we are witnessing a new round of guerrilla warfare, and would-be revolutionaries must look to the lessons of the past as well as the events of today. Guerrillaism seems very militant, even adventurist, while an Allende-type popular front explicitly aims at holding back the masses from "going too far" by tying them to a section of the bourgeoisie. Yet politically guerrillaism and popular frontism are not necessarily contradictory by any means. In El Salvador, for instance, the FMLN coalition of five "politico-military" organizations is allied with the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), including several marginal liberal parties and politicians. And *all* sectors of the FDR/FMLN popular front are committed to a program for a "revolutionary democratic" government—that is, for a reformed Salvadoran capitalism.

In Cuba, Fidel Castro originally put forward a bourgeois-democratic program of land reform and return to the 1940 constitution. But not long after the rebel victory, the hostility of the United States and a massive departure of Cuban capitalists forced the guerrillas in power to expropriate the imperialists and the entire domestic bourgeoisie simply in self-defense. Even in this exceptional case, however, the result was a bureaucratically deformed workers state rather than the soviet democracy of the Bolsheviks. (The usual result of such a guerrilla war would be the consolidation of a nationalist-bonapartist bourgeois state, as in post-independence Algeria.) Constant U.S. aggression also explains the more militant tone of the Cuban leaders, compared to the cautious Kremlin, and their sometime support (more ideological than material) to guerrilla warfare elsewhere in Latin America.

The guerrilla episodes of the '60s mostly ended in defeat within a few months, or else degenerated into banditry. But in Central America the Nicaraguan Sandinistas managed to defeat Somoza's mercenaries, and the Salvadoran FMLN has the upper hand against the army, National Guard, Treasury Police, death squads and their American "advisers." However, there is another factor: the combative Salvadoran working class, which has not been defeated but has been politically misled and abandoned. What is needed is above all a communist vanguard to lead it at the head of the urban and rural masses, to carry out a proletarian insurrection establishing a workers and peasants government and extending the revolution internationally. That can only be a Trotskyist party following the road of October 1917, the road of permanent revolution.

Guerrilla Road to Disaster

There are, of course, many different brands of guerrillaism. In Latin America during the '60s the dominant theme was Guevarism, also known as "focoism." In contrast to Maoist "people's war," which seeks to build up a peasant army led by a bonapartist officer corps calling itself a Communist Party, Guevarism relies on a small nucleus (or *foco*) of guerrilla fighters who are supposed to act as the detonator to ignite the masses. In his how-to-do-it manual on *Guerrilla Warfare*, Guevara gave as the first lesson of the Cuban Revolution that "it is not necessary to wait until all the conditions for making the revolution exist," guerrilla struggle would create them. The second was that in Latin America "the countryside is the basic area for armed struggle." His voluntarist/militarist theory was further elaborated by the French café guerrilla Régis Debray (*Revolution in the Revolution?*), who proclaimed that "the people's army will be the nucleus of the party."

In the first instance, Guevarism is an updating of the pre-Marxian petty-bourgeois revolutionism exemplified by August Blanqui—adapted to a rural setting and in an entirely different social and historical framework. Even the peasantry is not to be trusted but rather used by rootless petty-bourgeois heroes ("a prestigious leader" is necessary, said Guevara, who was later canonized by Castro as "the heroic guerrilla") in direct armed conflict with the state. At the beginning, the guerrilla *foco* is deliberately isolated from the masses; and in almost every case, this was the stage when it was crushed. The most famous example was Guevara himself, tracked down in the Bolivian rain forest many miles from the nearest villages. When the guerrillas did get some support from the peasantry such as in Guatemala, counterinsurgency experts just "removed the water from the fish" by rounding up *campesinos* in fortified camps. What failed in Indochina with its vast rural masses, worked in Guatemala.

Blanquist in its tactics, strategically Guevarism comes down to peasant war:

> "The guerrilla is above all an agrarian revolutionary. He interprets the desire of the great mass of the peasants: to be the owners of their land, of their means of production, of their animals, of all that they have yearned for for years."
>
> —Ernesto Che Guevara, *Guerrilla War* (1962)

As a mass of petty-bourgeois small commodity producers, the peasantry does not have the collective strength and the independent class interest of the proletariat. There is no characteristic peasant mode of production, much less a "socialist peasantry," and therefore the peasantry cannot *lead* a social revolution. But the vast peasant masses are driven by a thirst for land, and to get it they will even follow a guerrilla band, or the revolutionary working class, *if* these forces can demonstrate the ability to defeat the oligarchy and its army. Once they have their plots that will end the peasants' role as a revolutionary factor. For instance, in Bolivia, where the peasants became landowners in 1952 as the result of an extensive land reform, they became allies of the army *against* the workers in the so-called "military-peasant pact." Peasant militias were even sent into the mines to massacre the combative tin miners. Thus a peasant-based guerrilla war, although directed initially against a landlord-capitalist oligarchy, contains within it the seeds of a restabilized capitalist regime. But even though numerically small, the urban working class in backward capitalist countries as in Central America can become the revolutionary vanguard, by placing itself at the head of a stormy agrarian revolt in the struggle for a workers and peasants government, for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The petty-bourgeois Guevarists had only disdain for the urban proletariat. "The city is a cemetery of revolutionaries," proclaimed Castro. Debray denounced the Trotskyist conception of permanent revolution, working-class armed self-defense and proletarian insurrection as a "provocation." All that Guevarism offered the working class was to "liberate" themselves by abandoning the factories. Thus in Bolivia, Communiqué No. 5 of Guevara's National Liberation Army (ELN) called on the historically class-conscious tin miners to leave the mines and join them in the jungles! This would have meant giving up their tremendous social power which time and again has enabled the miners to defeat counterrevolutionary onslaughts. The shameless Debray went even further and condemned *the entire Bolivian proletariat* for "hypertrophy of class consciousness" (*Che's Guerrilla War*) because the workers were convinced that they must lead the peasants!!

Programmatically practically all the Guevarist guerrillas were not socialist, but called only for "national liberation" through armed struggle to establish a "democratic" regime. As we explained in our "Theses on Guerrilla Warfare":

> "One of the reasons that a guerrilla movement is forced to represent the interests of segments of the 'patriotic' bourgeoisie is its own concomitant property-hungry peasant base.... On different occasions, the guerrilla leadership will have to rely on the financial backing of 'patriotic' bourgeois and landlord sectors."
>
> —*Spartacist* No. 11, March-April 1968

The Guevarists were fully aware of this. Debray wrote that "If it is more difficult, *after Cuba*, to integrate any sizable fraction of the national bourgeoisie in an anti-imperialist front, this latter can and must still be the prime objective." And in the one case where a Latin American peasant guerrilla movement adopted a socialist platform, the Guatemalan MR-13, it was met with a vitriolic anti-Trotskyist onslaught not only by the Moscow-line Stalinists but from Castro himself at the 1966 Tricontinental Congress (see "Posadas in the MR-13," *Spartacist* No. 9, January-February 1967).

UPI

Bolivian rangers and CIA hunted down and killed the heroic Che Guevara in 1967.

All this is not to say that Leninists can never resort to forms of guerrilla struggle, but only as a secondary civil war tactic. The issue was posed in Russia following the defeat of the 1905 Revolution, when the Mensheviks (along with Trotsky and Rosa Luxemburg) criticized the Bolsheviks' bank "expropriations." Lenin misestimated the pace of events, expecting a new upsurge soon, but he correctly pointed out that guerrilla warfare is an inevitable form of struggle in certain periods, particularly "when fairly large intervals occur between the 'big engagements'" of the revolution. But he added, "the party of the proletariat can never regard guerrilla warfare as the only, or even as the chief, method of struggle," and that it must be subordinated to other methods, particularly the mass insurrection ("Guerrilla Warfare," September 1906). Any *strategy* of guerrilla warfare is utterly anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist because it is not based on the mobilization of the revolutionary class, the proletariat.

This same point was made in the course of discussions in 1974-76 which led to the fusion of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) with the Chilean Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria (OTR). The OTR, while rejecting Guevarist focoism and Tupamaro-style urban guerrillaism, had advocated "irregular war" by the working class. This was the application of guerrillaist conceptions (in this case derived from Ernest Mandel's pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat) to their particular milieu of miners, where skirmishes with the police and army were a regular occurrence. The "Declaration of Fraternal Relations" between the iSt and OTR established that:

> "The proletariat *cannot* sustain guerrilla war, for the very concept implies the absence of a revolutionary situation and the kind of irregular fighting which requires an ability to retreat rapidly. In addition to its clear class interest, it is the *organization* of the proletariat which gives it political superiority over the atomized peasantry. This organization is the result of the position of the working class in the structure of capitalist society; to retreat into the hills would eventually destroy the class or the class character of its vanguard....
>
> "The revolutionary party must, of course, take an active role in organizing the self-defense of the working masses, and the use of guerrilla tactics is often vital as a subordinate civil war tactic. However, the road to power for the proletariat is through mass insurrection against the bourgeois state; the central military organization of the uprising must be an arm of and directed by the mass organization of the working class, led by the Leninist party."
>
> —*WV* No. 111, 28 May 1976

The Spartacist tendency was born in the discussion over the nature of the Cuban Revolution. From our inception we have held that guerrillaism represents a petty-bourgeois reaction to the absence and delay of proletarian revolution. Following the long string of defeats after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, many impressionistic leftists seized on the Chinese and Cuban revolutions, declared themselves Maoists or Fidelistas and discovered the peasant vanguard. In our first international document, "Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International," written two decades ago by the Revolutionary Tendency in the once-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), we noted that although under exceptional circumstances the petty-bourgeois guerrilla leadership can be forced to expropriate the capitalists, at best this will lead to a bureaucratically deformed workers state as occurred in Cuba. Adoption of the so-called "peasant guerrilla road to socialism," we wrote, would be "a suicidal course for the socialist goals of the movement, and perhaps physically for the adventurers" (*Spartacist* No. 1, February-March 1964).

Tragically, this last warning proved to be true indeed. While the Spartacist League (SL) was one of the few tendencies to swim against the guerrillaist current in the early '60s, we noted in a Political Bureau meeting (12 October 1967) not long after Che Guevara was assassinated by Bolivian army and CIA operatives that "the passing of Guevara is regrettable, as he strived, within the limits of his own conceptions, to be a genuine revolutionary." PB member Harry Turner had argued that it was no loss, comparing Guevara to Adam Clayton Powell, the demagogic black Democratic politico! Today Turner is with the one-time Guevarists and sometime guerrilla-posing Nahuel Moreno outfit—a strange marriage indeed. We also pay our respects to a courageous reformist like Salvador Allende. The pictures of him in front of the burning La Moneda palace carrying a Kalashnikov automatic rifle given to him by Fidel Castro give the lie to all the Pinochet propaganda about Allende committing suicide. At the end of the "peaceful road" some of the popular-fronters end up in the enemy camp, while others pay the supreme price.

But if we have respect for these martyrs, that is more than one can say for the likes of Debray, an unprincipled literary camp follower who first enthused for Guevara, then publicized Allende, and now as an official of the French government of social democrat Mitterrand gets a former Batista cop, the phony "wheelchair poet" Armando Valladares, released from Castro's prisons. The ease with which Debray switched from the "guerrilla road" to the "peaceful road" makes the description of cynical personal careerist a compliment.

The "Guerrilla Road" in El Salvador

El Salvador is hardly suited for Guevara-style focoism. It is a tiny country the size of Massachusetts with the highest population density in Latin America. Even most of the rural areas are semi-urban and there are no mountains, at most rugged hills and dozens of volcanos (which have now become guerrilla base camps). So there was no guerrilla movement in the 1960s, only an abortive attempt by the Salvadoran Communist Party (PCS) to set up an "armed branch" just in case... which in three years of existence didn't carry out a single action (interview with Salvador Cayetano Carpio, *Punto Final Internacional*, October 1982). Later in the '70s when the so-called "politico-military" organizations appeared, they were still imbued with Guevarist conceptions. Since Che had said you had to have mountains for a guerrilla struggle, and El Salvador had none, they coined the slogan, "the people are our mountains."

The original "armed struggle" group was set up in 1970 by the former general secretary of the PCS, Cayetano Carpio. It was so undergroundist that for the first two years it didn't have a name; Cayetano refused to wage a struggle inside the CP, or even to talk with sympathetic former party members! Instead it was totally conspiratorial, preparing the heroic gesture of the defiant guerrilla sounding a clarion by picking up the gun and galvanizing the masses with his example. The results

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SL/SYL Forum

El Salvador Aflame!

U.S. Hands Off Nicaragua!
Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents!
For Workers Revolution, Not Popular-Front Betrayal!

Speaker: **Jan Norden**
Editor, *Workers Vanguard*
SL Central Committee

Sunday, March 13, 7:30 p.m.
Harvard University,
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Guerrillaism...

(continued from page 9)

were predictably negative. Later this became the Popular Forces of Liberation "Farabundo Martí" (FPL). In 1972-74 came the Revolutionary People's Army (ERP) recruited from Catholic sectors, particularly the Christian Democratic youth, Catholic-led peasant unions and the so-called "grassroots communities" of the church which were spreading in the rural areas. The ERP was rent by a vicious faction fight in 1975, in which a minority accused the leadership of "militarism," whereupon the minority leaders were shot! The remaining ERP dissidents formed the National Resistance (RN). The two other members of the FMLN guerrilla coalition today are the small Central American Workers Party (PRTC) and the PCS.

FPL leader Cayetano Carpio later maintained that, "From the start we ruled out the guerrilla foco theory," on the basis of "the experience of some guerrilla movements in Latin America and in other countries that were removed from the people...and that succumbed to militarist designs" (*Granma* [weekly edition], 30 March 1980). The other "politico-military" organizations also reject "focoism," as has virtually the entire Latin American left following the tragic finale of Guevara's adventure at Ñancahuazú (Bolivia). But fundamentally the entire FMLN coalition is guerrillaist, lacking a belief in the ability of the working class to make the revolution and advocating policies diametrically opposed to proletarian insurrection. This is seen most clearly in the FDR/FMLN popular-front alliance and its program for reforming Salvadoran capitalism. Carpio, for example, wrote an article last year calling explicitly for a "democratic revolutionary government, not for a Socialist government," in which there would be room for everyone from "large businessmen to small farmers and merchants" (*New York Times*, 9 February 1982). But this opposition to proletarian revolution can also be seen in the nature of the armed struggle which they carry out.

While the FMLN has made an impressive showing on the battlefield, the leftist insurgents have suffered a number of reverses—and in each case it has been because of their failure to rouse the urban masses to struggle. That was what happened in the junta's phony elections of March 1982, which the guerrillas did not effectively disrupt, handing the government a propaganda victory at home and abroad. The so-called "final"/general offensive of January 1981 failed to achieve its announced goals, in particular because there was no rising in San Salvador. An attempted general strike in August 1980 also collapsed, and it was in the wake of that defeat that the Salvadoran left abandoned the cities en masse. But even earlier, in October 1979, a key revolutionary opportunity was missed when the so-called "human rights junta" took over from General Romero with the aid of the U.S. State Department...and the Salvadoran left. And as the struggle nears a conclusion, the battle for San Salvador will loom large. Then once again guerrillaism and popular frontism threaten to strangle the potential for proletarian revolution.

Prensa Latina

Castro in the Sierra Maastra in 1957. The paasant-guerrilla road to powar can at bast laad to a buraaucratically deformad workars state.

Take the case of the January 1981 offensive. In a recent interview, Joaquín Villalobos, commander-in-chief of the ERP, talked about why there was no urban insurrection. He complains that "the development of the mass movement...obviously generated expectations about the insurrectional possibilities." But "the explanation for why we didn't achieve our objectives is to be found in the deterioration of the mass struggle in the last months due to the terror imposed on the cities.... What happened is that we lost the appropriate moment." He notes that general strikes repeatedly paralyzed the country during 1980, and "it took the enemy a year to wear down this movement and...exhaust its insurrectional possibilities." All very true. He places the key moment at March-April 1980, particularly around the time of the assassination of Archbishop Romero. The Salvadoran prelate had protested the government's repression, and his murder touched off a massive protest in the capital and local rebellions to the battle-cry of "Viva Monsignor Romero!"

But what is most significant is *why* Villalobos picks this point: "At that time there were even sectors of the bourgeoisie willing to establish alliances with us and we had political weight" (*Punto Final Internacional*, November-December 1982). Thus the ERP leader hinges successful insurrection on support from the bourgeoisie—making it clear that their slogan of "armed people's insurrection" refers *not* to a proletarian uprising establishing a workers and peasants government but to the installation of a new capitalist regime. And what about the future? At the end of the lengthy interview, Villalobos remarks: "So what will be the form in which the masses participate in the final phase of the war? It's hard to predict.... Whether they will appear at that moment in an insurrectional form or in the form of a general strike, or by massively joining the revolutionary army, we will have to see." Who knows, who cares—that is his position. In fact, the title of Villalobos' interview, "El Salvador: From the Insurrection to Revolutionary War," perfectly expresses the anti-revolutionary strategy of guerrillaism. They have it exactly backwards: a proletarian insurrection must be the crowning moment. But they're not talking about *workers* revolution.

Let's take another of the FMLN commanders, Fermán Cienfuegos of the RN and their Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN). Cienfuegos admitted in an analysis of the January 1981 offensive that, during the previous year, "there were situations in which it was possible to carry out a general strike that did not develop into an *insurrection*.... The general strike ran ahead of us; we didn't implement the insurrection, nor was the structure of our army prepared for it." He notes that there were three general strikes during 1980, but excuses the fact that they were not transformed into insurrection by referring to "an imbalance in the development of the power of the masses and military power"! However, by the next January the masses had been intimidated and therefore, he concludes, "it was an error to have resorted to the classic form of calling for a strike" (*Commander Fermán Cienfuegos Speaks*, March 1982). So Cienfuegos, who bombastically proclaimed the "final" offensive in the first place, concludes that there should have been *no* attempt to raise up the masses!

Cienfuegos, too, emphasized the importance of "alliances" with the bourgeoisie, trying to develop a new ideology of "Farabundismo." This, he says, allows for an alliance of the workers and peasants with the petty bourgeoisie "and the small and medium business sectors." He rails against "some authors" who "try to portray the Salvadorean struggle as the classic struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie." In *Farabundismo*, according to Cienfuegos, "there also exists the distinctive form of incorporation of the Christian movements." In another pamphlet (*El Salvador: La revolución inevitable*) he remarks that, "Our process is very similar to that in Nicaragua but our policy of alliances will be much broader," including "private enterprise, sectors of the army, democratic forces not yet in the FDR" and others. Call it what you may, this conception, common to all the sectors of the FMLN, has nothing to do with the actual program of Salvadoran Communist leader Farabundo Martí, who led the 1932 insurrection that was brutally suppressed in the infamous *Matanza*. His program was:

> "The Communist Party calls all the poor workers and peasants of El Salvador to bloody struggle against the national bourgeoisie, who are unconditionally allied to Yankee Imperialists.... Down with the imperialist oppressor and his national dogs!"

Stalin's Comintern condemned the 1932 Salvadoran uprising as "ultra-left," and with all its phony talk of "Farabundismo," so would the FMLN today.

Thus the ERP and FARN openly say that they are not for socialist revolution and seek an alliance with large sectors of the bourgeoisie. What of Cayetano Carpio's FPL, which calls for a "prolonged people's war." A small pamphlet entitled "Chalatenango Heroico" (distributed by the Casa El Salvador "Farabundo Martí") gives an idea of what the FPL's line looks like in the field of battle. It reports that the local militias were demanding "industrial arms," that the masses "who have been hearing for years about armed struggle, who have been dreaming for years about having a gun, are not going to be content with a machete." Yet, says the article, "at the level of the masses and the militias, we'll never see weapons of war, not even after the victory." This is the logic of guerrillaism, which relies not on the mobilization of the working masses but on a "professional" party/army. No wonder there is discontent.

And on negotiations, according to the pamphlet: "If you tell them to put down their arms, these people would probably shoot anyone who came to tell them that.... In Guazapa the people have made it clear that it cost blood for them to get those guns and they are not going to give them up." Good. But in fact, the FDR/FMLN are calling for precisely that. Concretely, in FDR spokesman Zamora's Washington press conference during the January offensive he called for a ceasefire to achieve negotiations. (Later he tried to cover up by claiming he was only advocating laying down arms "in the context" of negotiations). And he made clear why the FDR/FMLN tops reject a "military solution." According to the *Guardian*, Zamora said that, "To win only in a military sense, could mean 'to lose in the end.' One purpose of military pressure is to insure that the U.S. administration eventually will accept a negotiated solution that gives the rebel forces a share of the power."

For Workers Revolution Throughout Central America!

So who is it that "loses in the end" if the leftist insurgents win on the battlefield? Zamora, a dissident Christian Democrat, is speaking here in the higher interests of the Salvadoran bourgeoisie. For liberals like him and FDR leader Guillermo Ungo, calls for a "political solution" are no compromise. The destruction of the genocidal army, the core of the Salvadoran state, would remove the very basis of their plans for a "democratic, pluralist" capitalist regime. We understand on the basis of Marxism, and Zamora grasps out of an acute sense of defending his class interests, that *there is no "middle way"* such as the Sandinistas are attempting. In El Salvador, where the classes are far more polarized than in Somoza's Nicaragua, the life of such a precarious interregnum could be measured in weeks rather than months. Yet a social revolution would provoke a confrontation with U.S. imperialism which, from the standpoint of tiny El Salvador, the nationalist-reformists feel they cannot win. So the guerrillaists and "democratic" politicians of the FDR/FMLN join hands to stave off a military victory. But the fighters in the field will pay the price. For them it is literally a choice of revolution or death.

The Trotskyists have a fundamentally counterposed strategy, based on the theory and program of permanent revolution. In the epoch of imperialism the weak bourgeoisies of the backward capitalist countries are unwilling and incapable of carrying out even the democratic tasks of the bourgeois revolution. Their intimate ties to imperialism and domestic reaction, combined with their fear of a militant working

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class and the huge landless peasantry, places them in the camp of counterrevolution. On the agrarian question, for instance: the Trotskyists call for the revolutionary seizure of the estates, the peasants should take the land. *No* section of the Salvadoran bourgeoisie advocates this program, for there is no separate industrial and agricultural bourgeoisie: they are all the same families. It is significant that the land reform advocated by the FDR is no more advanced than that enacted by the Christian Democratic/military junta two years ago. And they are all tied to imperialism. FDR leader Zamora was installed in the October 1979 junta at the behest of the U.S. State Department. Today he goes around vituperating against a leftist military victory.

Leninists base themselves on the proletariat, and a Central American working class exists, especially in El Salvador, which in turn can have a powerful impact on the millions-strong Mexican workers movement. The majority of all industrial workers in the isthmus are located in this tiny country. They are employed by U.S. multinationals such as ARCO, Phelps Dodge, Westinghouse, Maidenform Bras, Texas Instruments, and in the Free Trade Zone at San Bartolo where they are paid $4 a day to assemble semi-manufactures for the U.S. market. And they have a recent history of militant struggle. In March 1979 workers at two bottling plants won their demands when the electrical workers union (STECEL) cut off power for an hour nationwide in solidarity with the bottlers' strike. A week later STECEL occupied the power plants again, electrifying the surrounding fences with high voltage and blacking out the country for a day in support of their own demands. The government utility company was forced to give in. And in September 1979, workers struck five factories along San Salvador's strategic Army Boulevard, occupying the plants and taking managers hostage in order to forestall a military intervention.

For the first half of 1980 there was a constant stream of mass protests. As the liberals were slowly eliminated from the ruling junta, opposition mounted in the streets. The formation of the Revolutionary Mass Coordinating Committee, the nucleus of the later FMLN, was greeted in a January 22 mass march of 200,000, which was fired on by the security forces leaving 100 dead. In March there was a one-day general strike that shut down urban transport. In April tens of thousands poured into the streets to mourn the slain Archbishop Romero: the toll, 40 killed by government snipers. In June a second general strike paralyzed the capital: nothing moved in San Salvador for two days. Finally, the leftist coalition called a three-day general strike for mid-August. But instead of waging an offensive struggle, they told the workers to stay at home or in the plants. At most some barricades were built in the working-class suburbs and militias took pot shots at the police. The strike was a failure as petty-bourgeois layers, minibus owners and shopkeepers, buckled under to government repression.

The year of mass mobilization dissipated because the leaders of the Salvadoran left held back the struggle in the name of their guerrillaist, popular-frontist programs. Instead of placing themselves at the head of the workers and leading them to proletarian insurrection, they worried about an "imbalance in the development of the power of the masses and the military power." Marxists understand that in a revolutionary situation the course of events takes on its own rhythm. Thus Lenin stressed that in the Russian 1905 Revolution by December an uprising was absolutely essential: "A general strike could no longer take the government unawares: it had already organized the forces of counterrevolution and they were ready for action" ("Lessons of the Moscow Uprising," August 1906). But in Moscow the Bolsheviks attempted to lead such an insurrection, setting the pattern for 1917, while in San Salvador the guerrillaist/popular-frontist left was able to prevent it. (As for the level of military power, at the time of the Moscow uprising the workers militias had only 80 rifles going up against machine guns.)

This is the logic of guerrillaism, not just in El Salvador but everywhere, whether it is called focoism or the "armed struggle road." The guerrillaists have no faith in the revolutionary power of the working class. They believe that only a "professional" party/army is capable of waging military struggle. In Chile this was the program of the MIR (Revolutionary Left Movement), the largest left organization outside of Allende's Unidad Popular (UP). The MIR had considerable influence among sectors of workers, peasants and students; it talked of armed struggle and carried pictures of Guevara. But it "critically" supported the UP to the end, and *never* called for arming the masses. Instead the MIR created artificial groups, the so-called *comandos comunales*, which didn't get off the ground. And when the bloody end came, it could offer no serious resistance.

Following the defeat of the August 1980 general strike, the Salvadoran left abandoned the cities to build a "people's army" in the hills. Partly in response to repression, partly obeying the dictates of their "politico-military" strategies, hundreds of militant workers left San Salvador for nearby Guazapa volcano to build a "people's army." Elsewhere the composition of the guerrilla forces is overwhelmingly peasant in origin. And this exodus to the countryside will inevitably have an impact on the class outlook of the leftist insurgents. The FMLN has created a *peasant army* led by declassed intellectuals, ex-peasant youth and some former workers. Built out of mass organizing in the late '70s, particularly by two Catholic-led peasant unions, it can unleash a powerful storm against the murderous landlord/capitalist/army oligarchy that has run El Salvador as its fiefdom for half a century and more. But it can also be used *against the working class.*

Trotsky raised this possibility in the case of China during the 1930s, when Mao's Communist Party had transformed itself into the leadership of a peasant "Red Army." Should the Stalinist-led peasant troops occupy the industrial centers and come face-to-face with the workers, he wrote, it is quite likely that it will be used to repress the proletariat, particularly in the name of crushing "counterrevolutionary Trotskyites." He wrote:

> "The peasant movement is a mighty revolutionary factor, insofar as it is directed against the large landowners, militarists, feudalists and usurers. But in the peasant movement itself are very powerful proprietary and reactionary tendencies and at a certain stage it can become hostile to the workers, and sustain that hostility already equipped with arms. He who forgets about the dual nature of the peasantry is not a Marxist."
>
> —Leon Trotsky, "Peasant War in China" (September 1932)

This possibility has already occurred in neighboring Nicaragua. During the last moments of the Nicaraguan civil war, when the Sandinistas had temporarily retreated from the capital, the workers and slum dwellers took over Managua the day after Somoza fled. They sacked the barracks and military headquarters, obtaining many arms. It took the Sandinistas months to get the guns back. They began by arresting the members of the "Simón Bolivar Brigade," led by the pseudo-Trotskyist Moreno tendency, after it staged a demonstration for "workers power" in August 1979. They shut down the Maoist paper *El Pueblo* after it called for peasants to occupy haciendas of the "anti-Somoza bourgeoisie." They arrested leaders of the Frente Obrero group and of the dissident Communist Party of Nicaragua, as well as local ostensible Trotskyists. They broke several strikes for higher wages and workers control, sacking the offices of the CAUS union federation. And when workers at one textile factory (FABRITEX, the largest in Nicaragua) could not be intimidated in any other way, they brought in the Sandinista People's Army to *dismantle the factory*, removing the raw materials and machines! Should the Salvadoran army collapse before a "negotiated solution" is worked out, the FDR/FMLN leaders promise to do the same. Whether they can succeed is another matter.

The "guerrilla road" of the Salvadoran left is an expression of petty-bourgeois forces opposed to the Leninist-Trotskyist program of workers revolution. It is no accident that Castro's models on military matters were not Marx, Engels and Lenin (or Trotsky, the founder of the Red Army), but José Marti and Simón Bolivar—leaders of the bourgeois national independence movements. This corresponds to the Castroites' "democratic" program and orientation to the peasantry. They reason that in the "Third World" the bourgeoisie is so weak that it must rule through a praetorian guard army, which in fact acts as a political party; their answer is to counterpose their own army/party, a left version of a military coup. But for communists who seek to lead the proletariat, followed by the oppressed masses of the city and country, in a socialist revolution, what is necessary is to build a Bolshevik vanguard party of the working class and soviet organs of workers power. This will also lay the basis for the exercise of genuine workers democracy, including bringing to justice the criminals responsible for the murder of Salvadoran leftist poet Roque Dalton, leader of the "anti-militarist" faction of the ERP in 1975 who was shot on phony charges of being a "CIA agent."

Salvadoran workers stage one-day political general strike on 17 March 1980 against murderous junta.

For a Trotskyist Party!

Summarizing the experience of the Russian Revolution and the first years of the Communist International, Leon Trotsky wrote: "Without a party, apart from a party, over the head of a party, or with a substitute for a party, the proletarian revolution cannot conquer" ("Lessons of October"). A Trotskyist party must be built in struggle against the guerrillaism, popular-frontism and *nationalism* of the Salvadoran left. Workers revolution in the Central American area must be international from the beginning. A workers insurrection in San Salvador must not only combine with a peasant war throughout the country, but also with proletarian revolution from Nicaragua to Mexico. For it's not a question of tiny El Salvador taking on the Yankee colossus to the north by itself. Right next door is the sleeping giant of the Mexican proletariat, now facing a government that has imposed drastic austerity measures which (together with a push from events in Central America) can take millions onto the path of revolutionary struggle.

The Salvadoran struggle can also have a tremendous impact on the United States far exceeding that of the liberal-led El Salvador protests. The matter of working-class solidarity is not at all abstract. Thus the Spartacist League and class-struggle unionists have fought for a labor boycott of all military goods to Central American rightist juntas. And this is part of an overall struggle for the American revolution—for labor/black mobilizations against racist terror, for sitdown strikes against mass layoffs and so on. Because the only way to secure revolutionary gains for the people of El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Mexico and the rest of Latin America is through socialist revolution in the United States itself.

The reformists call for agrarian reform, a mixed economy, purging the army and a non-aligned foreign policy, carried out by a revolutionary democratic government of a "free El Salvador." The Trotskyists fight for agrarian revolution, expropriation of the bourgeoisie, destruction of the present butcher army and the creation of a proletarian red army, and unconditional defense of the degenerated/deformed workers states, through military victory by the leftist insurgents and a proletarian insurrection installing a workers and peasants government, as part of a soviet federation of Central America in a Socialist United States of Latin America. As Trotsky wrote of Spain in the early '30s: "*For a successful solution of all these tasks, three conditions are required: a party; once more a party; again a party.*" ■

Lebanon...

(continued from page 7)

the Palestinians, the Zionist war machine has fully exploited the blood hatreds generated during the Lebanese civil war. It was the special Israeli-organized "Damuri Brigade" of the Phalange who were the main executioners of the Shatila/Sabra massacre.)

The Third Worldist cheerleaders on the left naturally hailed the Palestinian/Muslim side in the Lebanese civil war, either denying its communalist character or else condemning the Maronite population to death as pro-imperialist reactionaries. Typically, the eclectic Stalinoid Workers World Party of Sam Marcy not only glorified the Palestinian/Muslim forces in general but specifically celebrated their destruction of Damur:

> "The burning of Chamoun's mansion and the seizure of the stronghold of his National Liberal Party, the village of Damur, underlined the new weakened position the pro-imperialist rulers are now in."
>
> —*Workers World*, 30 January 1976

In opposition to the left cheerleaders for "progressive" communalist violence, we wrote at the time:

> "In the present fluid conflict, and particularly given the rapidly shifting allegiances, none of these nationalist and communalist formations are fighting a just struggle that would merit military support from the class-conscious proletariat."
>
> —"Blood Feud in Lebanon," *WV* No. 115, 25 June 1976

Trotskyism vs. Stalinism on Nationalist/Communalist Conflict

Our anti-nationalist position on the Lebanese civil war was denounced, often hysterically, by our fake-left opponents at the time and still is. For example, a tiny Marcyite splinter group, the Revolutionary Communist League (Internationalist), in a recent article on the successful SL-initiated labor/black mobilization which stopped the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. on November 27, singles out our line on the Lebanese civil war as, in their view, particularly egregious: "the SL continues to mistakenly uphold its position of *abstention* during the '75-'76 war in Lebanon, where workers and oppressed battled the Lebanese equivalents of the KKK, such as the Phalangists" (*Internationalist Worker*, January 1983).

As we have shown, this is exactly what did *not* happen. The combatants on both sides were organized *not* along class but along national/communal/sectarian lines. And the Palestinian and Muslim toilers did *not* simply battle the Phalangists but the entire Maronite community. More generally, these small-time Marcyites are expressing the essentially Stalinist concept that if a people is misfortunate to fall under the sway of fascist or other right-wing leadership, then they are condemned to be subjugated, if not exterminated, by the "progressive, democratic" peoples. This kind of division of the world (and its constant redivision) into "progressive" and "reactionary" peoples has nothing in common with Marxism.

To grasp the difference between Trotskyism and Stalinism on this question, let us consider interwar Czechoslovakia. The 1919 Versailles treaty incorporated some three million Germans concentrated in the Sudetenland in the new Czech-dominated, albeit bourgeois-democratic, state. Needless to say, the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky recognized the right of the Sudeten Germans to national self-determination, i.e., the right to secede from Czechoslovakia and become part of the German national state if they so chose.

In the mid-1930s the Nazis gained political hegemony over the Sudeten Germans. Nationalistically blinded, a substantial majority desired unity with Hitler's Third Reich. While the "liberal" imperialists, social democrats and Stalinists now ardently defended the territorial integrity of "progressive, democratic" Czechoslovakia, the Trotskyists continued to recognize the right of self-determination for the oppressed German minority. In 1938 the liberal Prague government of Benes ordered the Czech army to occupy the Sudetenland and suppress the Nazi agitators. Trotsky denounced this as an act of national oppression, and in response to the question, "what should be the policy of the Bolshevik-Leninists," he replied: "If we can do it, if we have the strength, of course we fight against sending troops into the German region" ("Remarks on Czechoslovakia," *Writings [1937-38]*).

The situation of the Sudeten Germans in interwar Czechoslovakia and the Maronites in Lebanon is certainly in many and important ways different. The fundamental point, however, is that Trotsky defended the democratic rights of a people even as they fell under fascist leadership (in good part due to the chauvinist betrayals of the Stalinists and social democrats). In this he was adhering to the Leninist principle of opposing all forms of national oppression and upholding equality for all nations. Only in this way can proletarian *class* consciousness and unity overcome deep-seated national enmities. And here it should be recalled that Lenin's last political fight was against Stalin's abuse of the national minorities, specifically the Georgians. The Stalinist notion of "progressive" and "reactionary" peoples leads to support for "democratic" imperialism and serves as a left cover for nationalist pogroms.

Ba'athist Syria Attacks the Palestinians

By the spring of 1976 the once-privileged Maronites were on the defensive, squeezed into besieged enclaves as Lebanon gradually moved toward de facto partition. Seeking to turn the tide of battle Israel began massively supplying the Christian forces not only with light arms but also Soviet-made armored personnel carriers and tanks captured in the 1967 and 1973 wars. The alliance between the Israeli armed forces and the Phalangists, which now wreaks genocidal terror against the Palestinians in Lebanon, was thus cemented in the 1975-76 civil war.

But it was not Israel nor the U.S. which saved the pro-Western Christian rightists from defeat; it was that pillar of "radical" Arab nationalism, Ba'athist Syria, which in June 1976 invaded Lebanon with Washington's approval. For the Third Worldist left (and also the Kremlin), this was indeed a low blow. Ba'athist Syria was the self-proclaimed "vanguard of the Arab Revolution." The Damascus colonels were members in good standing of the "rejection front" which opposed negotiations with Israel for a West Bank mini-state. And initially they had supported and armed the Palestinian/Muslim side in the civil war.

Why did this Moscow-allied Arab nationalist regime come to the aid of the pro-Western Christian Lebanese particularists? What interests lay behind this seemingly most unnatural alliance? First, Syria, like Lebanon, is a medieval patchwork of potentially hostile ethnic, national and sectarian groupings (Kurds, Druze, etc.). The Damascus Ba'athist regime is itself drawn heavily from the small Alawite sect, a splinter of Shia Islam, whose base of support is even narrower than that of the Lebanese Maronites. Thus Assad & Co. feared that the breakup of Lebanon along sectarian lines would spill over into Syria.

Secondly, Assad, like Sadat, was negotiating via U.S. imperialism for a return of the territory occupied by Israel in the 1967 war. The Syrian strongman knew he had no chance whatsoever to get back the Golan Heights unless he could demonstrate to Washington and Jerusalem that he could police the Palestinians in Lebanon. That Assad was unable to emulate Sadat at this time was due solely to Israeli intransigence, not any lack of desire on his part. In mid-1975 Kissinger complained to a group of prominent American Jewish businessmen and academics: "We could have split the Palestinians from the Syrians [in exchange] for only a few more kilometers on the Golan, but the Israelis insisted on moving the settlements right up to the line" ("Kissinger Memorandum: 'To Isolate the Palestinians'," *MERIP Reports* No. 96, May 1981). As it turned out, Assad did not require the carrot of even a single kilometer on the Golan to split from the Palestinians in the most violent way.

The Syrian military intervention in Lebanon shifted the balance of forces in favor of the Maronite militias as was tragically demonstrated by the two-month siege and fall of the huge Palestinian camp of Tel Zaatar in Beirut. The Syrian army prevented the PLO commandos from lifting the siege and also provided logistical support for the Phalangist and Chamounist forces surrounding the camp. Even before Tel Zaatar fell in mid-August, hundreds, if not thousands, died of hunger, thirst and untended wounds. And when the Palestinians laid down their arms and *surrendered*, they were slaughtered en masse. *Newsweek* (23 August 1976) described what happened:

> "As the people of Tel Zaatar surged out toward the 'confrontation line' between Christian and Muslim Beirut, the rightists fell on them like wolves, arguing, by some accounts, over how many Palestinians each right-wing group was entitled to execute... entire families were killed."

At Tel Zaatar the Syrian Ba'athists provided the Zionists with a model (if they needed any) for the Shatila/Sabra massacre carried out by the same Maronite criminals six years later. In fact, a Mossad agent was in the Phalangist command post during the 1976 siege. A true united front against Palestinians!

Any and all illusions that Ba'athist Syria is an ally of Palestinian liberation should have been buried once and for all among the thousands of corpses at Tel Zaatar. But poor memory is a congenital disease of opportunists. Once they had broken the back of Palestinian military power, the Syrians distanced themselves from their erstwhile Maronite allies (there was never any love lost between Assad and the Gemayel clan) and played a bonapartist role balancing above the myriad national and sectarian groupings of Lebanon. By the late 1970s Syria's Assad was once again hailed as an "anti-imperialist" by the PLO nationalists and their left cheerleaders. George Habash, head of the "radical" PFLP, recently stressed, "we have many things in common with the Syrian regime. It is against Camp David, against the unfair U.S. imperialist solution of the Middle East crisis" (*Intercontinental Press*, 31 January).

A typically centrist variant of this kind of glorification of Assad's Syria is to be found in a leaflet put out by the small fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League of Peter Sollenberger when Israel invaded Lebanon: "The Syrian government is an unstable, anti-communist, *tactical* military ally in the fight against U.S. imperialism in the Middle East" ("Defend Lebanon!," 13 June 1982). It should be emphasized that this was written *after* Syria had negotiated a separate cease-fire with Israel, thus allowing Sharon to concentrate his entire machine of terror against the PLO forces. The Syrian bourgeoisie is *not* an untrustworthy ally but a mortal *enemy* of Palestinian national liberation. Should any significant section of the Palestinian people fall under the control of the Ba'athist regime, it would be subjugated as ruthlessly as the million Palestinians in King Hussein's Jordan. And any Palestinian resistance would be dealt with as savagely as at Tel Zaatar.

In 1976 Ba'athist Syria crippled the Palestinian resistance in Lebanon. Last summer Zionist Israel finished the job. And both Damascus and Jerusalem were supported and encouraged by U.S. imperialism seeking to impose an anti-Soviet Pax Americana in the Near East. These military defeats were not inevitable. The Palestinian resistance has been *politically* disarmed by its petty-bourgeois nationalist leadership before the forces of Zionism, the Arab bourgeoisies and imperialism. A proletarian insurrection in Lebanon in 1975 would have shaken the colonels of Damascus, the Hashemite monarchy in Jordan and not least the Zionist state. By contributing to the transformation of an incipient social revolution into communalist civil war, all wings of the PLO created the conditions for the present Lebanese catastrophe. What is needed is a revolutionary vanguard party capable of uniting the Arab toilers and Hebrew proletariat against the Begins, Assads, Husseins and their imperialist backers.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

UPI UPI

By 1976 Lebanese civil war had become communalist slaughter. Syrian-backed Maronites killed thousands of Palestinians at Tel Zaatar (left). PLO forces and Druze militia massacred Christian villagers at Damur (right.)

Central America...

(continued from page 1)

to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats (who politically oppose extension of the revolution beyond their borders, as well as refusing to adequately arm Central America insurgents), unconditionally defend the USSR, Cuba and the other deformed workers states against imperialism.

The reformist left and Latin American nationalists try to duck this crucial question in order to appeal to imperialist liberals. Instead they call lamely for "self-determination" for Central America. Well, butchers like El Salvador's D'Abuisson and Guatemala's Rios Montt, and the region's numerous right-wing death squads, are home grown and determined to crush the slightest opposition to their bloody rule. A civil war is being waged, and we take the side of the working people of Central America out of elementary class solidarity. To refuse to call for leftist insurgents to *win* the war, in favor of some kind of negotiated sellout, means opening the way to new massacres the moment the masses lay down their arms.

Now Reagan is demanding that military aid to El Salvador be tripled this year. (The deceptively small figures mask the fact that more than $1 billion has been poured into the region in the last three years.) A key element in this new get-tough policy was a gloomy report from UN ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, America's "own" Dragon Lady, just back from a visit to her favorite "moderately authoritarian" dictators. (No doubt after being driven off the stage at the University of California/Berkeley by angry El Salvador protesters, this imperialist warmonger yearned for the "real democracy" of Central America!) Reagan and Kirkpatrick stand by their butchers. The present gang in Washington was elected on a "who lost Vietnam and Nicaragua" platform, and they're not likely to give up without trying to send in the Marines. And this would unleash tremendous struggles not only in Central America, but in the United States as well.

President's Pope Goes to Central America

John Paul Wojtyla took his anti-Communist crusade to Central America, and his mass in Managua may be the turning point for Sandinista Nicaragua. Already in Costa Rica the Polish pope denounced "resort to violence or to collectivist systems." In Panama he railed against divorce, contraception and abortion. In El Salvador the pope called for "dialogue" while endorsing the government's plans for phony "elections" ordered by Washington to give the appearance of progress on "human rights." In Nicaragua, the pope vituperated against "unacceptable ideological commitments," state education "inspired by atheism" and the "absurd and dangerous" People's Church movement which has supported the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) against conservative Archbishop Obando y Bravo. In five separate speeches Wojtyla never expressed the slightest sympathy for the nationalist revolution that overthrew one of the bloodthirstiest tyrants in the Americas.

The battle was on from the moment the Catholic vicar kissed the ground at Sandino Airport. FSLN junta coordinator Daniel Ortega welcomed the pope with a call for peace, because "our people is martyred and crucified every day, and we demand solidarity with right on our side." Ortega denounced U.S.-sponsored aggression, referring to more than 375 Nicaraguans killed by counterrevolutionary mercenaries armed, paid and directed by the CIA. Wojtyla refused to comment on these crimes. When Rev. Ernesto Cardenal, a poet and Nicaragua's minister of culture, knelt to kiss the pontiff's ring in the receiving line, the pope withdrew his hand and wagging a finger told the priest to "straighten out your position with the Church." Later in the open-air mass in the center of Managua he attacked the five priests holding high government positions for "acting outside or against the will of the bishops."

The mass in the Plaza 19 de Julio was the showdown. When Wojtyla not only vociferously attacked the "People's Church" but pointedly refused to say a word of condolences for the victims of anti-Sandinista terror, the crowd began shouting. "We want peace," "People's power," "Long live liberated Nicaragua," and "*No pasarán*" (They shall not pass). The pope repeatedly ordered "silence," to no avail. Then, dramatically:

> "A group of mothers whose teenage sons were reported killed by 'contras,' ...carried framed photographs of their boys over their heads and surged toward the altar, demanding 'prayers for our martyrs'."
>
> —*Chicago Tribune*, 6 March

There were shouts of "imperialist" and "people's power." In response, the pope made a reference to Nicaragua's Miskito Indians, a section of whom have gone into exile in Honduras, some of them joining the *contra* bands, and then provocatively proclaimed in the Miskito language "Miskito power!" But about the 85 Miskito children and mothers who died last December in a tragic helicopter crash while being evacuated from areas under mercenary attack, this apostle of imperialist reaction has had not a word to say.

The head of the Catholic church in effect declared an anathema against Sandinista Nicaragua. "Viva el Papa!" will become a battlecry of the counter-revolution. According to the *New York Times* (6 March), an FSLN organizer said angrily, "The Pope has sold out to imperialism and to Reagan." But Pope John Paul Wojtyla did not "sell out" anything. It was the Sandinistas who spread illusions with slogans such as "between Christianity and the revolution, there is no contradiction." The very fact that the pope was invited to Nicaragua was an expression of the FSLN's false hopes to walk a "middle road" with the toleration of imperialism, preserving a "mixed economy" and following a "non-aligned" foreign policy. But Reagan and the pope have brought the counterrevolutionary onslaught to Nicaragua's borders and into the heart of Managua. The church hierarchy is a potent force for counter-revolution, no less than the private capitalists who control 60 percent of the country's economy and the many pro-capitalist elements still incrusted in the governing apparatus, exemplified by the former "Comandante Zero," Edén Pastora.

Wojtyla's mass in Managua was quite different from his triumphal tour of his native Poland in the summer of 1979. This was the real birthdate of the Solidarność "union," a pro-imperialist, anti-Soviet nationalist movement which honored the fascistic dictator Pilsudski and whose leader Lech Walesa was an instrument of the church hierarchy. Walesa/Wojtyla brought Poland to the brink of bloody counterrevolution in late 1981, preparing to strike for power while calling for "free enterprise" and submission of the Polish economy to the dictates of the IMF, the international bankers cartel. In the imperialist countries, many "leftist" cheerleaders for the Sandinistas are also fervent supporters of Polish Solidarność (e.g., the American Socialist Workers Party). While they hail the company "union" for the Vatican and Western bankers in Poland, the Polish pope attacks their idols in Managua. Thus they must view Wojtyla's actions as contradictory. On the contrary, he is a consistent anti-Communist, from Warsaw to Managua.

For International Workers Revolution!

Next door in El Salvador, the Sandinistas' counterparts of the FDR/FMLN opposition popular front sought to enlist the pope in their diplomatic drive for a "negotiated solution" to the civil war. Wojtyla supports "dialogue" in El Salvador precisely as a means of maintaining capitalist rule. And his counterrevolutionary gospel *will* have a powerful effect, particularly in the deeply religious rural areas (although perhaps also radicalizing many, particularly in Nicaragua). It is by mobilizing the working class in an openly socialist struggle that the prophets of reaction and anti-Communism can be most effectively combatted. And this requires the leadership of Trotskyist workers parties, built in struggle against the Stalinism and nationalism which binds the working masses to their exploiters. Based on a program of permanent revolution, such parties will fight not only for workers and peasants governments throughout Central America, but above all to extend revolution to the powerful working class of Mexico. And in the present exacerbated crisis of Mexican capitalism, one of the most acute points in the international economic mess, this is no mere abstract possibility.

That fact has been well noted in Washington, and not just by the Reaganites. Democratic Senator Henry Jackson recently remarked:

> "My concern from the beginning has been that Mexico is the ultimate objective of those forces seeking to destabilize countries in Central America. Mexico's the ultimate target.
> "There are severe problems in Mexico that could be utilized in an effort to destabilize it. Serious unemployment. Unrest. Corruption. The financial problems. It's all there."
>
> —*New York Times*, 1 March

The Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency have been *unique* in pointing from the beginning of the Salvadoran civil war to the crucial importance of sparking revolutionary struggle—not just empty "solidarity" gestures—by the Mexican proletariat. The FSLN, FDR/FMLN, Castro, even Mexican pseudo-Trotskyists have failed to raise this perspective because they supported the foreign policy of the López Portillo government, for a "negotiated solution" to the Central American conflict in the interests of Mexican capitalism.

We Trotskyists fight for workers revolution in the heart of U.S. imperialism, and concrete workers solidarity with the Salvadoran insurgents is an important part of that fight. Class-struggle trade unionists in the West Coast longshore union have called for a labor boycott of all military goods to Central American reactionary regimes. In the face of sharp American escalation, direct political strikes against U.S. intervention would be called for. Real solidarity with anti-imperialist struggle abroad means waging militant class struggle at home. ■

Britain's Sacred Cow...

(continued from page 2)

the Established Church. Thus behind all the apologies for the anachronism of the monarchy as the continuity of the past, is the expression of hard core national chauvinism and the trappings for the reactionary myth of class peace, i.e., status quo.

For Americans, kings and queens seem to exist not so much on the terrain of politics as in a land of enchantment along with trolls, goblins and Snow White. But the monarchy is a pillar of British rule. Generally passive, the monarchy has at certain points become directly active, and remains always a potential rallying point for military reaction. When the British officer corps lifts its glasses to "Queen and Country" more than a traditional toast is made. The officers are in fact loyal to the monarchy—head of the military—rather than to parliament.

British monarchs are not repealing acts of parliament these days, but every so often they assert their residual royal prerogatives, especially when they believe their position of privilege is being contaminated by democratic practices. So even as the *Britannia* recently sailed toward San Diego, the monarchy issued a high court injunction to stop Fleet Street's tabloid press from continuing to publish gossip about Prince Andrew and American starlet Koo Stark.

It is no wonder Reagan welcomes the queen and royal reaction to the U.S. The Reaganites doubtless feel deprived of a U.S. monarchy. Nevertheless the flaunting of conspicuous wealth by Reagan's *nouveau riche* regime tries to accomplish the same thing. The stretch-limo inauguration of Reagan was aptly described as a "bacchanalia of the haves." If one of Nancy Reagan's salad plates costs more than a black mother's welfare aid for a year, it is assumed that in the "great free marketplace" each gets what he deserves—the filthy rich and the dirt poor.

Even more irritating amid the pomp and sycophancy of the queen's visit, are the P.R. men and ideologues who tell us how much we common folk love it. They say the more society is dragged into economic desperation, the more we appreciate the queens and gilded presidents. Depressions, we are told, are particularly good times for the collective praise of the royal "lifestyle." It is at these moments we revolutionaries are pleased to invoke the historical record of such "culture heroes" as Louis XVI, Charles I and Czar Nicholas.

The end of the monarchy in Britain is centuries overdue. It is a law of history that where the bourgeois revolution was weak or truncated some of the more repulsive features of the old order remain. It is not only in backward societies, but also in "civilized" nations that some of the most elementary demands of the bourgeois revolution must await the socialist revolution. ■

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Chicago Machine...

(continued from page 16)

propaganda is being circulated in the police department. The *Chicago Defender* reports one of the disgusting racist tracts "shows a Chicago Police Department insignia which is misspelled and labeled 'Chicagongo Police' and has two chicken drumsticks separating the wordings. Inside the design the literature has a composite of two large lips, a slice of watermelon, a slab of ribs and a can of beer." Another filthy leaflet says, "No matter what anyone else tells you this election has come down to race.... Make the difference on April 12, vote Republican. It's the only chance we have."

The danger of a racist cop rampage in this racially polarized city is very real. When Byrne was elected with the support of the gay vote the cops demonstrated their disapproval by busting up over a dozen gay bars. One black Chicago resident told *WV* that when he entered a restaurant recently near the Fraternal Order of Police hall, eight white cops jeered, "Well, if it isn't Harold Washington," and as he turned to leave he overheard one of the cops say, "I ought to shoot that nigger." These trigger-happy thugs, the murderers of Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, who've shot down scores of blacks in the streets, may just stage a police riot to prove a black mayor will mean chaos in the streets.

The cops are the racist enemies of blacks and working people and any bonapartist drive on their part to organize as an independent political force or break loose from civilian control must be opposed. But Washington's liberal schemes like a civilian review board and more black cops are only designed to make the police more credible in the eyes of their victims. No amount of "reforms" will eliminate the racism of cops enforcing bourgeois property rights in the ghettos, or change the role of the police as the armed fist of the bourgeois state. Only the destruction of the capitalist system that breeds crime and racist reaction can do away with police terror once and for all.

The Black Mayors: Reagan's Black Overseers

Jesse Jackson described the overwhelming black vote for Washington as a "political riot, disciplined rage." Washington said his victory represented the "coming into political maturity" of minority groups that once thought simple street protests were enough:

> "We were slow to move from the protest movement into politics. We were lulled to sleep thinking that passing a few laws was enough. But we've got to be involved in the mainstream political activity. That's what's happening here in Chicago. And that's the lesson that's going out across the country."
>
> —*New York Times*, 27 February

And that lesson has not been lost on the liberal bourgeosie which sees in the Washington victory the possibility of channeling deep-seated black outrage into harmless electoral channels. The *New York Times* greeted the Washington win as a great achievement and lauded "using the vote to assert influence as the American way." As black columnist and former USIA director Carl Rowan noted, Reagan's racist America, economically depressed and politically volatile, "is a tinderbox in which explosion can come quickly." As blacks and the poor are driven to desperation, the bourgeoisie needs its black overseers to keep the lid on the major urban centers.

The black Democratic mayors are Reagan's field marshals of oppression and austerity—all union-busters, all enemies of black people. There are now 223 black mayors in the U.S. running major cities like Los Angeles, Detroit, New Orleans and Washington, D.C. Harold Washington's victory may have tipped the scales for the black mayoral candidates in Philadelphia and Memphis. These black front men have done an important job for the bourgeoisie. Like the bantustan chieftains who offer themselves up as loyal servants of South African apartheid, the black mayors offer themselves up to maintain social peace for the racist American ruling class.

Many of the country's black mayors came to Chicago to boost the Washington campaign, among them Coleman Young, Marion Barry and Richard Hatcher. In an article entitled, "Experts Give Black Mayors Good Marks," the *Chicago Tribune* singled out Detroit's Coleman Young in particular as an

Williams/Chicago Defender

Black Democrats stump for Harold Washington, another front man for Reagan's racist cuts. From left: Congressman John Conyers, Harold Washington, Atlanta mayor Andrew Young, Jesse Jackson, Baptist leader Franklin Richardson, Gary mayor Richard Hatcher.

"astute politician" who "...has managed to hold the town together despite the city's depressed economic state...." Coleman Young certainly has done an admirable job for the auto bosses and the banks, but he has done nothing to relieve the grinding poverty that grips Detroit. He's presided over mass layoffs in the auto industry that have left the city a wasteland, and he opposed cross-district busing to integrate the schools. When the KKK announced it would parade in downtown Detroit to "celebrate" the Greensboro massacre, Young threatened to arrest anti-Klan protesters. But 500 blacks, socialists and auto workers led by the Spartacist League (SL) turned up to make sure the Klan didn't ride in the Motor City. Democrat Young has gone after the largely black city workers unions with a vengeance, including busting the 1980 AFSCME strike so he could play host to the Republican convention that nominated Ronald Reagan! Just last fall Young mobilized his Democratic machine to bust the strike of the mainly black teachers union, shoving wage cuts and concessions down their throats. Harold Washington's election promises more of the same for Chicago.

Fake-Lefts Just Wild About Harold

The Democratic Party hopes to cash in on the Washington victory. After nothing but abuse and neglect at the hands of both capitalist parties, now everyone's talking about the "increased credibility of the black vote." It was the black vote that tipped the scale for Jimmy Carter in 1976, and the Democrats have renewed hopes that they'll do it again in '84. Charles Manatt, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, called the lesson of Washington's victory "very important for the Democratic Party, because we need that base." And House leader Tip O'Neill has assured Harold Washington that the party will stand behind him. For the first time in ages blacks feel like they may be able to expand their influence in the Democratic Party.

Washington's victory has certainly buoyed the hopes of the anti-Reagan popular front. It was mainly the remnants of the '60s black movement—King's lieutenants Jesse Jackson, Al Raby, Lu Palmer and ex-Black Panther Bobby Rush, et al.—who provided the demagogy and grassroots organization that pulled out the vote for Washington. But the left waterboys for the Democrats are doing their bit to channel black anger into the small change of electoral reformism. Under the pressures of the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive virtually every so-called socialist group is scrambling for the spot traditionally occupied by the mainstream social democrats. It's clear these reformists have one answer to Reagan's war on blacks, workers and the poor—put a Democrat in the White House in 1984.

The reformists all try to justify their support to Washington by trying to portray him as an anti-Machine candidate. But for 15 years he operated as a Machine flunky in the Illinois legislature. He sat back and watched as his old friend and mentor Ralphe Metcalfe was unceremoniously dumped and run out of office by Boss Daley. The Machine is not dead, it is not dying and Washington has pledged it "would not be dismantled." "In a sense," says Washington, "I am a product of the machine. I've dealt with it for years. It is proper in its place" (*Chicago Sun Times*, 23 February). In fact, Washington is working overtime to mend fences with his Democratic opponents. He has carefully distanced himself from the controversial Rev. Jesse Jackson, saying he will play no formal role in the new administration. At the same time he has sought a rapprochement with Cook County Democratic Party boss "Fast Eddie" Vrdolyak, the main man behind Byrne's campaign.

The ex-Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) provided an amusing side show in the Chicago primary. These reformists are forever running "independent socialist" election campaigns to demonstrate their commitment to the "peaceful, legal" electoral road to socialism. The question of independence from the capitalist parties is a purely formal question for the reformist hucksters of the SWP. They supported Carl Stokes when he first ran for mayor of Cleveland as a nominal "independent," though it was obvious to all he was a Democrat. The SWP mayoral candidate Ed Warren ran an all but invisible campaign against the popular Harold Washington. But the *Chicago Tribune* captured the SWP's opportunism in bold print the day after the election in an article entitled, "Socialist Pleased by Washington Strength." Warren offers a "Socialist" rationale for critical support to Washington while choking on an actual endorsement. He predicted a Washington win and the *Tribune* noted "that, Warren said, would be good for his own party because Washington would be found unable to produce what the people want, thus giving Socialists a chance."

Meanwhile, the news broke that Warren was offered a million dollars and the post of head of the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) if he would drop his name from the April ballot and allow a more "suitable" candidate to take his spot. Only in Chicago, the city of patronage where even the dead vote Democrat, could a small-time reformist chump like Warren get an offer like that! Still it must have been difficult for these ballot box reformists to resist the payoff. Imagine, a minister with portfolio in Chicago's first black administration. True, it's not Castro's Cuba, or the Sandinistas' Nicaragua.... But for now he says "my campaign is not for sale at any price," and he's toned down his enthusiasm for Washington for the *Militant*.

While the reformists hail Washington's victory, life for Chicago's blacks and working people will get worse. And Jim Crow will still live in Harold Washington's Chicago. Washington refuses to support busing or call for open housing. When asked about the Justice Department's suit against Cicero for systematic violations of federal civil rights laws, all he could say was "it bothers me." Those who hold up Harold Washington as the savior of blacks are helping to refurbish the image of the Democratic Party. But the Democratic Party helped make Chicago America's most segregated city. It was precisely the strength of the Democratic Party under Daley and his ability to turn out millions of Cook County voters for Democratic presidential hopefuls which made it possible for the city to fend off even the most minimal reforms of the Johnson "Great Society" era. Busing for school integration never got one inch off the ground in Chicago because the Democratic Party wanted it that way.

Labor/Black Struggle, Not Black Democrats

Many of those who go to the polls and pull the lever for black Democrats like Harold Washington have no particular illusions that black faces in high places will mean "liberation," yet they remain tied to Democratic "lesser-evilism"

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Ann Arbor
c/o SYL
P.O. Box 8364
Ann Arbor, MI 48107
(313) 662-2339

Berkeley/Oakland
P.O. Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 835-1535

Boston
Box 840, Central Station
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Chicago
Box 6441, Main P.O
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 427-0003

Cleveland
Box 91954
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 621-5138

Detroit
Box 32717
Detroit, MI 48232
(313) 961-1680

Houston
Box 26474
Houston, TX 77207

Los Angeles
Box 29574
Los Feliz Station
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 663-1216

Madison
c/o SYL
Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701
(608) 251-3398

New York
Box 444
Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk
P.O. Box 1972
Main P.O.
Norfolk, VA 23501
(804) 543-4300

San Francisco
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.
210 7th St. S.E., Suite E12
Washington, D.C. 20003
(202) 636-3537

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Vancouver
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C. V6C 2L8
(604) 681-2422

because there appears to be no alternative. At an SL forum on Chicago's South Side the day after the primaries a young black woman said:

> "I notice that you tend to put down Coleman Young and Hatcher [the black mayor of Gary, Indiana] a lot. You have to understand that when these men were elected they were given a city that was on the edge of financial ruin anyway. The big corporations already got what they wanted from the cities, so they leave the waste heap to the black man to run. It's hard to turn a city around when you don't see any possible way of doing it.... I think you're being a little hard on Coleman Young.... He's just going along with the plan...."

The point is there's no way to turn the decaying cities around under capitalism. Detroit, Gary and Chicago are going down the tubes because capitalism is going down the tubes, and the capitalists plan to make blacks and workers pay for the crisis. The inner cities have become hellhole prisons for blacks and the poor, and the black Democrats have become the wardens. They volunteer for the front lines in Reagan's war on workers and minorities.

It will take integrated labor/black struggle to break down segregation, to fight layoffs, plant closures and givebacks, and to beat back Klan/Nazi terror. And that means a fight against the Democrats, including their black front men and their loyal lieutenants in the leadership of the unions. Chicago is not just a patchwork of rigidly segregated neighborhoods; there are integrated factories, integrated unions. Last summer the city got a taste of the power of the Marxist program for labor/black mobilizations against fascist terror when the Spartacist League mobilized 3,000 unionists, blacks, Jews, gays and socialists to stop the Nazis' threatened attack on the Gay Pride parade in Lincoln Park. Byrne told people to ignore the fascist provocation. The black Democrats, the people who brought you Harold Washington, had Byrne's line. They were too busy with the campaign to be bothered with the Nazis. More recently, on November 27 in Washington, D.C., the Spartacist League initiated and led a 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization that stopped the KKK from parading the streets of the nation's capital, and again the black Democrats sought to sabotage the action.

The black establishment is clearly worried that black outrage will take on a conscious, organized anti-capitalist political direction as it did when thousands of unionists and blacks chased the Klan out of Washington. So with D.C. delegate Walter Fauntroy leading the charge, they violence-baited and red-baited the organizers of the protest, declaring the Klan scored a propaganda victory that day. An article by Dr. Charles Faulkner in the *Chicago Defender* (12 February) mouths the same line: "The Klan emerged looking like the good guys. Blacks ended up looking like emotional, disoriented, easily manipulated children." What arrogance! A vote for Washington is a sign of "political maturity" but stopping the Klan is "childish"! The "talented tenth" never likes it when the black masses take matters into their own hands. After all, things might get out of hand, and they might be out of a job. The black Democrats leave black people defenseless in the face of racist terror as long as they get their "turn to rule."

As SL spokesman Bernard Vance put it at the February 23 Spartacist forum, "The big turnout for [Harold] Washington is a defeat for black liberation. It means that the old line about the Democratic Party being 'where it's at' won again... that's a defeat for the interests of black people and the working class in general. We're talking about building an alternative to the twin parties of the capitalist class." What's needed is a revolutionary workers party leading all of the oppressed in the fight for black rights and socialist revolution. That's the only road to black liberation! ■

Steel Sellout...

(continued from page 16)

Soviet war buildup, austerity and intensified racial oppression. Two years ago USWA "dissidents" were in the forefront of those who cheered the strikes in Poland organized by Reagan's favorite company union, Solidarność. This year, at home, they will do everything possible to *prevent* strike action to scrap McBride's colossal givebacks, just like they fought to prevent militant labor action to stop the layoffs that have been turning Gary, Homestead and other steel cities into ghost towns.

The "solution" proposed by the capitalists and their labor lieutenants is readily apparent in Gary, a dying company town with a black Democrat "friend of labor" mayor who is doing Reagan's dirty work of enforcing austerity. The city center is almost entirely boarded up: even the USWA has taken its offices to the suburbs. Black steel workers there know that even 15 years seniority isn't enough to get a lousy shovel job in U.S. Steel's labor pool. Meanwhile the top rate for unemployment benefits in Indiana is a stinking $84 a week! Not Democratic Party handouts but militant labor action is desperately needed to defend the black and working-class populations of depression-torn cities like Gary.

Steel workers must fight! A militant *industry-wide strike* is urgently needed to throw back the givebacks in McBride's face. The union misleaders—from McBride to the "dissidents" like Ron Weisen, president of Local 1397 in Homestead—are unwilling and incapable of leading a successful strike: their loyalties are to the capitalists' Democratic Party, not the workers' interests. Class-struggle militants must therefore spearhead a fight for *elected strike committees* to wage a winning strike with mass picketing and fighting labor solidarity. If steel workers don't go into action to smash this deal, every USWA household will be an economic disaster area.

Break the No-Strike Stranglehold!

USWA members are familiar with the shopping list of givebacks that McBride/Odorcich signed away with a stroke of the pen: the $1.25 per hour direct wage cut, no COLA for a year and a half, elimination of extended vacations plus a week of regular vacation, a holiday lopped off, Sunday premium pay pared back, etc. The cost amounts to over $12,000 per worker! And still, District 31 director Jack Parton announced the companies may well come back for more!

Then there's the scab clause, an attempt to squash the right to honor picket lines: "The Union deems itself bound by two arbitration awards at Inland Steel and U.S. Steel which held that sympathy strike conduct is prohibited by the broad language of the no-strike provision." McBride and the companies inserted this paragraph after the National Labor Relations Board overturned both arbitration awards mentioned. One of these cases involves Keith Anwar, a Local 1010 member at Inland Steel fired in May 1979 for refusing to cross another USWA local's picket line.

The Anwar picket line case won wide backing from Calumet-area steel workers who understand that picket line solidarity is an essential tool for uniting workers in struggle against the bosses. However the USWA bureaucracy, including then-district director James Balanoff, a so-called "progressive," saw the picket line case as a threat to their scabherding policies. These misleaders use no-strike clauses and anti-labor laws as an excuse for junking the labor principle that picket lines mean don't cross. Back in 1979 the union leaders tried unsuccessfully to bury the case. Now McBride snatches defeat from the jaws of victory and the USWA "dissidents" go along with this tightening of the no-strike stranglehold. Militants must demand: Dump the no-strike clause!

For Class-Struggle Leadership!

Rank-and-file anger against this giveback pact erupted at a Local 1010 meeting attended by more than 500 workers on March 3. District director Parton and Bernard Kleiman, general counsel for the International, tried to explain the contract's terms, but according to union members present at the meeting, both these hacks were shouted down. Kleiman was nailed by one member who exposed his "backstabbing" role in negotiating the scab clause.

The angry March 3 meeting saw the decisive breakup of the incumbent "progressive" Rank and File Caucus, with one griever, a longtime caucus supporter, calling for the resignations of local president Bill Andrews and Joe Gyurko, chairman of the grievance committee, because of their defense of concessions in the local contract involving job combinations and the elimination of a clause that provided some protection against layoffs. (According to one witness, about the only speaker from the floor who was *not* applauded was a member of Progressive Labor's InCAR front group, who said the *union* was an obstacle that had to be removed!) What was lacking was an authoritative class-struggle leadership to direct the members' anger into labor action to fight the givebacks and layoffs.

Faced with this leadership gulf, three militants pointed the way forward with a leaflet distributed at the Local 1010 meeting entitled, "Givebacks and Unemployment: For Steel Workers It's... *Fight or Starve!*" These militants correctly emphasize that the AFL-CIO/Democratic alliance is based in part on protectionism: "It's the old refrain: 'Love U.S. Steel—Hate foreign workers'." This program leads not just to trade wars, but shooting wars in which working people butcher each other on behalf of their capitalist masters. Pointing to the concessions, mass layoffs and racism that go hand in hand with the bipartisan program to funnel *trillions* into a war machine aimed at the Soviet Union, the leaflet states:

> "The only way we can turn these attacks around is by waging some hard class struggle. One USWA sit-in strike in a plant like Bethlehem's Lackawanna works would be worth more than all the canned food in Buffalo. The 'steel' companies don't give a damn about steel, steel workers or the need for steel to rebuild this country from the inside out. Their drive for higher profits means cutting loose for more profitable investments (like U.S. Steel's Marathon Oil), while trying to force our wages and benefits lower and lower. For us it's fight or starve!"

The leadership needed to wage such a fight must be forged in the struggle to oust the labor traitors, from McBride to Andrews and Weisen. The labor reformists in steel and all the unions have always tailored their demands to the capitalist profit system. The working class is being ravaged by givebacks today not because these bureaucrats have gotten "worse" but because the profit system itself is in severe decline. The pro-capitalist labor lieutenants are ready and willing to go down with it, dragging along the entire labor movement. The Spartacist League says it is necessary to build a workers party to fight for what all workers and oppressed people need. And that means organizing to put an end to this irrational, racist boom-bust system, replacing it with a planned economy under a workers government. ■

FUNDS NEEDED IN PICKET LINE FIGHT

Last September 24 the NLRB ordered Inland Steel to reinstate, with seniority and back pay, Keith Anwar, a member of USWA Local 1010 who was fired in 1979 for honoring the picket line of another Steelworkers local. But the company has filed yet another appeal which will prolong the four-year struggle and consume more precious dollars in legal fees. The Keith Anwar Defense Committee, already heavily in debt, urgently needs money. Support this fight for labor solidarity! Send checks payable to the Keith Anwar Defense Committee, Box 7914, Chicago, IL 60680.

Fremont...

(continued from page 3)

work rules", i.e., runaway speedup.

The *Detroit Free Press* (2/16/83) cites GM/Toyota's plan to hire 3,000 workers to make 200,000 cars a year at Fremont, commenting, "That will be about *half the employment* at a GM assembly plant with comparable annual production, giving the joint venture large labor savings over other U.S. auto makers." (our emphasis)

At this point Fraser is trying to cover up the fact that as far as GM/Toyota are concerned, all bets with the UAW are off. Fraser is willing to accept *any* deal, even if it means workers with nearly 30 years have their pensions stolen and workers in the plant are worked to death at non-union wages. For Fraser no sacrifice by UAW members is too great to keep the auto companies making bigger profits. That's why he is on Chrysler's Board of Directors and is going to *stay* there, even when Owen Bieber takes over as President at the UAW convention.

Fraser's local flunkies like Kamekani, Marsh and Scrempos opposed our motion at the Local meeting. Marsh argued for *dropping* that part of the motion opposing a substandard contract! Kamekani was quoted on KCBS radio attacking those members who voted for the motion, stating they were looking for "violence", thinking only of themselves, and that a motion proposing a fight for our jobs would "scare away" GM/Toyota. This is exactly the same line they used last year when the UAW Militant Caucus and other members made an urgent fight for a sitdown strike to stop the closing of the Fremont plant. These same junior partners of Fraser—Mays, Nano, Marsh, Kamekani—led the workers out of the plant without a fight. They told us to go quietly or else risk losing our benefits. But we lost everything and these Local and International misleaders are directly responsible. These are the people who then used the plant shutdown to sell the GM concessions contract. The much-touted GIS [Guaranteed Income Stream] is a cruel swindle to force older workers out of the industry, giving them a "choice" of Oklahoma GM jobs with no protection against layoffs or loss of GIS and all other benefits.

Despite the depression the auto companies have regained their profits primarily because of the concessions engineered by the Fraser gang, and the plant closings and layoffs they never fought. Because of these betrayals hundreds of thousands of UAW members have been reduced to welfare, soup lines or worse. This time we had better fight to defeat the union-busters, both American and Japanese. In the course of that fight UAW members will forge a new internationalist class-struggle leadership and sweep Fraser and his gang aside.

Vote for Ruth Ryan and Karen Allen for convention delegate 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. Thursday March 10. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Break with Democrats–Workers/Blacks Need Their Own Party!

Harold Washington Takes Over Chicago Machine

CHICAGO—On February 22, Harold Washington was the victor in Chicago's Democratic primary over opponents incumbent Jane Byrne and Boss Daley's kid, Richie. Newscasters choked as they reported the upset on election night, and blacks were jubilant. It does seem likely that "segregation city" will get its first black mayor. As the *New York Times* noted, "His defeat by a Republican is unlikely; as one Chicago alderman put it, Attila the Hun or Yuri Andropov could win Chicago's April election provided they ran as Democrats." But despite the massive numbers of black voters turned out by Washington's 10,000-strong army of volunteers—the biggest vote in 30 years—the election of this Machine Democrat is no victory for Chicago blacks. As long as the capitalists run Chicago, it will remain "segregation city."

Washington's victory is being touted as the best thing that's happened to black people in years. "Martin Luther King said he wouldn't see the promised land but that we would," said Al Raby, Washington's campaign organizer, "In Chicago we have come to see that promised land." And virtually the entire left has gone gaga for this mainline black Democrat. The Communist Party's *Daily World* hailed his victory proclaiming, "Washington Beats Chicago Bosses." Socialist Workers Party candidate Ed Warren "was jubilant Tuesday night over the strong showing made by U.S. Rep. Harold Washington" (*Chicago Tribune*, 23 February). And Workers World Party shamelessly urged, "Every effort should be made by white workers and progressives to join in the push to elect Washington on April 12 as mayor" (*Workers World*, 25 February). But while the black establishment and socialist fakers prattle on about the "promised land," for the vast majority of black and working people Washington's victory will mean more of the same racist hell—epidemic level unemployment, killer cuts in social services, cop terror in the ghettos, and rising Nazi/Klan terror.

Chicago Defender

Harold Washington's Chicago will still be "segregation city."

The Washington victory of course led to the predictable rumors of massive "white flight" from the city. And Byrne, whose high-handed racism in office enraged the city's black population, deliberately inflamed racial polarization in the final weeks of the campaign. She sent her precinct captains into the Northwest and Southwest side ethnic wards to spread the word, in Polish and Lithuanian when necessary, that a vote for Daley was a vote for Washington. "You can't answer that kind of thing unless you put on a white sheet and run around," said William Daley, his brother's campaign strategist. Now incumbent Democratic alderman Majerczyk whose ward lies just north of racist stronghold Marquette Park has announced his support of liberal Republican Bernard Epton as an act of "racial pride."

But the real focal point for a racial backlash against the Harold Washington victory is the notoriously racist bonapartist Chicago police department. Washington pledged to fire police superintendent Richard Brzeczek, especially after he made a campaign commercial for Byrne. Brzeczek immediately retorted, "I won't work a day for that man... I'll quit." Now Brzeczek is saying the streets of Chicago may not be safe if Washington is elected mayor and racist

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Throw Out the Giveback Bureaucrats!

$4 Billion Steel Sellout!

CHICAGO—Lloyd McBride and his gang of Pittsburgh stealers have put over the biggest "voluntary" giveback deal in history. The new United Steelworkers of America (USWA) contract approved March 1 by the basic steel industry conference will rob some *four billion dollars* from 260,000 basic steel workers and 100,000 other USWA members covered by "me-too" agreements. In dollars per worker, the USWA concessions overshadow even the mammoth givebacks in auto last year. Twice in the past several months USWA president McBride tried unsuccessfully to follow the giveback example set by Auto Workers head Doug Fraser. Now McBride has outdone his mentor in Detroit.

But it wasn't just McBride who paved the way for concessions. Equally responsible are the USWA "progressives" who have helped enforce class peace for years while the steel bosses gouged the union with impunity. USWA membership has plummeted by an incredible 50 percent, yet all the bureaucrats and their fake-left toadies can muster is food banks and caravans to Washington to lobby the Democrats for a few crumbs.

The USWA misleaders say what's needed is givebacks, taking billions from steel workers' paychecks to put into company coffers. McBride & Co. don't even pretend that their sellout will "save jobs." How could they: the contract explicitly gives the companies a free hand to shut down plants at will. After all, layoffs are the American Way! Even without the "job protection" fig leaf that was draped on Fraser's auto concessions, 169 USWA local presidents bought the betrayal, while the other 63 put up only a token opposition.

In the past the steel barons provoked bitter bloody struggles by using Pinkertons, spies, tear gas and machine guns to drive down wages; now their labor lieutenants do it for them at no extra cost. From top to bottom, the USWA bureaucracy accepts givebacks as a necessary part of the AFL-CIO-supported bipartisan program of anti-

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At U.S. Steel headquarters in Pittsburgh, steel workers demonstrate against layoffs.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 326 X-523 25 March 1983

Complete the Nicaraguan Revolution!

Kill the Invaders!

As we go to press, U.S. imperialism has savagely escalated its bloody siege aimed at overthrowing the government of Nicaragua. On Sunday a radio transmitter of CIA-backed counterrevolutionary forces based in Honduras claimed that four towns had been taken in the central province of Matagalpa, only 70 miles from the capital of Managua. On Monday, March 21, defense minister Humberto Ortega, a member of the nine-man directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), announced that 1,400 *contras* had launched a large-scale incursion into Nicaraguan territory. Some 1,200 are reportedly fighting government troops in the hills along the Honduran border (provinces of Jinotega and Nueva Segovia), while another 200 mercenaries, many of them former soldiers of the National Guard of bloody dictator Anastasio Somoza, are attacking in Matagalpa. Ortega declared that the invaders had been surrounded. But this massive infiltration of anti-Sandinista commandos could be the spearhead of a counterrevolutionary Bay of Pigs II. It is the elementary internationalist duty of socialists to defend the Nicaraguan revolution against the U.S.-controlled *contras*.

It cost 50,000 lives to get rid of the hyena of Managua. The overthrow of West Point graduate Somoza in Nicaragua opened up the prospect for social revolution throughout Central America, that is, in the very "backyard" of U.S. imperialism. Soon a civil war in El Salvador was pitting leftist guerrillas against a rightist junta and its blood-drenched death squads. The recent visit to the region by anti-Communist ideologue Pope John Paul Wojtyla posed matters sharply: it is revolution or counterrevolution in Central America. The U.S. ruling class fears above all that the popular insurgencies will spill over into Mexico, now shaken by severe economic crisis. This naked imperialist provocation against Nicaragua is aimed at smashing revolutionary struggles throughout the Americas. With a knife at their throats, the masses *can* be mobilized. So long as the U.S. doesn't go all out, the Sandinistas should be able to beat anyone in the area, because they have the people with them. Workers, peasants and all the oppressed must join hands against the

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World Capitalist Crisis: Bleeding Workers, Poor, Bailing Out Wall Street

Bank Crash of 1983?

"The issue of global debt has come to the fore at a time of economic and financial strain, which is unparalleled in the post-World War II era and looks, in some respects, frighteningly reminiscent of the Great Depression."

—Morgan Guaranty Trust's
World Financial Markets,
February 1983

"Dr. Doom" is the highest-paid economist in the United States. That's the nickname of Henry Kaufman, chief analyst for the giant Wall Street bond dealer Philbro-Salomon. A colleague attributes Kaufman's superior predictive ability to the fact that "he is an incurable pessimist. When things go wrong, he's right, and things have been going wrong with great frequency the past five years."

For two generations Americans have been told that it—the Great Crash and the Great Depression—could never happen again. Keynesian stabilization policies and measures like unemployment insurance would prevent a sharp and prolonged fall in national income. Institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade would prevent a recurrence of the international financial chaos and trade wars of the 1930s.

But today respected capitalist spokesmen are speaking of a second Great Depression. Wall Street investment banker Felix Rohatyn: "I have been in business for 34 years and I believe we are facing the most dangerous worldwide economic situation of my professional experience." Wall Street investment banker Jeffrey Garten, former deputy director of the State Department's policy planning staff: "As Mexico, Poland and Argentina edge toward bankruptcy, world banking is likely to be presented with its worst crisis since the Great Depression." Former West German chancellor Helmut Schmidt: "...if we misread the signs of the times and continue to let the reins drag, our children will compare them with the catastrophe of the 1930s."

Janice Perlman

Wall Street bleeds Brazilian barrios.

WV Photo

And indeed the Great Depression of the 1930s has become the standard of comparison for the state of the world capitalist economy. In the U.S. 30 percent of factory capacity lies idle as unemployment and bankruptcies are at the highest levels in four decades. Thirty-two million are unemployed in the advanced capitalist countries of North America, West Europe, Japan and Australasia. The economies of the backward capitalist countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which depend on exporting agricultural products and other raw materials, are ravaged as the prices of these commodities have fallen to the lowest levels in

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Cops Protect Nazis in Ann Arbor

ANN ARBOR, March 21—Fifteen Hitler-lovers and Klansmen were sent packing today with their Confederate and Nazi flags by 30 supporters of Progressive Labor Party (PL) and its front group, the International Committee Against Racism (InCAR). It all took place seconds after the fascists were escorted into Ann Arbor's City Hall Plaza by some of the scores of cops present in full riot gear. Unlike March 20 a year ago, however, when a labor-backed mobilization of 2,000, initiated by the Spartacist League (SL), drove the same "SS Action Group" out of town, this time only 200 anti-Nazi demonstrators showed up, tops, and the PL/InCAR militants suffered nine arrests.

Dozens of the cops present—which included Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti police, the Washtenaw county sheriff's tactical squad, Michigan state police, University of Michigan security forces and the Federal Protective Service—waded into the PL/InCAR contingent, clubbing and brutally dragging off anti-fascist demonstrators with choke holds, including one who had stood still with his hands raised. The cops and city administration are determined to protect the fascist killers and throw the book at anyone who stands in their way. Drop the charges against the anti-Nazi demonstrators!

PL/InCAR supporters showed courage in implementing PL's adventurist "strategy" of substituting their small numbers for the power of the working class in combating the fascists. While we appreciate PL's exploits in taking out Klansmen and Nazis one-on-one, a lot of PLers must be thinking that it's not good to be beaten and jailed every week. And we have to observe, as Marxists, that you can win an occasional battle this way—but substitutionist sectarianism will never mobilize the working class to smash the fascist threat by organizing to overthrow capitalism. In contrast, the Spartacist League has been able to carry out our program of labor/black defense with striking success: Detroit, November 1979; San Francisco, 1980; Ann Arbor, March 1982; Chicago, June 1982 and last November 27 in Washington. In each and every case the Trotskyists were able to bring out hundreds and thousands of blacks and labor militants, backed up by the power of the unions, to stop the fascist terrorists in their tracks.

For the last month, the threat of the fascist provocation in Ann Arbor on March 20 has hung over the working people, blacks, Jews, students and gays of the area. The Nazis vowed to "break the red hold on Ann Arbor," calling for the freedom of Nazi mass killer Klaus Barbie and telling the press they were goose-stepping that day to back Reagan's war plans in Central America. The fascists have made repeated incursions into the suburbs of Detroit in recent weeks; in Southfield, a largely Jewish suburb adjacent to Detroit, where they clandestinely appeared at the civic center; at the local ABC television station to protest the cancellation of Klan leader Bill Wilkinson's "debate" with Bobby Seale (which the SL was able to scotch by mobilizing representatives of black and labor organizations in a call-in campaign); and now Ann Arbor last Sunday. Their main target for intimidation and violence is the predominantly black population of Detroit and its integrated unions.

WV Photos

Drop the charges against the anti-Nazi protesters!

The cops, city council and the mayor of "liberal" Ann Arbor vowed to guarantee that the Nazis would be able to carry out their obscene provocation. "Silence" editorialized the *Ann Arbor News*; "Stay Home" was the advice from the campus *Michigan Daily*. The Ann Arbor police chief displayed his riot helmet and baton and promised to "deal forcefully with any and all lawbreakers." Ann Arbor authorities were looking for revenge for the 2,000-strong demonstration which chased the fascist killers out of town last year. Sharing the bourgeoisie's hatred for the communists is a motley crew of reformists and centrists who have spent the last year violence-baiting or, alternately, cop-baiting the SL. Well, on March 20 they got a chance to show their stuff, and they brought out a tenth as many as last year. Led by this crew, for whom the "main enemy" is the Spartacist League (the KKK and Nazis run a distant second), the March 20 event was shaping up as a good chance for the anti-Spart "left" and the vengeful cops to "get" us. Well, it's not our approach to lead people into traps. So we forbore direct intervention, while doing what we could to assist certain other action groups who wanted to get the goddamned Nazis. Because even in petty-bourgeois Ann Arbor, the land of college town beansprout totalitarianism, the fascists have no "right" to parade their flag of genocidal racist terror.

The All-Peoples Congress (APC), a popular-front outfit run by Sam Marcy's Stalinoid Workers World Party (WWP), took time out from its court suit demanding cheese from Reagan to organize a "unity" gab-fest to "protest" the Nazis. Joined by the small state-capitalist Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), the WWP/APC never had any intention of stopping the Nazis. The Marcyites waited on a street corner a block away and only marched into City Hall Plaza chanting, "We're fired up, ain't going to take it no more," *after* the Nazis had been loaded into their U-Haul truck and driven away. The APC "protest" was an irrelevant and pathetic anti-climax, with speakers urging the spectators to "write Washington" to protest unemployment. One APC speaker compared the poor and oppressed to fleas on a dog (!) and implored those who bothered to listen to "keep the dog itching until it scratches"!!

Joining the APC and the RSL on the popular-front podium was the cult-sect, Peter Sollenberger's and Leland Sanderson's Revolutionary Workers League (RWL). These most ardent practitioners of the anti-Spartacist "Big Lie" slanders have *opposed* virtually every successful anti-fascist mobilization in the last several years because they have been led by the SL. This year the dozen or so Sollenberger groupies at the March 20 demonstration briefly joined PL's picket line. But when the Nazis arrived seconds later the RWLers turned tail and fled to the other side of the plaza while PL confronted the Nazis. Later, RWL supporter Joe Graves, speaking from the APC podium, simply lied that "unfortunately" the RWL had arrived too late "to give the Nazis a proper reception." These scabbing centrists lack the courage to more than verbally participate in PL's adventurist bashes.

In March of last year 2,000 came out to stop the Nazis. Moreover the RWL and RSL insisted, contrary to every bit of evidence, that they, not the Spartacists, brought out the masses. But this year only 200 showed up. Well, which is it, Peter Sollenberger? Either there were really 2,000 there again this year—or you're a liar! What brought out 2,000 last year was the work of the SL, backed by sections of the Michigan labor movement. A number of other groups also attempted to get in on the act, trying to split the difference between liberals who wanted to let the Nazis march and the SL who called to "Stop the Nazis." (In the aftermath, the reformists and centrists claimed the SL had inexplicably "attacked" our own demonstration. Now, Sollenberger resorts to outright racist language—"Carpetbaggers on the Prowl"—seeking to belittle the SL-initiated mobilization of 5,000 mainly black protesters who stopped the KKK from marching in Washington, D.C. on November 27.)

At this year's Ann Arbor demonstration, the cops actually set the Nazis up for attack, then busted up and arrested the anti-fascist demonstrators. So PL jumped the sons-of-bitches, a good thing in and of itself, and got some misdemeanor and felony charges as a result. (Subsequently the felony charges were reduced to disorderly conduct, a misdemeanor; and the misdemeanors were reduced to disturbing the peace.) We helped them out with the bail money, some $300, which they initially refused to accept. PL's strategy is substitutionalist, not to mention sectarian, on all counts, but at least they got the fascists...this time. It's more than one can say of the RWL/RSL who walked off at the crucial moment.

On March 20 over a quarter of the crowd bought Spartacist literature spelling out our program of labor/black mobilization to stop racist terror. Many commented that the demonstration a year ago was more effective. (In Washington on November 27, PL/InCAR marched off in splendid isolation, while the RWL and RSL were two miles away together with the WWP/APC applauding for the liberal Democrats.) Not adventurist stunts nor pandering to the liberals will stop the fascist scum; only mass mobilization of the working class and the oppressed can stop the fascists. Free all PL/InCAR supporters—Drop the charges! For labor/black mobilization against the fascists. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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EDITOR: Jen Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Noah Witner

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Linda Jarreau

EDITORIAL BOARD: Charles Burroughs, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Mary Jo McAllister, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Marjorie Stamberg

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Spartacist Candidate for Oakland City Council

Martha Phillips: Sitdowns Against Layoffs!

OAKLAND, March 19—Auto workers and warehousemen fighting for their jobs heard Martha Phillips, Spartacist candidate for city council member at large, kick off her campaign to bring the Trotskyist program of socialist revolution to the working people of this hard-hit, largely black and Latin proletarian city. That the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive means austerity and racist terror at home could not be clearer than in the East Bay area, where *official* unemployment is 14.6 percent, where Klan-infested police departments gun down and choke black people to death. Phillips was an organizer of the Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. on November 27, and a central theme of the campaign is the need for revolutionary program and leadership to galvanize the power of labor and blacks as happened in D.C. that day.

Phillips brought her message of "Sitdowns, Not Souplines" to a series of union events, giving answers to the burning questions of how to fight unemployment, union-busting, plant closures and rampant police terror. She spoke to laid-off auto workers outside a February 22 meeting of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 1364 in Fremont, where the membership overwhelmingly passed a motion submitted by the Militant Caucus calling for using every tactic necessary to defeat GM/Toyota plans to destroy union conditions at Fremont. On March 10, Phillips went to the East Bay Skills Center in Oakland where campaign workers distributed a statement which read in part:

> "Fremont workers must be backed in their struggle against any concessions in wages and working conditions....
> "In Oakland neither the Lionel Wilson wing nor the Dellums/Riles wing of the Democratic Party have waged a fight against plant closings and layoffs. UAW workers and Bay Area labor can win only through militant class struggle whether it takes mass picketing or plant occupations. The fight against GM/Toyota's union-busting can spark mass labor action to bring down Reagan."

The statement was well received and ten auto workers, most of them black, signed up to work on the Phillips campaign.

WV Photo

Martha Phillips supports Fremont auto workers in fight against GM/Toyota union-busting.

While UAW members, many of them black Oakland residents, are fighting union-busting in Fremont, members of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 here face a vicious deal between Democratic mayor Lionel Wilson's port commission and the Carnation company to shut down Carnation's plant on the Oakland waterfront, axing 160 jobs. On March 9 Phillips spoke at the candidates' night of the ILWU Joint Legislative Council. Speaking as a fellow unionist and victim of layoffs (she is a member of International Typographical Union Local 21 in Oakland), Phillips called on workers to "do whatever is necessary, up to and including a sitdown, keeping that plant open."

Spartacist candidate Phillips attended a City Council meeting on March 15 where a large group of Carnation employees showed up to speak. Workers eagerly received a campaign statement protesting the Carnation shutdown (see box) and expressed their outrage when Democratic mayor Wilson *refused to allow them to speak* during the agenda point on Carnation! While the Council set up a committee to "study" the issue—really to cover up for the company with a cloud of hot air—workers told Phillips that machinery is already being taken out of the plant. While many Oakland workers and blacks still have illusions in the "progressive" Ron Dellums wing of the Democrats, Dellums' protegé Wilson Riles, Jr., voted along with the rest of them to silence the Carnation workers and see them thrown on capitalism's scrapheap.

Other candidates in the City Council elections reflect the bankruptcy of the reformist fake-left. The Democratic Socialists of America and the Communist Party are united behind the Dellums Democrat candidate Cassie Lopez in Oakland District 1. Pushing "minority-owned and locally-owned small businesses," Lopez calls for "changing the priorities of the police department." Martha Phillips says that the recent police murder of Patrick Mason, a five-year-old black child in Los Angeles, shows again the *only* priority the police have in this horribly sick society: to guard the capitalist order through bloody terror against black people and the working class as a whole! No to gun control! Disarm the police! Jail killer cops!

Also running for the at-large seat is Socialist Workers Party (SWP) candidate Jan Gangel, with a program fit to make any militant worker or black person gag. The utopian reformist wailing for "human needs before profits," "elimination of the U.S. war budget," "make Oakland an anti-war city," and a "unilateral nuclear freeze" proclaims the SWP's faith in making the capitalist state "peaceful" and "humane." Needless to say, the SWP's non-union-printed election brochure breathes not a word about a workers government, revolution or socialism since the reformists hate revolution like sin. Comic relief is provided by Gangel's quirky references to "working farmers" (in Oakland?) and a call for flophouse reformism: "For a massive public housing program. Until then, use vacant hotel and motel rooms subsidized by the government"!

At the ILWU candidates' night a warehouseman supporter of the Phillips campaign challenged Gangel on the SWP's 1980 presidential candidate Andrew Pulley crossing a railroad union picket line. Gangel said that she didn't plan to cross any ILWU picket lines but that it is "not an absolute principle to not cross picket lines." A former teacher, she praised her party's scabbing in the 1968 New York City teachers strike. When asked about the SWP's policy of debating fascists, including with KKK grand dragon Metzger in San Diego, Gangel remained silent while her questioner, a local executive board member, was cut off.

The Spartacist candidate, however, replied: "You can't debate genocide. You can't debate with someone that while you're talking, they're probably wiring your car in the parking lot. The point is that there is a way to stop the Klan and the Nazis." Phillips was one of the organizers of the 19 April 1980 Spartacist-initiated labor demonstration that stopped the Nazis from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday in San Francisco. Yet when she filed for city council, she noted "the city attorney didn't want us to be able to make points [in Phillips' election statement] about the Klan and the Nazis, to say what's needed is a labor/black mobilization. But we fought it and we won."

The Spartacist League says anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home. The Phillips campaign is supporting efforts by longshoremen to build a West Coast port shutdown against Reagan's escalating intervention in El Salvador. Against the tawdry spectrum of the rag-tag American popular front, the purpose of the campaign by Spartacist candidate Martha Phillips is to raise the Trotskyist transitional program for socialist revolution as the program for struggle of the workers and oppressed minorities. ■

Fight to Save Carnation Jobs!

15 March 1983

Martha Phillips, Spartacist candidate for Oakland Councilmember At Large, issued the following statement today:

"Mayor Wilson's Port Commission and Carnation have made a dirty deal to close Carnation's Oakland plant on May 31. The plant isn't closing because the company is bankrupt or running away to some non-union state. It's a straight-out, profiteering business deal—the city gets some prime waterfront real estate, Carnation gets a bundle of money and 160 ILWU workers get the ax. With nearly 20 percent unemployment in Oakland and Alameda County ranking #1 in plant closures in the state, what chance do these brothers have of finding new jobs? Their lives mean nothing to the businessmen and the city administration.

"We say 'Sitdowns, Not Souplines!' The labor movement must do whatever is necessary to stop this job-stealing deal and keep Carnation open. What's needed is a plant occupation by ILWU members supported by mass picketing by all Bay Area unions.

"Labor has the power to stamp this deal 'canceled'! In 1946 Oakland workers stopped the cops from scab-herding at Kahn's Department Store (now Liberty House). They didn't beg. They said picket lines mean don't cross and shut down Oakland with a 54-hour general strike. The city manager came to them at 3:00 in the morning and signed an agreement—'no scab-herding by the cops.' Remember the 1946 Oakland General Strike—workers never win anything except by struggle!

"The fight to save jobs at Carnation is not isolated. It is part of the fight that must be waged by the labor movement to stop GM/Toyota's union-busting at Fremont, to stop runaway shops and plant closings, to win jobs for all!

"The Democrats like to blame Prop. 13 and Reagan for all the cutbacks and layoffs. Well, Reagan is certainly an enemy of labor and minorities, but the Carnation deal was made by Democrats! The Democrats are a party of capitalist austerity, racism and war no less than the Republicans. All over the country, Democratic mayors like Lionel Wilson, Dianne Feinstein, Coleman Young and Ed Koch have been slashing budgets, unleashing their cops on the ghetto poor and busting unions, long before Reagan! And millions of jobs have been lost under the program of 'Don't struggle—vote Democrat.'

"You can't fight Reagan with Democrats! As a socialist union militant, I'm running for Oakland City Council to say we need our unions to start fighting and we need a workers party with a program of class struggle to fight for a workers government."

☐ Please send further information on the campaign.
☐ I endorse the campaign of Martha Phillips for Oakland City Council.
☐ Enclosed is $_____ contribution to the campaign

Help build the campaign! Call (415) 835-1536.

Name _____
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Address _____
City _____ State ____ Zip _____

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Spartacist Party Campaign Committee
408 13th St., Suite 260, Oakland, CA 94612

Defend Patricia Ridge!

Cop Killed Her Child, Now Black Mother Tortured

Patrick Mason LA Times

"My god, the cops blew away a five-year-old black kid!" exclaimed decent people all across the country when they learned of the cold-blooded racist killing of little Patrick Mason in his home on March 3. Even in the Los Angeles area, where daily cop terror has had numbing effect, the horrifying story of the child-killer cop has brought a torrent of shock, tears and anger. The light from this single gun blast illuminates the whole brutal, vindictive racist system—of the cowardly cops as demented shock troops in capitalism's war against black America.

The pattern is well known: the cops blame their victims. But in this case their victim is a dead child. So now they have found another victim. Incredibly they are blaming the little boy's *mother* who—having had her only child mowed down—now faces a grand jury probe for everything from child neglect to homicide! According to the *Los Angeles Times* (9 March), "Police officials... uncovered no wrong doing by Sperl," the Orange County cop who kicked open Patrick Mason's bedroom door, gun blazing, where the little boy had been at home alone quietly watching TV. Sperl claims he saw a gun, so "naturally" he pulled the trigger. Next to the small dead body was a small *red* plastic toy pistol. "Very realistic," claimed the police. Oh yeah? How many cops carry red guns?

So vile a deed, but the papers are filled with disgusting excuses for the child-killer cop. We read that Sperl claims he saw a "shadowy figure" in the darkened room and the TV glare, he heard a "clattering noise" and became "panicky." Now the newspapers say he is full of remorse. Bullshit! He went in for the kill. The Stanton apartment complex is considered "low income" and "anti-police." ("Low income"? Patrick's mother, Patricia Ridge, paid $440/month in rent!) For the cops, these are code words for "race ghetto"—meaning it's open season on black and minority residents. According to the Los Angeles *Herald Examiner* (10 March), the cops have hit the complex 430 times in the past 27 months!

Why did the cops barge into Patricia Ridge's apartment in the first place? They keep changing their story. First they said they were following up a complaint about Patrick's absence from kindergarten. Now they're claiming Sperl had no reason to expect a child in the apartment. This is a lie. It has been reported that Sperl, on his way into the apartment, was told by kids in the building that Patrick lived there! But Sperl was conducting a search-and-destroy operation in "enemy territory." If Patricia Ridge had been there that night, she might have been gunned down too.

As an LAPD commander noted, what Sperl did "would not have been against Los Angeles police policy" (*Herald Examiner*, 8 March). "What happened to Sperl could have happened to any officer in the field anywhere." But in an effort to cover up, Patricia Ridge was blamed for child neglect, because she was out working. When her lawyer brought a multi-million dollar damage suit against the police department, they escalated this to homicide charges. A grand jury has actually been convened (which "evenhandedly" will investigate Sperl too) and is actually considering bringing the grieving mother up on a *second-degree murder* rap! On what grounds? "By leaving her child in a life-endangering situation," said the Orange County D.A. Yeah—being black in America.

At the funeral Patricia Ridge carried a stuffed Teddy bear—it was all she had left to remember her son. Poor, black and single, she couldn't even afford to fly Patrick's body back to Chicago and bury him near her family, but donations were raised for the expense. Patricia Ridge had moved with Patrick to Orange County last August. She went off welfare and had recently gotten a $100-a-week job charging batteries at a Sears auto center. She couldn't afford a baby sitter. She had gone through the yellow pages, but in Orange County Patricia Ridge couldn't find any child

continued on page 10

Cops Attack Black Family in Mourning

Racist Atrocity in Montgomery

On March 13, 1,200 black residents of Pontiac, Michigan rallied at the Newman AME Church to defend the Taylor family—including five United Auto Workers (UAW) members—victims of an outrageous racist assault and frame-up by the Montgomery, Alabama police. That same day 400 applauded members of the Taylor family in Warren, Ohio, and a similar protest and fundraising took place in Cleveland on March 20. And in Montgomery itself, on March 7 more than 1,000 outraged blacks rallied for the Taylors against the kind of racist American "justice" that Birmingham police chief Bull Connor liked best. At the Montgomery rally, the president of the Alabama Improvement Association said to the cheers of the crowd that the black community "is tired of being abused, harassed and accused of wrongdoings we didn't commit.... We are tired and we are here to fight!"

Behind this outpouring of angry protest there is a grotesque racist atrocity. On February 27, following the funeral of 68-year-old Annie Bell Taylor, some 30 members of the black family, including relatives who traveled all the way from Warren and Pontiac, gathered at a home on the outskirts of Montgomery. Shortly before midnight, 21-year-old Christopher Taylor went outside to move a car. Two white men drove up. One pulled a gun and said "Hey nigger, come here." One of the whites grabbed him but the young man broke free and ran for the house. A gun was fired and Christopher was shot in the hand. Thinking they were under Klan attack, the Taylors called the police. But the cops were already there. The two white men were "investigators" Brown and Spivey of the Montgomery police department.

AP

Worrie Taylor (right) of Warren, Ohio and ten relatives face felony charges for defending their family against Alabama cops.

At no point identifying themselves, the cops kicked open the Taylors' door and, shouting racial epithets, again went after Christopher. Fortunately the family subdued and disarmed the would-be murderers. The racist terror, however, was just beginning.

Police reinforcements arrived and the entire family, an 83-year-old great aunt and small children included, was forced to lie face down in the mud outside. Some were made to crawl to police cars. Family attorneys charge that others were kicked, struck—one with a telephone—and choked. Twenty-six of the mourners were arrested and 11 were accused of a total of 60 charges including attempted murder (Brown was shot, according to family members, by another cop as he fled in panic from the house; Spivey was cut diving head first out a window), kidnapping (holding the cops on a couch until "help" arrived), and robbery (relieving the cops of their guns). The police, of course, got immediate medical attention. Christopher Taylor's gunshot wound was untreated for three days. The Taylors were jailed, beaten and only on March 9 finally released after outrageous bonds totaling $400,000 were posted. If convicted the Taylors could get life sentences.

Predictably, pistol-packing racist mayor Emory Folmar, whom "lesser evil" racist Democrat George Wallace defeated in the gubernatorial race, is backing his police to the hilt. In the words of one of the Taylors' lawyers, "he's police-state oriented" (*Detroit Free Press*, 14 March). Police chief Charles Swindall added, "The black subjects were acting in a manner of wild animals that had their prey on the ground." No wonder the Taylors thought Brown and Spivey were Klansmen. One can only imagine how many Taylors would be dead today if the two cops had kept the upper hand. As black Montgomery city councilman Joe Reed put it, "If somebody burst into (Mayor) Emory Folmar's home in the middle of the night, he would shoot them on the spot and call it a 'good killing'" (*Detroit Free Press*, 13 March).

The Taylors have pointed to their phone call to the police station as proof of their innocence. The cops say they have no record of the call, claiming their automatic recording device "malfunctioned" during the crucial hours. One of the policemen's guns is also unaccountably missing.

Although the Montgomery police assault on the Taylors' home took place on an unlighted, dead-end dirt road, five of the arrested family members belong to UAW Local 594 (GM Truck and Coach) in Pontiac, close to labor/black Detroit and the birthplace of the Auto Workers union. In part that accounts for the publicity the case has received. But *action* is needed. It is imperative that the powerful and integrated labor movement, especially the UAW, actively take up the Taylors' defense—$2,000 has already been collected in the plant—not just with money but by organizing protests nationwide against this atrocity.

In any decent society, the Taylors would already have gotten medals for courageously stopping a couple of racist thugs before they could start a killing spree. Instead the would-be killers are free and their victims are facing a monstrous frame-up. Labor militants and all defenders of democratic rights must demand: Drop the charges against the Taylors! Jail Brown and Spivey!

Behind the myth of the "New South" is the race-terror of the Folmars and Swindalls. Jim Crow will be buried once and for all only by the revolutionary alliance of blacks and labor. This was exemplified on November 27 by the 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization which drove the KKK out of Washington, D.C. chanting "1, 2, 3, 4—Time to finish the Civil War! 5, 6, 7, 8—Forward to a workers state!"

Contributions for the legal defense of the Taylor family may be sent to: Montgomery Defense Fund, P.O. Box 3273, Pontiac MI 48059. ■

Black Democrat Harold Washington No Choice for Chicago Blacks, Workers

Jane Byrne, You Lost!

CHICAGO, March 20—In the wake of black Democrat Harold Washington's upset election victory last month, a racist backlash is whipping through Segregation City. Race-haters have been pushing first Republican Bernard Epton and now a write-in campaign for Mayor "Crazy Jane" Byrne as the "great white hope" to keep Washington from taking office. Viciously racist leaflets designed to incite trigger-happy cops are circulating in police stations while police superintendent Richard Brzeczek warns that if Washington becomes mayor Chicago won't be "safe" for whites. But for the huge black population, subjected daily to wanton brutality at the hands of Brzeczek's blue-shirts, this town has never been "safe."

Seed/Click-Skyline

Black Machine Democrat Harold Washington at St. Patrick's Day parade, doing everything he can to prove his loyalty to the capitalist system.

Epton, a liberal Jewish Republican unheard of before the February 22 primaries, is considered "a legitimate contender for one reason only—because he is white" (*Chicago Tribune*, 13 March). And he's backed by former Byrne honchos such as Parks Commissioner Edmund Kelly and aldermen from racist enclaves on the Northwest and Southwest sides. Byrne, who lost the three-way Democratic race to Washington, flirted with the idea of running on the Republican ticket (Epton refused to step down), then announced a write-in candidacy. Now rumors are spreading about secret deals between Byrne and Reagan promising campaign money in return for Republican patronage jobs if she wins (*Chicago Defender*, 17 March).

Harold Washington won the election. Byrne, *you lost!* For over half a century, the Democratic "primary" has been the real election in Chicago, and the April "general election" nothing but a rubber stamp. But now a section of the Chicago Democrats want to steal the election. Fearing the loss of the white racist and ethnic vote, they've decided in effect to call another election. Washington has the right to take office with all the normal prerogatives. Blacks have a right to elect whoever they want to office. Byrne and the bonapartist police better keep their hands off. The election of this Machine Democrat (in a fractured Machine) is no victory for black people—it will mean more of the racist austerity, strikebreaking and cop terror blacks suffered under Boss Daley, Bilandic and Byrne. But this is supposed to be a bourgeois democracy, and Byrne *lost*.

Byrne's candidacy is spearheading a racist mobilization. Chicago blacks hate Byrne for her high-handed racism, from sending in her cops to evict blacks from Cabrini Green to her South Side "stop and search" cop terror in February 1982 to refusing to appoint blacks to the overwhelmingly black Chicago Housing Authority. Even Byrne's former political adviser and strategist Don Rose commented, "the write-in campaign itself is an exploitation of the racial issue predicated on the idea of an angry and motivated white population" (*New York Times*, 18 March). At the forefront of Chicago's so-called "angry and motivated" racists are the Marquette Park-based Nazis who endorsed Byrne the following day. These fascist filth are also publicly campaigning for office in nearby Morton Grove.

The bourgeois press is portraying Byrne's move as a break from the Democratic Machine. Most of the Democrats in Chicago in fact have closed ranks around Washington (including Cook County sheriff Elrod, County Board chairman Dunne, County Democratic Party chairman "Fast Eddie" Vdrolyk, Congressman Rostenkowski). So has the national Democratic Party, including House speaker O'Neill, presidential frontrunner Mondale, Teddy Kennedy and Democratic national chairman Manatt. Washington announced that he was "thunderstruck" by Byrne's candidacy and declared "we expect 100 percent support from every Democratic ward committeeman." Yet Byrne's campaign at bottom is an attempt to keep the racist vote in the Democratic Party.

Blacks in the racist Machine have always been second-class citizens. When Boss Daley dropped dead they refused to appoint black alderman Wilson Frost acting mayor, even though he was next in line. Nevertheless, the Machine has always had its loyal black captains. Various fake-lefts heralded the Washington victory as the death knell of machine politics. Hardly. The Machine is fractured—no one has been able to keep things together quite the way Daley did. Some die-hard racist ward committeemen are refusing to work for a black boss and see Byrne as their best hope to keep patronage flowing. But the Democratic Party nationally, with hopes that the black vote will topple Reagan in '84, understands the need for installing a black front man to run Chicago.

A few days after the primary the Board of Trustees of the City Colleges met behind closed doors where longtime chancellor Oscar Shabat resigned five months ahead of schedule in order to appoint Loop College president Salvatore Rotella as a new chancellor for a three-year term. This meeting was rightly seen as a racist attempt to keep the chancellorship out of the hands of blacks given the prospect of a Washington victory.

The selection of Rotella provoked a student walkout throughout the City College system on March 16 and a rally in front of the School Board offices. The Spartacus Youth League at Loop participated in the rally raising the call for open admissions with full stipend to enable minority and working-class youth to attend school, as well as opposing the racist policies of the School Board which continue to exclude blacks, the overwhelming majority of City College students, from any say in academic matters. Solidarizing with the outrage of black students who saw this as one more attempt to prevent blacks from enjoying the same democratic rights as whites in Chicago, we counterpose to support for black Democrat Washington the need to break with the racist capitalist parties and build a workers party to fight for black liberation through socialist revolution.

While Washington openly characterizes himself as "a product of the Machine," reformist pseudo-socialists are almost unanimously backing him as an "anti-Machine" candidate. Social-democratic *In These Times* (2-8 March) claims "the left" delivered the critical 6 percent white swing vote. The Democratic Socialists of America, house "socialists" of the Democratic Party, boast of 80 full-time Washington staff members, undoubtedly hoping for some "left wing of the possible" porkharreling. The Stalinist Communist Party and the Stalinoid Workers World Party can't expect any patronage plums, but for them Washington is a godsend: a popular black Democrat to refurbish the party of Jimmy "ethnic purity" Carter and George Wallace just in time for the anti-Reagan popular front in '84. Hardly a soul had heard about the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) "independent socialist" campaign until some Democrats offered them a million-dollar bribe to get off the ballot. SWP candidate Warren greeted Washington's victory (*Chicago Tribune*, 23 February), but now that their hand has been forced the SWP is trying to run a pro forma campaign.

Steve Kagan

"Crazy Jane" Byrne, the "white-in" candidate.

The racists may not like the idea of a black mayor but Washington is doing all he can to prove his loyalties to the capitalist system. He has pledged to do exactly *nothing* about segregated housing and schools, *refusing* to come out for busing. Even the Reaganite *Chicago Tribune* has endorsed him. It is not the Machine but the working class and oppressed minorities (both blacks and Hispanics, the latter who overwhelmingly voted for Byrne in the primary) that lose in this election. But as the successful Spartacist-initiated mobilizations that kept the Nazis from marching in Chicago on June 27 and stopped the Ku Klux Klan in D.C. on November 27 show, there is a class-struggle road forward to black freedom. Black Democrats like Harold Washington and D.C. mayor Marion Barry are a roadblock to such victories because they oppose the independent mobilization of blacks and labor against their capitalist oppressors. We need to finish the Civil War, to build a revolutionary workers party leading all of the oppressed in the fight for a workers government. ■

Spartacist Forum

For Workers Revolution Throughout Central America!

Speaker: **Jan Norden**
Editor, *Workers Vanguard*
SL Central Committee

Saturday, April 9, 7:30 p.m.
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Bank Crash of 1983?

(continued from page 1)

three decades. The volume of world trade is contracting for the first time in the postwar period as protectionist pressures are active in virtually every capitalist country.

Add to this bleak economic scene the spectre of a chain of major loan defaults collapsing the international financial system like a house of cards. The conservative and widely respected London *Economist* (11 December 1982) projected that if even one major debtor country, such as Mexico or Brazil, fails to meet just its interest payments (forget about the principal),

> "...it would send a hurricane through Wall Street; it would cause the certain collapse of a number of American banks; it would set the price of gold flying; it would produce political chaos in the defaulting country; and, worst of all, through a crisis in confidence, it would put off hopes of a world economic recovery."

Earlier, the *Economist* (16 October 1982) ran a cover story titled "The Crash of 198?"

For some time the possibility of worldwide capitalist financial collapse has been a subject of popular fiction. Paul Erdman's *The Crash of '79* caused quite a stir. Now the finest minds in the financial community are spinning out scenarios for a new Great Crash. A few months back the *Wall Street Journal* (10 November 1982) did a tongue-in-cheek

How Business Week views world financial scene.

version, "World Banking Bust: One Plot for a Tragedy in 8 Scenes and 12 Days." Scene six is set in Buenos Aires:

> "Hector Aquinas-Marx, the finance minister of Argentina's new Socialist-Labor government, assembles a group of foreign bankers and announces that Argentina is repudiating its $55 billion of foreign debt. This is a profound shock to the bankers, who for one thing thought that Argentina had only borrowed $40 billion."

While the *Wall Street Journal* might indulge in gallows humor, there is nothing to laugh about for the tens of millions of working people whose lives are being destroyed by the workings of the capitalist world market.

The politicians and ideologues of American capitalism are forever selling the line that "free enterprise" is the ticket to prosperity. A year before the bank crash of September 1929 and the onset of the Great Depression, Herbert Hoover declared confidently, "We in America today are nearer to the final triumph over poverty than ever before in the history of any land." In the 1950s liberal economist John Kenneth Galbraith wrote *The Affluent Society* proclaiming that depressions were a thing of the past. Today, Depression USA is here, and the possibility of far deeper economic crisis arising out of an international financial collapse is no longer being denied by leading capitalist figures.

The Reaganites blame Democratic Party "big spenders" while the Democrats and union bureaucrats blame "Reaganomics" and the Japanese, spreading the nationalist poison of protectionism. But economic crises such as we are now experiencing are inherent in the boom-bust cycle of capitalism. The hard times of mass unemployment and bankruptcies are but the flip side of the "good times" of speedup and wild speculation, and it will remain so as long as production is for profit rather than social need. The bourgeoisie would have loved to mark the centenary of Karl Marx's death with a celebration of crisis-free capitalism, but it's hard to do so when there are mile-long job lines and cheese lines, and even the *Wall Street Journal* is spinning out scenarios for a crash. It is up to the working class, which produces the surplus value that is the life-blood of capitalism, to put an end to the system that brings misery to the millions, and billions to Wall Street. Expropriate the expropriators through socialist revolution!

Winning and Losing the "Recycling" Game

The present international financial crunch has its direct origins in the collapse of the so-called Bretton Woods monetary system when in August 1971 Nixon ended the convertability of the dollar into gold. Freed from the "discipline" of the fixed exchange rates, most capitalist governments went on a spending spree. Budget deficits were financed by running the printing press. Balance-of-payments deficits were "adjusted" by currency devaluation, which further fueled inflation. The inflationary world boom of 1971-73 set the stage for the subsequent oil price explosion.

In the wake of the October 1973 Arab-Israeli war, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), dominated by Saudi Arabia, in collusion with the Anglo-American and Dutch oil cartel (the "Seven Sisters") quadrupled the price of oil. Then five years later the Arab sheiks and the Seven Sisters, taking advantage of the mullahs running amok in Iran, doubled the price of oil. (For a historical analysis of OPEC and its effect on the world capitalist economy, see "World Oil Blow Out," *WV* No. 236, 20 July 1979.)

Imperialist spokesmen have routinely blamed the OPEC "oil shocks" for all the ills of the world capitalist economy. Henry Kissinger set the tone when in December 1973 he protested in Nixon's name to his good friend the shah of Iran:

> "The President is greatly concerned over the destabilizing impact that the price increases agreed to at Tehran for Persian Gulf crudes will have on the world's economy and the catastrophic problems it could pose for the international monetary system. Not only will it result in raising the prices of manufactured products, but it will have [a] severe repressive effect on the economies of the oil consumers which could cause a worldwide recession...."
> —reproduced in *Years of Upheaval* (1982)

MERIP

David Rockefeller (right) with one of the sheiks of OPEC, Bahrain's Sulman. Partners in exploiting the world.

Believing that the battle of Marathon in 490 B.C. was a mere temporary setback on the road to Persian world domination, shah Pahlavi was quite unperturbed about the effect of skyrocketing oil prices on the Western economies. But in the end it didn't do him much good either.

While Western bankers were publicly denouncing OPEC for ruining the world economy, they were doing everything possible to climb aboard the gravy train. Some like the Rockefellers and Mellons were already in on the act through their ownership of Exxon, Gulf and the other Sisters. Between 1973 and 1975 oil company profits jumped from $6.80 to $8.20 a barrel. Soon every big moneyman in the Western world was scrambling to get a share of Arab petrodollars and re-lend it at higher interest. This was known in the trade as "recycling."

Needless to say, Arab oil money was *not* recycled to those countries which most desperately needed it, to the starving masses of the Indian subcontinent and most of black Africa. The petrodollars were re-lent mainly to other oil producers (Mexico, Nigeria, Venezuela) and to a few of the most developed Latin American countries which were also expected to benefit from commodity price inflation: Brazil (iron ore and coffee) and Argentina (grain and meat).

The big borrowers assumed that in a world of permanent inflation they could always pay back with cheaper dollars. The banks assumed they would always get their money, even if its real value was somewhat depreciated. This was not so terrible, since most of their own liabilities to their depositors were also in fixed money terms (not indexed for inflation).

The recycling was done mainly through the Eurocurrency market (footloose money-capital, mostly dollars, held outside its home country). Interestingly, the Eurocurrency market was invented by the Russians. In the early 1950s the Soviet-owned Moscow Narodny Bank in London and Banque Commerciale pour l'Europe du Nord in Paris decided not to deposit their dollar holdings in the U.S. for fear they might be confiscated at the height of the Cold War/McCarthyite hysteria. Thus did the Communists—"The focus of evil in the modern world" according to Reagan—start a revolution in international capitalist finance.

During the past decade one-third of all Eurocurrency loans have gone to Latin America. In 1982 Latin American countries owed the banks $200 billion, twice as much as all countries in Asia and Africa combined. Another $100 billion is owed to official government agencies. Last year the debt service for Argentina, Mexico, Brazil, Chile and Venezuela was *over 100 percent* of their export earnings. Interest payments alone amounted to over 40 percent of export earnings for Brazil, Argentina and Chile and almost 40 percent for Mexico (Pedro-Pablo Kuczynski, "Latin American Debt," *Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1982/83).

Pride of place in the world debtors league—at $80 billion—belongs to Mexico. When fabulous oil deposits (second only to Saudi Arabia's) were discovered off Mexico in the mid-late 1970s, a veritable army of Yankee bankers descended upon Mexican officials and capitalists to offer them a deal they could not refuse. With much justice, one Mexican official recently exclaimed to the *Wall Street Journal* (22 October 1982), "Those bastards got us into this hole. Now they're trying to bleed us for everything we have." One of the bastards in question defended himself by arguing that this was like blaming the candy store for your cavities. To this the *Wall Street Journal* commented acidly, "it is more appropriate to say the bankers were like pushers supplying a drug addict."

Even after the world oil market weakened and the Mexican economy was obviously in trouble, the bankers kept pushing high-interest *short-term* loans. As late as December 1981, just months before the roof caved in, Manufacturer Hanover's man in Mexico City assured the financial world that, "The tremendous oil revenues—more than 70 percent of the total income—also enable Mexico to insulate itself from many of the problems plaguing other developing nations" (*Byline*, December 1981).

What is involved here is not simply idiot optimism and greed unrestrained by foresight. Wall Street knew that the U.S. government would not let any of the really big banks go bust. Paradoxically, the greater the loans to Mexico, the greater the impact of a default, the greater the likelihood of a government bailout. John Maynard Keynes observed that if you owe a bank a thousand pounds and can't pay, you're in trouble. But if you owe the bank a million pounds and can't pay, then the bank's in trouble. We can add that Chase Manhattan and the others have a friend at the U.S. Treasury to whom they take such troubles. The million Ghanaian workers brutally expelled from Nigeria, the Mexican workers and peasants now facing savage austerity measures have lost the recycling game; the Wall Street banks have not.

Puncturing the Oil Price Boom

Even if the price of oil and other commodities had remained relatively high, interest rates relatively low and the advanced capitalist countries had not suffered a depression there was no way that Mexico, Argentina et al. could have repaid their loans as scheduled. In the past few years the Latin American economies have been hit by a succession of blows which turned a rescheduling problem into a financial catastrophe.

The first blow was the election of Ronald Reagan as president of the United States. This anti-Communist fanatic has financed a massive arms buildup designed to incinerate the Soviet Union by the unusual, not to say unorthodox, method of lowering taxes. To restrain the inflationary impact of the huge budget deficits, the supply of money and credit was squeezed hard. The predictable result was that real

interest rates (subtracting the inflation rate) went through the ceiling. Shortly after Reagan took office, former West German chancellor Helmut Schmidt angrily spoke of "the highest interest rates in Germany since the birth of Christ, as far as real interest rates are concerned."

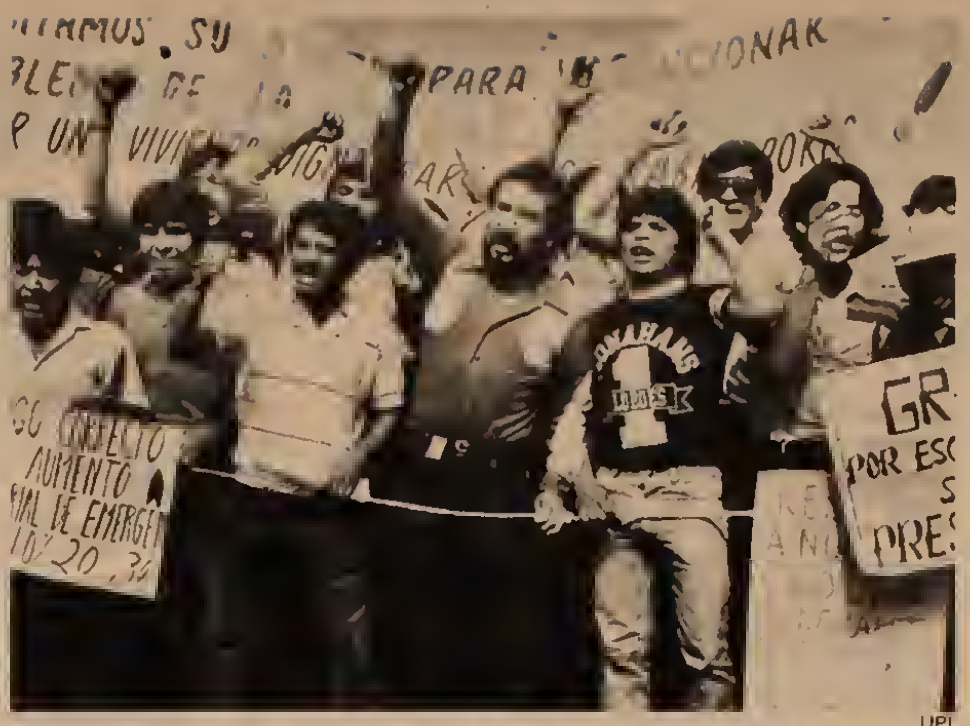
The effect of "the highest interest rates since the birth of Christ" was especially disastrous for the debt-ridden economies of Latin America. In the late 1970s real long-term interest rates were in the 2-3 percent range. This was a major factor inducing Mexican and Brazilian capitalists and officials to borrow in a big way. The Eurocurrency dealers, however, protected themselves by incorporating into most of these loans the new-fangled device of floating interest rates. In the past few years real interest rates have floated up to the 7-8 percent level. In other words, the interest burden on Latin American debtors has increased 300 to 400 percent in the past five years!

And while interest rates have now reached historic highs, the world slump has driven export prices for primary products to historic lows. Over the past two years the world-market price of foodstuffs has plummeted by 32 percent, of metals by 19 percent and of fibers by 17 percent (*Economist*, 15 January).

OPEC managed to postpone a similar free fall in oil prices only through a severe cutback in production. But even the sheiks of Araby could not long defy the laws of the capitalist world market. It costs about 50 cents to produce a barrel of oil in the Arabian peninsula. Until last week it sold for $34, a mark-up of a mere 7,000 percent. Super-monopoly profits of this magnitude cannot last forever. $34 a barrel for Saudi Light spurred the development of high-cost oilfields such as the North Sea (production cost about $20 a barrel) and the substitution of other fossil fuels (natural gas, coal). On top of these micro-economic changes came the world depression, producing an oil glut which finally cracked the OPEC pricing cartel.

Between 1979 and 1982 oil production in the OPEC countries fell 30 percent, from 30 to 18 million barrels a day (mb/d). The Research Group of Petroleum Exporters' Policies estimated that 5 mb/d were lost to non-OPEC oil producers (Mexico, Britain, etc.) and to other forms of energy, while 3.5 mb/d was the drop in demand caused by the world slump. In addition the oil companies drew down their stocks in anticipation of a price cut.

By last summer two OPEC members, Nigeria and Iran, were heavily "discounting" their oil to maximize revenue; the former to pay its overdue import bills, the latter to finance its *jihad* against the "little Satans" of neighboring Iraq. The oil price war got



UPI

Striking Mexican workers demonstrate outside the presidential palace last November as IMF-ordered austerity slashes living standards.

underway in earnest last month when Britain and Norway cut their prices and Nigeria followed suit openly breaking with OPEC. To salvage something from the wreckage the Arab sheiks agreed to cut the benchmark price of Saudi Light from $34 to $29 a barrel and reallocate production quotas. No one thinks this will end the price war. Indeed, it is not likely even a cease-fire.

Bailing Out the Banks

One might expect that the disintegration of OPEC would be greeted by imperialist spokesmen with unrestrained jubilation. Sheik Yamani and his kinsmen have finally got their comeuppance. But, in fact, the response of Wall Street and the City of London to the oil price war has been decidedly mixed. Bankers know that for every cut of a dollar in the price of a barrel of oil, the greater the chances that Mexico as well as Venezuela and Nigeria will default. One World Bank economist predicts: "If oil falls below $25 a barrel, Mexico would have no choice but to declare a moratorium on its debt, which, in order to keep a couple of major U.S. banks afloat, would require an infusion of capital from the Fed" (*New York Times*, 13 March). And it is not only the big international moneymen who gambled that the oil boom was a sure thing. The largest U.S. bank to go bust recently, Penn Square of Oklahoma City, did a booming business with Southwestern wildcatters who drilled too many dry holes.

The fears of the financial community were caught by the respected Wall Street economist Sam Nakagama:

> "In the long run a plunge in oil prices might be a very good thing for the world economy. But in the short run it could be a devastating shock. And unfortunately, we all live in the short run."
> —*Business Week*, 7 March

With its usual archness the London *Economist* (11 December 1982) observed: "It is not surprising that a number of heretical bankers have become stronger advocates than Sheikh Yamani of higher oil prices." Those who appreciate the ironies of history and the contradictions of capitalism will note that some of the same imperialist spokesmen, Henry Kissinger for one, who used to attack OPEC for destabilizing the world economy are now warning of the dangers of a too sharp fall in oil prices.

Whenever a big corporation faces bankruptcy or a bank a major default, these capitalists' first instinct is to latch onto the public teat. "If my firm folds, this will have grave reprecussions for the national (world) economy," is the standard refrain. Wall Street financiers are now singing this tune in the high C range. An especially vocal advocate for a great international bank bailout is Felix Rohatyn, partner in the Wall Street investment bankers Lazard Frères and a Democratic Party braintruster. Rohatyn gained a reputation as a capitalist Mr. Fixit as head of the Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC) which has squeezed New York City for the banks. He is now campaigning for a "worldwide MAC" which would take over and repay the bank loans on the one hand, and bleed the population of the debtor countries on the other.

Rohatyn points out that the basis for such an operation already exists in the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the world bankers' cartel:

> "The IMF can be seen as a worldwide version of MAC....
> "The IMF, in exchange for financial assistance designed to restructure debt, demands that the countries it helps (!) institute stringent anti-inflationary measures. It asks for currency devaluations to stimulate exports, reductions of local subsidies for foodstuffs and other products, less support for nationalized industries, and lower domestic budgets."
> —"The State of the Banks," *New York Review of Books*, 4 November 1982

Rohatyn's solution: strengthen the financial base and powers of the IMF.

The annual meeting of the IMF in Toronto last September—"there's the smell of the 1930s in the corridor talk," reported one participant—witnessed an unusual alliance of bankers and "Third World" ministers demanding a substantial increase in its funds, between 50 and 100 percent. "An increase in the I.M.F.'s resources would put the Mexican and Argentine problems in a much better perspective," declared Robin Leigh-Pemberton, chairman of London's National Westminster Bank. It would for him. More money for the IMF "would be a confidence builder for the international financial system," echoed an executive vice president of the Union Bank of California (*New York Times*, 9 September 1982).

The Reagan administration initially dragged its feet over IMF refunding, and the U.S. delegation were odd men out at the September conference. Treasury secretary Donald Regan pleaded that not a dime could be spared from the trillion dollar Pentagon budget, that was sacrosanct:

> "We cannot do everything. We cannot be the defender of the Western world, as we know we are, and have high defense expenditures and at the same time run the domestic social programs that we have been running and give as much financial aid abroad as we have."

Another U.S. official stated bluntly before the IMF conference: "We don't believe in free lunches for the Third World" (*Euromoney*, August 1982).

It took a few months for the bankers to get through to the Reaganites that the free lunch was *not* going to the "Third World" but to themselves. We own the "Third World," you idiots, the Rockefellers and Morgans told the president's men. Despite all its "free market" rhetoric and attacks on the sinfulness of the modern world, this right-wing Republican administration dares not gore the ox of the Eastern monied establishment. On occasion the Wall Streeters have to apply a two-by-four to the thick skulls of the Reaganites, but this always works. For example, last summer when Jaruzelski's Poland skipped a payment on loans guaranteed by the Department of Agriculture's Commodity Credit Corp., the Treasury duly picked up the tab to avoid forcing an international default. The *Commentary* crowd, Albert Shanker and the other "AFL-CIA" types screamed that Reagan had sold out the crusade against Communism for the bankers' filthy lucre. But the bankers' filthy lucre is what capitalism is all about.

By December Reagan, Regan & Co. predictably did an about-face and are now proposing that the Treasury give the IMF $10 billion to buy the Rockefellers and Morgans a free lunch. And that's just for openers. The money the IMF is lending to Mexico and Argentina is going right to Wall Street and the City of London as interest payments. So add to the trillion dollar war budget billions more to bail out the banks. And that means higher taxes, higher interest rates, more savage cutbacks especially for the old and the poor.

While preaching the virtues of nineteenth-century American capitalism, the Reagan regime is planning to run budget deficits over the next five years greater than the cumulative budget deficit in the previous 200 years of the American federal government! This massive government borrowing will cripple private capitalist investment, aborting any possibility for a strong or sustained recovery. Despite a recent upturn in economic activity, the latest *Business Week* (21 March) survey indicates that real investment in new plant and equipment will *fall* by 9 percent this year. Some recovery!

A recent *Business Week*/Louis Harris poll of 600 top-level corporate executives also indicates that only 3 percent (who must have spent the past two years on another planet) think that Reagan's handling of the budget is "excellent," while 65 percent grade the president "fair" to "poor." These capitalist managers are not concerned with fiscal orthodoxy in some ideological sense but with the financial health of their *own* businesses. And the overwhelming majority of those interviewed believe that they will have trouble competing with the Treasury for money-capital if government borrowing is anything like the huge amounts now projected. Their answer is not to cut the military—here they're in basic agreement with Reagan—but to take an ax to Social Security entitlement programs. Let the aged, the unemployed, the black ghetto poor pay back the Bank of

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Setboun/Sipa

One million Ghanaian migrant workers are driven out of Nigeria as the oil price boom collapses.

Strange Sprouts in Barnes' Yard

There was a time when the opportunism of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) at least made sense from the standpoint of reformist recruitment. Petty-bourgeois student youth could join the SWP/YSA in the late '60s and early '70s and enthuse over the then-fashionable guerrilla movements, feminism and black nationalist rhetoric. But ever since those youth graduated to the McGovernite Democratic Party in 1972, the SWP has had a hard time finding attractive "vanguards" as a substitute for the working-class struggle against capitalism.

In 1979 the *Militant* began enthusing over the reactionary ayatollah Khomeini of Iran, but the lack of a mass movement of American Islamic mullahs proved to be an insuperable obstacle. While ayatollah Jack Barnes purged the last of the old-time SWPers, who vaguely remembered that Trotskyism is supposed to have something to dn with the working class, he conjured up a new "vanguard": the "family farmers." This will prove to be almost as fruitful as the movement of American mullahs.

So suddenly the SWP's *Militant* is a "workers and farmers" newspaper: "Farmers' struggle: who are its allies?... Family farmers reap bitter harvest... Farmers' protests slandered" cry the headlines. To buttress their new opportunist appetite, the SWP regurgitates the American populist image of the struggling "family farmer," eking out a meager living in battle against the giant cartels of grain speculators, railroad magnates and bankers. Last year Doug Jenness presented the SWP line in a huge document spread over six solid pages of the *Militant* (*International Socialist Review*, July 1982), sliding deceptively from a description of the super-oppressed Chicano/black/Puerto Rican migrant laborers into a discussion of the "farmer-workers." He concluded:

> "They [the family farmers] create a product with labor done with their hands and those of their families.... The ruling class attempts to convince them that, as farmers, they are businessmen with interests different from and opposed to labor. But they are not capitalists who exploit labor, not even small capitalists. They are independent, exploited commodity producers."

Shades of *Grapes of Wrath*, and images of Okies sitting on the doorsteps of their run-down shacks. But this is an absurdly outdated picture of the American farmer, who since World War II has not only greatly diminished in number but has become a relatively privileged stratum of the American petty bourgeoisie.

Even though Barnes has now explicitly repudiated Trotskyism (see *WV* No. 321, 14 January), the SWP still tries to justify the current line by references to the Trotskyist Transitional Program of 1938, which among other things calls for a "workers and farmers government." For Trotsky this was nothing but "the popular designation for the already established dictatorship of the proletariat," while for the ex-Trotskyist SWP of the '60s it became a codeword for petty-bourgeois regimes like Castro's in 1959-60, *before* the capitalists were expropriated, or the Nicaraguan Sandinistas. Now under Barnes it is being extended to appeal to a relatively affluent sector of the petty bourgeoisie and even small capitalists, pretending that Iowa is Cuba. Trotsky ridiculed the attempt to apply the workers and farmers government slogan to Germany in the 1930s, analogous to the U.S. today, asking:

> "Where, in Germany, is there a revolutionary peasant movement?... When we speak of a workers' and peasants' government then we confuse the farm laborer, the agricultural worker, who in Germany is a thousand times more important to us than the abstract 'peasant' or the 'middle peasant' who is hostile to us.... We can only neutralize the intermediary layers of peasants by rallying the proletariat under the slogan of a workers' government."
>
> —Leon Trotsky,
> "An Explanation in a Circle of Friends," September 1931

The slogan of a workers and farmers government had some validity in the 1930s in the U.S., when there were about ten million "family workers" on the farms (plus another three million or so "hired workers," according to the Department of Agriculture), but it is absolutely absurd in the U.S. today, when the "family workers" have declined to about 2.4 million and farming has become big business. In fact, American agriculture has a higher ratio of capital investment per worker than the steel industry. The typical farm in the U.S. requires an investment of $100,000 to $500,000 or more, and the average annual gross income per farm was about $68,000 in 1980. Furthermore, 40 percent of all American farmers hire labor; half of those employ three or more workers and so basically live off the exploitation of others. While the SWP keeps trying to draw analogies with Castro's Cuba, they are not dealing with super-oppressed campesinos in the U.S.!

THE MILITANT

Small farmers make gains with Cuban revolution

Farmers' struggle: who are its allies?

LaRouche program is not the way forward

Family farmers reap bitter harvest

Farmers' protests slandered

'In These Times' echoes lies of big-business media

SWP: "vanguard" for small farmers?

To be sure, there *are* some oppressed farmers struggling under a mountain of debt who merit working-class defense against foreclosure, but to advertise the American Agriculture Movement (AAM) as a movement of oppressed "family farmers," as the *Militant* tries to do repeatedly, is like calling the American Medical Association a movement of oppressed doctors. But of course social reality has never deterred the *Militant* from prettifying its latest "vanguard." When the social-democratic paper *In These Times* (*ITT*, 19-25 January) merely noted that the "militant" co-founder of AAM, Jerry Wright of Colorado, made right-wing comments about "the international Jewish-Bolshevik cartel," the *Militant* (11 February) launched a lengthy counter-attack asserting that the *ITT* article was just another "smear" job on the AAM "rebels." In the same article, "Farmers' Protests Slandered" (*Militant*, 11 February), Jenness similarly painted AAM leader Alvin Jenkins in bright colors because the latter "inspires his audiences by pointing to the example of the civil rights movement." Naturally Jenness omitted the fact that Jenkins was a delegate to the 1980 Republican convention and was on the platform committee!

It says much about the real nature of Jenkins' outfit that the SWP's main competitor in this milieu is the fascistic, anti-Semitic organization of Lyndon LaRouche. Thus, the 25 February *Militant* contains a polemical article, "Farmers' struggles: who are its allies?", subtitled "LaRouche program is not the way forward." Perhaps the next *Militant* will tell us "Where the Klan goes wrong on democratic rights." Only a working-class upsurge can pull the petty bourgeoisie into struggle against capitalism, but that road was abandoned long ago by the SWP.

At least it is getting easier and easier to prove that the SWP has nothing to do with Trotskyism or workers revolution. And Barnes is going to have a harder and harder time keeping the dwindling number of SWP/YSA members down on the farm. ■

Bank Crash of 1983?...

(continued from page 7)

America's Mexican loans as well as pay for the Trident submarines. That's the American capitalist party line, Democratic and Republican.

Will Mexico Explode?

While the IMF-organized bank bailout will further weaken and depress the U.S. economy, the main victims will be the working people of Mexico, Brazil, Argentina and the other debtor countries. At the same time, the U.S. imperialists know that imposing austerity on Mexico, in particular, is a dangerous game. It could provoke a massive social upheaval on the southern border of the bastion of the "free world." The dominoes of revolution in Central America could topple northward. Democratic Party super-hawk Henry "the Senator from Boeing" Jackson worries:

> "My concern from the beginning has been that Mexico is the ultimate objective of those forces seeking to destabilize countries in Central America. Mexico's the ultimate target.
>
> "There are severe problems in Mexico that could be utilized in an effort to destabilize it. Serious unemployment. Unrest. Corruption. The financial problems. It's all there."
>
> —*New York Times*, 1 March

When the Wall Street bankers and their hirelings in Washington look across the Rio Grande, they see the peril not only of a $80 billion default but also of social revolution.

Despite these political fears, the laws of the capitalist world market dictate austerity for Mexico. In his inaugural speech of December 1 the new president, Miguel de la Madrid declared: "The first months of the Government will be arduous and difficult. The situation requires it. The austerity is obligatory." Within weeks prices were raised for all goods and services provided by the state, including electricity, telephones, road and rail transportation, urban transit. Consumption (value-added) taxes were doubled and income taxes increased 10 percent. Subsidies were slashed for a broad range of consumer goods, including such basic foodstuffs as beans and corn tortillas.

Entire industries have been crippled, especially those which depend on imports of raw materials and intermediate goods. The country's foreign exchange reserves are being swallowed up by interest payments. The *Wall Street Journal* (11 March) reports:

> "By making dollars expensive—and scarce through rationing—the government hopes to force firms to import less and export more....
>
> "So for them, the government's fiscal cure is going to mean no raw materials, no products to sell, no money to pay the bills—and bankruptcy."

Even central bank director Miguel Mancera admits that "in some cases this may mean bankruptcies." Meanwhile, all major government construction projects have been canceled or suspended. And if oil prices really crash, the current austerity will seem mild compared to what will happen.

How much will the Mexican working class with its powerful trade unions take? That is the question being asked on Wall Street and in Washington as well as in the elegant villas of Lomas de Chapultepec. In January U.S. ambassador to Mexico John Gavin (yes, the former Hollywood actor) cabled his bosses a warning of possible labor trouble ahead. Gavin came back worried after meeting with the *businessmen's* organization Concanaco, an umbrella group of local chambers of commerce. Concanaco officials pointed out that "the real value of the minimum wage would be lower in 1983 than in 1970," and predicted "this would be difficult for organized labor to accept and absorb" (*Wall Street Journal*, 11 January). Clearly, Mexico has become a social volcano.

The standard brand of nationalist populism peddled for decades by Mexican and other Latin American radical demagogues is powerless before the current world capitalist crisis. If a nationalist regime in Mexico or Argentina were to repudiate its debts to Wall Street and the City of London, imperialist retaliation would bring these dependent capitalist economies to their knees. There is no solution for the Latin American masses short of workers revolution and the establishment of socialist economic planning on a continent-wide scale.

Mexico, in particular, could be the Achilles heel of American imperialism. When actor-ambassador Gavin worries that the leftist insurgencies sweeping Central America could "spill over" into Mexico, he is expressing a real fear for the capitalist order and a real possibility for the workers and oppressed. A socialist revolution in Mexico with its oil wealth and strong industrial proletariat and, not least, its organic ties to the millions of Chicano workers in the United States would be a powerful blow shaking the final domino in the world capitalist system. ■

Angry Auto Workers Say:

No Sweetheart Deal at Fremont!

OAKLAND—Three weeks ago laid-off members of UAW Local 1364 vowed to fight by any tactics necessary the GM/Toyota plan to reopen the Fremont plant without recalling union workers and under open shop conditions. Since then, a thousand high-seniority Fremont workers came demanding action at two "informational meetings" called by the UAW International. They were angry as regional representatives bullied, lied and evaded questions from the floor about the fate of Local 1364 and its members.

In Oakland on March 10 Region 6 International rep Earlie Mays said that GM/Toyota is a "new company." This buys the auto bosses' line that the "new company" has no contractual relations with the old workers. One angry worker at the Oakland meeting yelled at Mays, "New company means no union, right?"

Local 1364 members made their position clear in the February 27 local meeting when they voted overwhelmingly for a motion raised by class-struggle oppositionists of the UAW Militant Caucus stating the UAW must use "every tactic necessary" to guarantee rehiring by seniority and no substandard contract. The entire Bay Area labor movement must join the UAW in ensuring that nothing moves in or out of that plant until laid-off UAW members are recalled and a decent union agreement is signed.

The International's policies were responsible for the Fremont workers losing their jobs without a fight in 1982 when the GM Fremont plant was closed. At that time the Militant Caucus fought for a sit-down strike against the closure. The sellout policies of the International threaten to prevent a fight to get those jobs back in '84.

At the meeting in Oakland Earlie ("yakkety yak don't talk back") Mays made the International's position clear: there's going to be concessions and the name of the game is productivity. Members in attendance told *Workers Vanguard* Mays lectured the workers to be "more productive, learn to come to work, and start chinning the bar." He warned that GM is compiling individuals' absence records right now in preparation for the Fremont hiring. To underscore the point he cited the case of a Fremont worker rejected for a job at the GM Oklahoma City plant on the grounds of absenteeism.

Solidarity House spelled out its position in an article in the San Francisco *Examiner* (13 March): "Although the Fremont local has demanded that all rehiring be strictly on seniority basis, UAW headquarters spokesman Peter Laarman [UAW assistant director of public relations and publicity] said it appeared likely the union will make concessions to allow the new company *flexibility in hiring* and work rules" (our emphasis). So the message from Solidarity House to the Fremont workers is that when and if you get your jobs back, you're going to have to bust your ass, and the International will make sure that you do.

WV Photos

Supporter of the UAW Militant Caucus (right) campaigns for union to take whatever actions are necessary to ensure that laid-off union members are recalled on basis of seniority when shut down Fremont plant reopens.

The Local 1364 leadership has formed a united front with the International against the membership. The formerly competing bureaucratic cliques have now combined into a single caucus called, appropriately enough, the "Administration Caucus" and issued a campaign leaflet calling for "unity with the International." When he's face to face with the membership Mays has to talk out of both sides of his mouth to make it sound like he is uniting the members for a seniority recall when what he is clearly trying to do is line up the Fremont workers behind Fraser's sellout.

The International is groveling to GM and Toyota for representation on literally *any* terms. Fraser is begging the auto bosses to take concessions and he is prepared to go along with the companies' declared intentions to first hire whom they want and *afterward* hold union certification elections starting from scratch. It's no secret who the companies would weed out: older workers, those with work injuries and above all union activists. This prescription for union-busting must be defeated.

At a second "informational meeting" in Fremont, International representatives tried to rule the explosive GM/Toyota deal off the agenda altogether and entertained only questions on benefits and individual cases. But this meeting too erupted in angry shouting matches between the members and officials on the podium over forced relocation of high-seniority workers to GM jobs in Oklahoma on the threat of losing their Guaranteed Income Stream (GIS) benefits.

A Detroit *Free Press* (18 March) article "UAW Meeting Erupts Over GM Transfers" reported workers were angry over the forced relocation and demanded to know about jobs at the reopened Fremont plant. It quoted union militant Karen Allen, "Why are you guys so willing to send people to Oklahoma when they've put in so many good years here and there are jobs here?" A leaflet by Allen and the UAW Militant Caucus urged:

> "Every tactic necessary must be used, from mass picketing to seal off the plant, stopping any non-union labor from going in for any work, to plant occupations.... Our bottom line must be that nothing goes in or out of that plant until GM and Toyota agree that all hiring will be laid-off UAW members, strictly by seniority, with full contract rights on wages and working conditions."

After this angry reaction, Owen Bieber, Doug Fraser's designated heir for the UAW presidency, is to try his hand next at shoving this stinking deal down Fremont workers' throats at yet another "informational meeting" in Fremont March 22. The cop role of Solidarity House was expressed most clearly by the auto union chief joining management while wringing multi-*billion* dollar concession contracts out of the membership. When he retires from his UAW position in May Fraser is staying on the Chrysler board of directors.

The implications of the union-busting drive at Fremont go far beyond its immediate victims. If it succeeds in a big industrial union local and labor stronghold like the Bay Area, the bosses will export it everywhere. The Fremont plant is scheduled to open when the present national UAW contract expires in September 1984, and massive takeaways here are intended to set a pattern for the national negotiations. Already the Steelworkers union has adopted a mammoth wage-cutting concessions contract in the mold of the 1979-82 UAW givebacks.

Toyota, Nissan Motors, Honda and other foreign manufacturers are setting up shop in the U.S. to avoid protectionist penalties like those proposed in the UAW-sponsored "local content" bill. The Fremont GM/Toyota deal is the payoff for Fraser, but for the union it's the kissoff. American manufacturers, including Chrysler which now wants a partnership with the Japanese, are looking for small-car technology and new ways to drive down labor costs, mainly by gutting the unions.

Ford Motor Company and the UAW International recently agreed on a sweetheart contract featuring imitation-Japanese "lifetime job security" in Chicago's Local 551. Like GIS, "lifetime" means until September 1984 or the loopholes come to light, whichever comes first, and it is tied to unlimited forced overtime and seniority busting. The Local 551 membership rejected it overwhelmingly March 19.

The Fremont story is far from finished. The bosses want to turn the clock back 50 years and make auto plants into the racist, anti-union hellholes they were in the 1930s. As limited as it is, what seniority means is protection from racist, chauvinist, anti-union discrimination and slave-driving by the bosses. That is what the UAW tops are willing to give up with their genteel phrases like "concessions on work rules and hiring." Fremont is the prototype, only this time instead of Ford's private army of company thugs to terrorize and discipline the workers, Fraser, Bieber and their flunkies are promising to play that role.

The UAW's shameful cooperation with the GM/Toyota scam may provoke the thousands of angry auto workers ready to fight for their jobs to kick aside the sellout Fraser gang. What's needed is a class-struggle opposition to lead that fight. There must be a massive labor mobilization to stop the union-busting at Fremont. No sweetheart deal! Unchain the UAW! ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Ann Arbor
c/o SYL
P.O. Box 8364
Ann Arbor, MI 48107
(313) 662-2339

Berkeley/Oakland
P.O. Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 835-1535

Boston
Box 840, Central Station
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Chicago
Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 427-0003

Cleveland
Box 91954
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 621-5138

Detroit
Box 32717
Detroit, MI 48232
(313) 961-1680

Houston
Box 26474
Houston, TX 77207

Los Angeles
Box 29574
Los Feliz Station
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 663-1216

Madison
c/o SYL
Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701
(608) 251-3398

New York
Box 444
Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk
P.O. Box 1972
Main P.O.
Norfolk, VA 23501
(804) 543-4300

San Francisco
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.
210 7th St. S.E., Suite E12
Washington, D.C. 20003
(202) 636-3537

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Vancouver
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C. V6C 2L8
(604) 681-2422

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

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Toronto, Ontario Phone (416) 593-4138

Killer Cop...

(continued from page 4)

care center that a poor black woman could afford. The government is closing the few federally funded day care centers, cutting back on aid to dependent children. Like hundreds of thousands of mothers, Patricia Ridge had been forced to choose between food, shelter and clothing for her family on the one hand, or day care. There is no way in this society she could afford it all. And then the state sends its killer cops after the children.

Every morning mothers leave their children at home agonizing over the possibility of a home accident, a boiler explosion, robbery, the all-too common landlord arson. Now poor mothers must understand that the killer cops not only have a license to kill on the streets, their children are not safe from them even in their own bedrooms. The "ladies" of the Junior League who have nannies and maids for their offspring get real haughty about the "irresponsibility" of working mothers with their "key children." But Patrick Mason was sitting at home watching TV! And for that they're going to bring his mother up on murder charges!

Last week Patricia Ridge filed a $20 million wrongful death claim against the city of Stanton and against Sperl. Her lawyer Richard Farnell explained she had been forced to quit her job because of the emotional trauma of her son's murder. Patricia Ridge deserves all she can get from the killers of her child, but no amount of money can make up for this hideous act of racist murder.

The racism of the child-killer cops is matched only by their cowardice. Even in war, soldiers know the killing of children is a shameful thing. A 1959 West German movie, *The Bridge*, portrayed the last-ditch defense of a town on the Rhine by a squad of youth. They are blasted away by the American tanks. But the tough sergeants were struck with horror when they saw that the dead defenders were no older than Boy Scouts. Another example: in the movie *Dr. Zhivago*, there's a scene where some young cadets just out of the academy are sent by the Whites up against the Bolshevik cavalry. The victorious Bolsheviks are sick later to see the young bodies lying on the open field. Or in Mexico in 1847, when U.S. General Scott marched with his malaria-infected troops from Veracruz into Mexico City. The final battle was the scaling of the fortified hill of Chapultepec. On the crest stood the Mexican military academy valiantly defended by 100 boy cadets, *Los Niños*, who made a suicidal stand shouting "*Viva México!*" The American troops were mortified. But the L.A. killer cops are something else.

To engage in the slaughter of children, you have to be pretty degenerate—like Somoza who grooved on the fact that in the last days of his rule they killed 50,000 people in the cities, rounding up and shooting every boy age 14 and over. Or at the height of Stalin's purges, when the government authorized the execution of children down to the age of *12*. The French Stalinists cynically defended this horror, arguing that children mature fast under socialism! The Nazis, of course, had no compunction at all about killing women or children of "inferior" races—witness the bodies upon bodies piled up live by the SS Einsatzgruppen in mass graves at Babi Yar. The victims weren't seen as human. This kind of fascist mentality is now being seen in L.A. It was Chief Darryl Gates who last year said blacks die more often from choke holds than "normal people." This is a chilling indication of the rising line of racism in America.

As Orange County Deputy D.A. Tony Rackauckas told the press, "We're going to take to the grand jury the question of whether or not the police officer Anthony Sperl was below that high standard of professional conduct we have a right to expect." And just what are those "high standards"? The killer cops of Signal Hill, where black college football star Ron Settles was "hanged" in his cell after being picked up on a traffic ticket? The L.A. sheriff's deputies who just last April blasted nine-months pregnant Delois Young in the stomach and chest, killing her unborn child, when she opened the door at 2 a.m.? To say nothing of the kill-crazed LAPD who have strangled to death and shot down in cold blood *dozens* of innocent black victims in the past few years—and not one single killer cop has ever been convicted.

The savage murder of Patrick Mason has sparked repeated demonstrations and protests. Outraged telephone workers of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) in Los Angeles CWA Local 11502 raised a motion in their union meeting demanding all charges and investigations against Patricia Ridge be dropped, the killer cop be jailed, and the local donate $500 to the Patrick Mason Memorial Fund. MAC supporters told *WV* that the exec board instead passed a mealy-mouthed resolution and donated $250 to the fund. A Partisan Defense Committee telegram to the Orange County D.A. has demanded all charges and pending charges of Ridge be dropped and Sperl jailed.

In the ghettos and *barrios* of Southern California the kill-crazed police with their TAC squads and strike forces have singled out blacks and minorities for target practice. This mammoth killer elite with their 12-gauge shotguns and armored half-tracks, their cattleprods and choke holds, has an infinitely renewable license from the ruling class to kill blacks in Reagan's America. Statistics released last week show the LAPD kill rate is running *100 percent*(!) higher than a year ago this time (*Herald Examiner*, 11 March).

It is necessary to build a strong labor/black defense effort to mobilize the workers movement, minorities and other targets of cop terror. It's not a question of impotent review boards to investigate the murders *after* the cops have kicked in the door. Reformist schemes like "community control" of police, or other calls for more black cops are patently absurd in Los Angeles where black mayor ex-top cop Bradley fronts for the racist massacre in the interests of the bourgeois class.

As for that cowardly killer Sperl with all of his "remorse": he should be made to pay for his unspeakable crime. Justice would be High Noon with the mother of that small black child given a 9 mm. Browning with a 13-round clip with one in the chamber, and the cop a toy pistol. A big realistic one so he can even pull the trigger during the duel. And just to make sure it's a fair fight, the eyeholes in his Klan hood can be cut very big so he can see well.

Sperl better be long gone by the time the working class takes state power. Him and FBI informer Gary Rowe (who was involved in killing the four black Sunday school girls in Birmingham), and the plainclothes cops in Montgomery, Alabama who recently shot and terrorized black mourners and are now trying to jail their victims for attempted murder. If they aren't, they'll wish they were. ■

Stop Racist Deportation of Haitian Refugee!

NORFOLK—Belinor Janvier, a 23-year-old refugee from "Baby Doc" Duvalier's hellhole dictatorship, is currently being held in the Virginia Beach jail while the racist Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) prepares his "transportation papers" back to Haiti—that is, a near-certain death sentence! Janvier escaped to the United States via boat in August 1981, where he and thousands of other impoverished and desperate Haitian refugees were imprisoned in INS concentration camps. Shortly before his "parole" period to apply for political asylum ended, the INS picked him up and on March 8 an INS judge ruled him "excludable and deportable." We demand Belinor Janvier be freed at once and given immediate asylum. Anybody who made it into this country has the right to be here! Full citizenship rights for all foreign workers!

The Haitian Refugee Task Force of Norfolk and Virginia Beach, supported by the Norfolk NAACP, have taken up the case. Janvier's attorney is seeking to have the case reopened as the only legal recourse to stop his deportation back to the vindictive clutches of Duvalier's Tonton Macoutes, the brutal death squads. The Haitian Task Force asks that telegrams and letters defending Janvier's right to stay in this country and urging the judge to reopen the case be sent to: Judge Joan Arrowsmith, c/o Immigration and Naturalization Service, 25 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20538, with copies to Haitian Task Force, P.O. Box 4548, Virginia Beach, VA 23454. The Partisan Defense Committee has sent a telegram, and urges *WV* readers to support this life-and-death case.

Nicaragua...

(continued from page 1)

counterrevolutionary threat.

It is an open secret that Washington has been funding the Somozaist mercenaries. Only last month the Honduran government staged provocative joint maneuvers together with U.S. forces only 15 miles from the Nicaraguan border. CIA monies have also been flowing to the anti-Sandinista organization of Miskito Indians and its leader, Steadman Fagoth Müller. And now, at the same time that the Somozaists are attacking from the north, followers of former FSLN Comandante Zero (Edén Pastora) have moved into Nicaragua from Costa Rica (*Los Angeles Times*, 22 March). The Sandinistas have deliberately played down the counterrevolutionary threat: "Don't worry about the attempts to take these small towns," said army commander Ortega. "The dangers reside in the fact that the American imperialists are using the Honduran government as a puppet against the Nicaraguans." But while the FSLN constantly denounces U.S. ploys to provoke a war between Nicaragua and Honduras, the narrow nationalism of the Sandinistas is an obstacle to victory in what is becoming a Central American-wide civil war.

Clearly the U.S. imperialists are counting on their agents inside Nicaragua—in particular the capitalists who still control 60 percent of the economy thanks to the FSLN's utopian attempt to build a "mixed economy." In the face of the counterrevolutionary mobilization of the last several days (more than 250 dead since Pope Wojtyla's visit), the FSLN was forced on Monday to seize Milca S.A., the Nicaraguan bottlers for Coca Cola, whose former owner was using the profits to finance the counterrevolutionary FDN (Nicaraguan Democratic Front) and recently met with U.S. assistant secretary of state Thomas Enders. What about the capitalist press and the rest of the capitalist "fifth column" which Somozaists and ex-Sandinistas like Pastora are both counting on? The Nicaraguan bourgeoisie must be expropriated as a class, and pro-capitalist elements ruthlessly driven out of the government. Revolutionary communists call for workers control, expropriation of the capitalists, forging a Trotskyist party built in struggle against the petty-bourgeois nationalism of the Sandinistas, to install a workers and peasants government.

Franken/Sygma

"No pasarán"—they shall not pass.

In the face of the counterrevolutionary threat engineered from the highest levels of the U.S. government, it is urgently necessary to defend the democratic gains of the popular insurrection that toppled the Somoza dictatorship and extend them to a struggle for workers revolution throughout Central America. The CIA-financed *contras* are gunning down Nicaraguan youth, workers and peasants. But the Sandinistas are running a "roach motel" for counterrevolutionaries ("they check in but they don't check out"). For every one of these mercenary killers the FSLN takes out, there will be that many fewer *gusanos* roaming the streets of the United States, pushing drugs and attempting to assassinate diplomats. Just remember the role of CIA-trained anti-Castro Cubans in the murder of Orlando Letelier, who had been foreign minister under Allende. His is one of many deaths that must be placed squarely at the doorsteps of the United States government.

But the petty-bourgeois nationalism of the FSLN is not the road to victory over powerful American imperialism. Appeals to the UN—that imperialist "den of thieves"—will prove no more effective than they were in the face of Bay of Pigs I, John F. Kennedy's attempted invasion of Cuba in 1961. The Sandinistas have systematically repressed socialists and combative unions at home, in order to preserve their precarious "détente" with the domestic capitalists. But now more than ever a revolutionary working-class offensive is necessary to defend the gains of the anti-Somoza revolution against Yankee imperialism. Here, in the "belly of the beast," we fight for labor action against Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive! We demand that Cuba and the USSR send all necessary military aid to Nicaragua, especially modern jet aircraft, urgently needed to counter Honduran/U.S. invasion attempts. Smash Somozaist/CIA counterrevolution—For workers revolution, from Nicaragua and El Salvador to Mexico and beyond! ■

In Jail Since 1980 General Strike

Free Salvadoran Workers Leaders!

More than 1,000 trade-union officials have been assassinated by the police, army and ultra-rightist death squads in El Salvador. Hundreds of unionists are in prison. In this front-line state of Reagan's "free world," strikes are illegal under the state of siege, all public union offices have been shut down and numerous labor organizations have been dissolved by government decree. Key industries have been militarized (making work stoppages punishable by summary court martial) and in the "free trade zone" of San Bartolo, where workers for multinational corporations are paid $4 a day, all union activity is outlawed. Those labor organizers who have not been jailed or gunned down have gone underground or into exile. And yet the Salvadoran working class has not been broken or suffered decisive defeats. During 1979-80, urban workers were the vanguard of repeated mass mobilizations and general strikes. Today once again labor is raising its head in struggle against the genocidal U.S.-backed regime. Thus international solidarity with the embattled Salvadoran workers is strategically vital for revolution in Central America.

In a tiny country where nearly 50,000 people have been executed since October 1979, where no one is safe from sudden brutal murder, the prisoners in government jails with macabre names like Nueva Esperanza (New Hope) may seem to be the lucky ones. But the overwhelming majority of the 709 known political prisoners (many of them unionists) in El Salvador have been viciously tortured. Repeated beatings in the head, kicks in the testicles, pistol barrels rammed into the anus, women raped and stripped naked for humiliation, electric shocks applied to every sensitive area of the body: these are some of the common techniques taught by former army intelligence major "Blowtorch Bob" D'Aubuisson, head of the White Warriors Union death squad and now president of the Salvadoran "constituent assembly," who got his nickname from his favorite means of interrogation. While Reagan beats the drums over the detention of counterrevolutionary Solidarność leaders in Poland, his Salvadoran puppet regime murders and jails hundreds of trade unionists, along with thousands of peasants and youth. Labor and the left everywhere must demand freedom for all the victims of the bloody rightist repression in El Salvador.

Largely due to imperialist investment in the short-lived Central American Common Market, El Salvador has the largest urban working class in the isthmus. The number of workers in manufacturing and construction more than doubled between 1971 and 1978, reaching 19 percent of the labor force (compared to 42 percent in agriculture). This was reflected in a wave of militant labor struggles. At the beginning of 1979 women textile strikers adopted the tactic of holding the management hostage to prevent army attacks. Soon their example spread. In March bottling plant workers occupied their installations and locked up several company executives. When several strikers were killed the electrical workers union, STECEL, won the strike by cutting off power to the entire country for 55 minutes. A week later STECEL struck again, blacking out El Salvador for 23 hours and winning 93 out of 95 demands. This escalating spiral of labor militancy, together with the impact of the Sandinista victory in Nicaragua, led to the October 1979 "human rights coup" sponsored by the U.S. State Department. The first act of the new military/civilian junta was to break up the sit-down strikes.

But escalating repression did not halt the mass unrest. On 22 January 1980 more than 200,000 people demonstrated in San Salvador at the call of the Coordinadora Revolucionaria de Masas (CRM) in which left-led unions played a major role. An attack by army sharpshooters left more than 100 dead. On March 17, the CRM staged a one-day general strike against repression that was reported 70 percent effective. When rightist gunmen assassinated Archbishop Romero a week later, tens of thousands protested in the streets; National Guard and police fired on the crowd, officially killing 26. Still, a second general strike on June 25-26 was a dramatic success, with all factories, transport and 90 percent of businesses closed. A third general strike was called for late July, then postponed to mid-August. However, most of the left opposed any attempt at insurrection (and those who talked of an uprising hinged it on participation by sections of the capitalist army!), so that the strike was purely passive. As a result, the military was able to dominate the streets and forced petty-bourgeois sectors (notably bus owners and shopkeepers) to break ranks. The strike was defeated.

As in March, STECEL was the backbone of the August strike. The government responded with a barrage of repression against this advanced sector of the Salvadoran workers. It was decreed illegal for public employees to strike. When they did anyway, 60 STECEL members were fired. Demanding their reinstatement, the electrical union seized nine major power plants and blacked out the country for a day, placing bombs in key machinery. The government responded by issuing decrees militarizing public services and dissolving STECEL. Moreover, the entire 17-man executive board of the union, including Hector Bernabé Recinos (head of the FENASTRAS union federation), was arrested. The "politico-military" organizations of the left, who at first denied that the general strike was a failure (while doing no more than engage in some target practice by neighborhood militias), were unable or unwilling to act. Set up and abandoned, the electrical workers have languished in jail ever since.

Imprisoned trade unionists in El Salvador have received scant public attention. Last fall when several leaders of the opposition Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) were arrested there was an international outcry; there was little notice, however, of the five union leaders who were "disappeared" at the same time. Recently an academic fact-finding group visited political prisoners in the Ilopango and Marion prisons, interviewing 23 members of the ANDES teachers union, all of whom had been tortured. In the U.S. a "Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador" has been set up by liberal and social-democratic union presidents such as the Auto Workers' Fraser and the Machinists' Winpisinger. But the strategy of this bureaucratic body, like that of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) and various reformists (SWP, CP, WWP, etc.), is to pressure the Reagan administration for a "negotiated settlement." Their "defense" efforts consist of impotent petitions to the U.S. government asking Defense Minister García to release the prisoners. A similar campaign of postcards to General García is being waged by the FDR to free guerrilla commander Montenegro, architect of the brilliant January 1982 raid on the Ilopango air force base.

While the popular frontists seek a negotiated sellout of the heroic struggle by the fighters on the battlefields, in exchange for a few ministerial portfolios and promises of reforms, the Spartacist League (SL) calls for military victory to the leftist insurgents. Workers revolution is the only "political solution" that can free the Salvadoran masses from the suffering imposed by half a century of murderous military dictatorship.

In the U.S., the SL calls for class-struggle labor action demanding the freeing of jailed union militants Hector Recinos, STECEL general secretary José Arnulfo Grande, José Arturo Valencia, Jorge Alberto Hernández, Orlando Dagoberto Machuca; Francisco Ramos Zamora, Arcadio Rauda, Jorge Alberto Artiga, Chedor Loamer Ascencio, Santos Rivera Calzada and the rest of the STECEL executive committee. Mobilizing the social power of labor is vital in freeing these Salvadoran workers leaders.

And where the reformists ludicrously transplant their "write your Congressmen" ploys to the bloody terrain of Central America, the Trotskyists of the SL call for hot-cargoing all military goods to the rightist butchers! Now in the face of the sharp escalation of U.S. intervention, it is urgently necessary to mount effective union action in solidarity with our class brothers and sisters struggling against American imperialism and its Salvadoran puppets. The SL supports the call, raised by militants in the West Coast longshoremen's union, for a one-day port strike against the U.S. war on El Salvador (see accompanying article). For class-struggle workers action to free the victims of rightist terror! ■

Port Shutdown...

(continued from page 12)

like promises from the bloody junta of phoney elections or that their death squads "reduce" the murders of innocent men, women and children.

It sounds like Vietnam all over again. Anticipating the increased U.S. military assistance Salvadoran government troops are already planning a campaign similar to "Operation Phoenix" used in Vietnam, whereby whole villages known to support the Salvadoran rebels are to be "liquidated" and the entire populations "re-located" (most likely into mass graves) under the supervision of the new U.S. "advisors". This is a program for mass murder.

The Vietnam war went on for over ten years—from the "counterinsurgency" Green Berets of Kennedy to the B-52 carpet-bombing of Johnson and Nixon. That genocidal war continued so long because not *once* during that entire period did any union in the American labor movement take organized action in the form of political strikes against U.S. intervention! The ILWU opposed that war. But Bridges' policy forced longshoremen to load those ships with bombs, guns, ammunition and everything else throughout the entire war. One dock strike then would have had more political impact than a hundred peace demonstrations.

In El Salvador there has been systematic repression of the trade unions. Every union hall in the country has been bombed by government forces. Union leaders and activists are systematically arrested, tortured, killed or "disappeared." Strikes are brutally smashed by the army. Many unions have simply been dissolved by the government. Yet Reagan's chief advisor on Central America, Jeane Kirkpatrick, who just returned from El Salvador, has nothing but praise for the bloody junta in El Salvador, which she characterizes as a "moderately authoritarian regime." Reagan and this war criminal Kirkpatrick hate unions and are giving our Salvadoran brothers and sisters a bloody lesson in the kind of "democracy" they would like to use against the labor movement here. Do not forget the union brothers who were shot dead in San Francisco in 1934.

Prayer vigils, peace marches, student protests, or letters to Congressmen won't stop the U.S. war drive in El Salvador. Only organized labor has that kind of power. It is urgent that we use that power. For a 24-hour shutdown of every major West Coast port!

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Stop U.S. Aid to Central American Butchers!

For a One-Day Port Shutdown!

The Yankee imperialists must be stopped *now*, and the American working class has the power to do it. In the last five years, more than 120,000 people have been killed by U.S.-backed dictators in Central America. Now, speaking to the assembled capitalists of the National Association of Manufacturers on March 10, Reagan announced a major escalation of U.S. intervention: pumping in hundreds of millions of dollars in aid to his butchers, tripling the number of American military "trainers" in El Salvador and stepping up covert action against Sandinista Nicaragua. The current large-scale attacks by counterrevolutionary mercenaries inside Nicaragua are part of this operation, whose ultimate targets are Cuba and the Soviet Union. Their immediate target is to completely purify Central America, wiping out all insurgencies.

From the beginning of the fighting in Central America, the Spartacist League (SL) has called for labor action against U.S. intervention. In particular, we raised the demand for "hot-cargoing" all military goods to the rightist juntas. Similarly, a decade ago we called for labor strikes against the Vietnam War. It is necessary to fight imperialist war with class struggle at home, not impotent "peace" crawls and liberal pressure tactics. In recent years, demands for a union boycott of military shipments to rightist regimes—from Chile to South Africa to El Salvador—have been raised by class-struggle militants in the West Coast longshore union (ILWU). Now in the face of Reagan's attempted Vietnamization of Central America, militants in the San Francisco Bay Area ILWU have initiated an emergency call for a *24-hour shutdown of all West Coast ports* to oppose Reagan's war drive. We wholeheartedly support this urgently necessary action (see leaflet printed below).

WV Photos

West Coast longshore militants (right) demand: labor must boycott weapons shipments to Salvadoran butchers (left).

Such political strike action would have a powerful effect on the American ruling class and send shock waves through the workers movement. The French bourgeoisie has not forgotten how Marseilles dockers dumped arms bound for the Rif War (against Moroccan independence fighters) into the Mediterranean. In El Salvador the local oligarchy has been proud of butchering its own population, even refusing aid from U.S. warships offshore during the 1932 *Matanza* (massacre) while Marines were occupying Nicaragua next door. Today, however, Central American rulers from Guatemala's "born-again" dictator Rios Montt to Salvador's death squad leader D'Aubuisson are vitally dependent on their U.S. overlords. While the reformists appeal to the imperialist liberals for a compromise "political solution" to the civil war, class-conscious workers have an opportunity to land a blow against all the capitalist oppressors.

It's a bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive; the Democrats and Republicans just squabble over the tactics. While liberal "doves" wring their hands about "our side" losing, socialists seek to do everything possible to help *our* side—the workers and peasants of Central America—win their struggle for liberation from misery and murder. If the genocidal Salvadoran army and Somozaist *contras* are not crushed, any ceasefire will just lead to more massacres as the death squads continue their grisly work. We call for military victory to the leftist rebels and workers revolution. We say defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in Central America. It's an elementary matter of class solidarity with our brothers and sisters under imperialism's guns. They must not fight alone! Reagan talks about falling dominoes, Vietnam style: first Nicaragua, El Salvador next and soon they'll be on the Rio Grande. Well, let's give him some hot class struggle north of the border as well!

For Ronald Reagan, U.S. workers are the enemy just as much as Salvadoran peasants and the Soviet Union—he wants to give us all the PATCO treatment. His Madam Chiang Kai-shek, Jeane Kirkpatrick, would just as soon see American unionists shot down on the picket lines as her "moderately authoritarian" dictators slaughter the Central American masses. There must be a labor offensive to *bring Reagan down through mass strike action!*

For Labor Action to Stop Reagan's War on El Salvador

In 1932, direct U.S. military intervention in El Salvador crushed an insurrection against the repressive dictatorship. *After* the unsuccessful insurrection, the army carried out a massacre of 30,000 workers and peasants as an act of bloody revenge. Since then the U.S. supplied army of El Salvador has propped up a series of brutally repressive landlord-dominated dictatorships.

Recent dramatic battlefield victories by the rebel insurgents threatens the final destruction of this blood-drenched army that has run El Salvador for the past 50 years. The U.S. backed Salvadoran government, which has murdered at least 50,000 men, women and children since 1979, is on the brink of collapse. It is urgent that the rebel forces achieve military victory to save the working people and peasants from the "peace of 100,000 dead" promised by the Salvadoran army and death squads.

In a desperate attempt to rescue his butchers from military defeat, Reagan is pushing for a massive escalation of U.S. intervention in El Salvador. He is demanding a military and economic assistance package totaling $408 million that includes $136 million for arms and ammunition. More than $1 billion has been poured into the region in the last three years. Reagan is also demanding a sharp increase in U.S. military "advisors." Next it will be the Marines.

Our brothers and sisters in El Salvador desperately need immediate help from the American labor movement! International labor solidarity demands that the ILWU organize a 24-hour shutdown of every major port on the West Coast to oppose Reagan's war drive!

The ILWU is already on record against the U.S. war in El Salvador. The November, 1980 International Executive Board policy on El Salvador stated: "The ILWU strongly protests any further U.S. military, political or economic assistance to the military government of El Salvador which has imposed a virtual reign of terror over its people." The International Officers further stated on December 22, 1980: "...the ILWU announces that it will refuse to handle any and all military cargo or so-called 'riot control' equipment being shipped to El Salvador."

The time for organized labor action is *now*! Reagan is talking about the Salvadoran junta running out of ammunition in a matter of several weeks. That is his deadline and he expects to meet it. Every indication is that these "emergency measures" will be pushed through Congress rapidly with the Democrats insisting only on certain "conditions"—

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Free Salvadoran Workers Leaders!

..... 11

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 327

8 April 1983

Defend the Soviet Union!

Reagan's "Star Wars" First Strike Plans

"Stardate, 1984: This is the captain's log of the Starship Free Enterprise, whose four-year mission is to destroy the 'evil empire'."

No, it isn't Captain Kirk fighting Klingons, but the American imperialist commander in chief. Early last month Reagan had preached to his evangelical followers that the Soviet Union was an "evil empire" and the "focus of evil in the modern world," that it was better to see your children "die now" than live under communism. For the benefit of the "nervous nellies" worried about the future of humanity, a few weeks later he went on national TV to sell his nuclear first-strike plans with a "vision" of science-fiction weapons providing an impenetrable shield against retaliation. First talking about shovels and shelters, now fantasizing about lasers and particle beams, the Reaganauts want to convince the public that they can blow up the Soviets without a single white middle-class American getting killed. This is patently absurd, but make no mistake about it: Reagan, Weinberger & Co. *are* intent on launching nuclear war against the USSR.

In his March 23 TV special, after a lengthy dissertation on the mythical "Soviet threat"—complete with satellite photos of three (count 'em) Soviet helicopters in Nicaragua (which the Sandinist leadership noted can be "discovered" by any traveler, such as the pope, landing at Managua airport)—he argued for his mammoth $239 billion military budget for 1984. Then toward the end came his "vision of the future"—yet another arms race for the ideal anti-ballistic missile (ABM) defense system. Exhorting the scientific community, he called for a gargantuan program which "will take years, probably decades, of effort." In fact, under Reagan the budget for space weapons has already increased to about $1 billion annually (not including the amounts spent on the space shuttle, which already has numerous military assignments, including the testing of an aiming mechanism

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U.S. imperialist nuclear arsenal targets Soviet Union from all points of the compass.

McCarthyism with a Drawn Gun

FBI Red-Hunt

You, a *Workers Vanguard* reader, may think of yourself as a political activist, a member of a left organization, for instance, a supporter of a black organization, or a militant trade unionist. But the capitalist state—with all its power, its cops, courts and secret police—is defining you as a terrorist. And it is defining your organization as a violent "criminal enterprise." In short, an outlaw. That is the meaning and threat of the new FBI red-hunt orders announced on March 7 and put into effect March 21.

All of us on the state's wide-open hit list had better know what it can mean to be treated as a terrorist outlaw in America. The FBI Guidelines are not only about the usual tapped phones and plainclothes agents visiting the employers of "subversives." The state takes terrorists with drawn guns. You are driving down a road one night and get pulled over by the cops. A name goes into the computer, and it comes out "terrorist"..."member of a violent criminal enterprise." What happens then? Ask some Black Panther survivors of the 1960s what it means to be tagged as a terrorist by the feds. They were infiltrated by provocateurs, set up, framed up and finally shot up on the streets, in their offices, in the jails, even in their beds. The new FBI Guidelines are a set-up for legal murder and wholesale destruction of the left.

Thus the fraud of the "international terrorist conspiracy"—with its wild pope plots and "yellow rain" lies—has come home with a vengeance. The word "terrorism," which has been developed as a code-word in the anti-Soviet war drive, now frames up left-wing political opponents of the government in the U.S. And these "Regulations" are so broad as to ultimately set up *any* political opponent of the government for disruption, suppression, expropriation and murder. For the new Cold

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SNCC: "Black Power" and the Democrats 6

Democrat Washington No Answer to Epton-Byrne Race-Hate Reaction

White Racist Backlash in Chicago Elections

Racist mob drives Harold Washington from church screaming, "Nigger go home!"

Twice in the last two weeks Chicago's black Democratic mayoral candidate has been accosted by ugly racist mobs as he campaigned in predominantly white neighborhoods. On Palm Sunday Harold Washington and Democratic presidential hopeful Mondale were driven from a Catholic church up on the ethnic-Polish Northwest Side by an angry crowd of whites sporting Epton buttons who snarled "Nigger go home," "carpetbagger" and "babykillers." On Easter the police had to be called to escort the candidate through a menacing mob which surged around him shouting "crook" and "sleaze." These outrageous outbursts of bigotry are only the tip of the iceberg of the virulent racism which has increasingly come to dominate the mayoral race.

The city is being swept by a vicious white racist backlash. And the Democrats are to blame. It is the Democratic Party with its legacy of ethnic-patronage politics that made Chicago Segregation City. No one's done more to inflame the situation than Jane Byrne, who tried to cancel the election results with her write-in campaign. Before the primary one alderman quipped, "Attila the Hun or Yuri Andropov could win Chicago's April election provided they ran as Democrats." But perhaps a black cannot.

For over half a century the Democratic "primary" has been the real election in Chicago, and the April election nothing but a rubber stamp. But now a section of the Machine doesn't like the result of the last election, so they in effect called another vote for April 12. Police chief Brzeczek announced (threatened) that the streets would not be safe to walk if Washington was elected. Then came Byrne's "white-in." A new chancellor was hurriedly appointed for the city college system to head off a Washington appointee. We wrote that although "the election of this Machine Democrat (in a fractured Machine) is no victory for black people," nevertheless "Washington has the right to take office with all the normal prerogatives. Blacks have a right to elect whoever they want to office" ("Jane Byrne, You Lost!" *WV* No. 326, 25 March).

Bernie Epton, a liberal Jewish Republican from Hyde Park, initially seemed an unlikely candidate for the race-haters to rally 'round. But his campaign slogan makes an overtly racist pitch: "Epton, before it's too late." And he's getting the payoff. Right-to-lifers chose Epton over Washington, though both support abortion. The Polish American Congress has announced for the Republican and "Solidarność-Epton" buttons are popping up all over the city. There was a mass rally for Epton in Marquette Park, long a focus of fascist "white power" rallies, where only a few years ago anti-Semitic Lithuanians gave Nazi leader Frank Collin 20 percent of the vote in a local election!

There's big stakes for the Democratic Party in this election. In recent weeks every major Democratic presidential contender and a host of other big name Democrats have paraded through Chicago stumping for Washington. Democratic Party fundraisers in New York City and Washington netted the candidate nearly a million dollars. It was the black vote that gave Jimmy Carter the election in 1976. Washington said it in New York: "The last 15 days of the campaign to elect me mayor of Chicago are the first 15 days of the campaign to defeat Ronald Reagan as President of the United States." Black politicians have warned that a defeat for Washington could lead to a massive defection of blacks from the Democratic Party, and are talking of a symbolic black presidential candidacy as a pressure tactic.

Washington is being touted as the savior of black people. But what has he promised to do about racism? The "Chicago Plan" for "voluntary" segregation of the schools is a creature of the Democratic Party, and Washington has made it clear he'll do nothing to upset that Jim Crow deal. As for open housing, Al Raby, Washington's campaign manager, recently said, "We're very interested in community stability ...the most destabilizing force in the city has been block busting..." (*In These Times*, 30 March-5 April). The "black elected officials" may get "their turn to rule," but the black masses will just get more of the same...racist cutbacks, strikebreaking, mass unemployment and cop terror.

The reformists on the left are just wild about Harold. Manning Marable, of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) and a spokesman for the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), was on to something when he cited the left's role in Washington's victory, comparing it to "the situation faced by Salvador Allende in 1970" in Chile (*Guardian*, 16 March). The liberal Democrat-black-labor alliance *is* the question of the popular front in the United States. Under the pressure of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive virtually every organization on the left is scrambling to become the best broker for the Democrats in their campaign to unseat Reagan. Of course the DSA has the inside track because they've been "boring from within" the Democratic Party for years. But the Communist Party's not far behind. The *Daily World* reads like a campaign rag for Washington. Support for "progressive" Democrats is nothing new for the CP...they've been doing it for half a century. Why they even supported "lesser-evil" Jane Byrne in 1979!

Meanwhile, on March 27 a mass rally of 15,000 was held for Democrat Washington by union sellout artists like Doug ("giveback") Fraser and Lane Kirkland. The popular front ties workers and blacks to the class enemy. You can't fight racist reaction with Democrats. Powerful integrated class struggle is needed against segregation, mass layoffs, plant closures, givebacks, rising fascist terror in Reagan's America. The Spartacist League showed the way mobilizing 3,000 unionists, blacks, Jews, gays and socialists who stopped the Nazis in Lincoln Park last June 27. Break with the Democrats! Oust the bureaucrats! Workers and blacks need their own revolutionary party. ■

Gino Bova Gets Off Easy

Put Away All the Racist Killers of Willie Turks!

On March 31, before a packed courtroom in Brooklyn, racist killer Gino Bova was senteneed to 5-to-15 years for his role in the lynch mob murder of black transit worker Willie Turks. In five years Bova could be out on the street; but Willie Turks will never walk this earth again. This is justice?

A virtually all-white jury had acquitted Bova of second degree murder, while finding him guilty of the lesser charge of second degree manslaughter. That means Turks' death was an "accident," there was supposedly no intent to kill! It's obvious the defense and the prosecution were on the same side—how else could you end up with a "whites only" jury in New York City? Even the judge admitted in her remarks before the sentencing, "There was a lynch mob on Avenue X that night. The only thing missing was a rope and a tree. Gino Bova supplied that when he hit Turks over the head."

Earlier D.A. Liz Holtzman hailed the verdict, "It means a racially motivated homicide will not be tolerated in Brooklyn." In Camden, New Jersey a young Hispanic child is mowed down with a car because the life of a "minority" had a certain point value for the sicko driver. In Brooklyn a racist punk can bludgeon a black man to death and only do five years in the pen. It is a measure of the depth of the racism in this society that the value of a black man's life is quantified in such trivial terms.

Gino Bova got off easy. He spent six months in a private segregated cell on Rikers Island. Throughout the trial defense attorney Callan tried to make the victims of this racist atrocity the criminals, arguing Bova was just a young man who tried to defend his friend and his neighborhood. In an emotional appeal to the court Bova pleaded, "Nobody here knows me except my family and Jesus Christ.... I spent six months in jail by myself. Nobody saw me, nobody saw how it hurt." Well, since he's not doing much time, every black person from Brooklyn to Harlem would like to see him sent to the Attica Yard... no segregated cell this time. Let him explain to the Attica brothers how it hurt.

But Gino Bova, though the ringleader, is only one of the 15 to 20 white racist punks who beat Willie Turks to death last June 22. The cops only caught three others. Joseph Powell is a fugitive at large. Paul Mormondo, who also faces murder charges in Turks' death, is out walking the streets right now. His lawyer has moved to delay the trial citing the judge's remarks about lynching and the "poisoned atmosphere in Brooklyn." Hell, that anger against the racist killers should have been right there in the courtroom, packed with outraged transit workers staring at Bova and the jury. We say put away all the killers of Willie Turks and throw the keys in the East River!

Willie Ann Lee, Willie Turks' mother, addressed the court briefly before the sentencing. Her face wracked with pain she said, "No mother should have to go through this; what I've been through. Death is death and something we all have to go through, but not this way—it got me." And that is the question. What will prevent future racist murders like that of Willie Turks? Not reliance on the capitalist courts that treat the racists with kid gloves anyway. Not illusions in the Democratic politicians, black and white, whose racist cops maintain capitalist "law and order." It will take integrated working-class action to put an end to lynch mob terror. Militants in the TWU have fought for effective union action, thousands of union members making a show of force, rolling through Gravesend on flatbed trucks to defend the right of black people to walk the streets of Brooklyn. That's the kind of action it will take to stop racist attacks.

Spartacist Candidate for Oakland City Council

Vote Martha Phillips! For a Workers Party!

OAKLAND, April 3—As the Democratic Party front men for Reagan austerity throw teachers, county workers and warehousemen out of their jobs and onto the unemployment lines, Martha Phillips, Spartacist candidate for city council member at large, is bringing the Trotskyist call for "Sitdowns, Not Souplines" to this black and working-class city.

On March 22 Phillips attended the Oakland city council meeting where the Democratic administration applied the final touches to its plan to screw the Carnation workers, who are members of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6. With fake-left ILWU business agent Jim Ryder pleading for a "fair" severance deal, the council put its stamp of approval on the dirty deal between Carnation and the Port Commission to close the 60-year-old plant on May 31, "encouraging" Carnation to provide a "just severance package," a retraining program—and to use ILWU members to clean up the plant after closure! A local paper reported:

> "In a fiery eruption that had to be quieted by the mayor, City Council candidate Martha Phillips called on union members to reject the council's plan and fight to keep their jobs.
> "'The time to fight for a job is when you still have it,' she invoked them, saying that they should conduct a sit-in and take over the plant until they get their jobs back."
>
> —*The Enterprise*, 23 March

Phillips' sharp exchange with black Democratic mayor Lionel Wilson (see below) was also reported in the Oakland *Tribune* and the *Montclarion* (29 March), which noted that "300,000 jobs have been lost to plant closures and mass layoffs in California" in the last three years, citing the resulting toll in suicides, homicides, heart-related and drinking-related deaths, mental illness, etc.

The next day, March 23, Phillips attended a spirited picket line of 300 members of the Oakland Education Association teachers' union held in the pouring rain to protest the school board's plans for mass layoffs. One week later at a follow-up school board hearing, the Spartacist candidate drew enthusiastic applause from the jam-packed room of 300 angry teachers and parents when she denounced the board and its layoff schemes:

> "We haven't come here to beg the Board of Education for mercy. So many of our children already come out of these schools unable to read, let alone hope for a job.... I say it's time to use the real power that we have, which is the power of a teachers' union, of the parents with their support, the power of the Oakland labor movement....
>
> "There's another program here, that says don't struggle, vote Democrat, wait for some new Democrat. Well, we've already seen what you Democrats stand for and it's not for our children. It's for more wars, it's for more austerity. It's for sitting around in these board meetings while the Ku Klux Klan grows in Oakland....
>
> "I say it's time to fight. Let's go out on strike if necessary. No cuthacks, no layoffs, no takebacks [applause]."

SF Public Library

1946 Oakland general strike shows the power that labor and minorities could wield.

The big city Democratic mayors are desperate to keep the lid on as the pressure builds among workers, blacks and the unemployed driven into misery by the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive of a capitalist system in deep crisis. In Oakland the local Democratic machine is divided between Mayor Wilson's "moderates," who push a "trickle-down" program of reliance on big business to bring jobs through sweet deals for a large-scale downtown development project, and the Ron Dellums/Wilson Riles, Jr. "progessives," who urge reliance on the national Democratic Party to spread a few more crumbs around. Both wings of the Democrats, and the craven bureaucrats of the Central Labor Council, endorsed Reaganite Republican Frank Ogawa for the at large seat on the city council as part of their election-time wheeling and dealing.

Only the Spartacists tell labor and minorities to rely on their own organized strength. This call for independent, militant class struggle brought the November 27 victory over the KKK in Washington, D.C. when the Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization prevented the racist terrorists from marching for genocide in the nation's capital. Phillips, an organizer of the November 27 victory, has made the Labor/Black Mobilization a central theme of her campaign.

In stark contrast to the Spartacists' fighting class-struggle campaign, Socialist Workers Party candidate Jan Gangel echoes the Dellumsites' tired refrain about "changing the priorities" of the imperialist U.S. government. When the candidates for council member at large appeared on KDIA, a local black radio station with a wide audience, on March 27, Gangel whined: "At this point the priorities are not for human needs but for profits." "Anybody who tells you that the ruling class in this country is going to put anything before their profits is either a liar or a fool," replied Martha Phillips. Phillips' campaign calls for military victory to

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Martha vs. the Mayor

We reprint below a verbatim transcript of the attempt by Oakland mayor Lionel Wilson to silence Spartacist candidate Martha Phillips, running for City Councilmember At Large in upcoming April 19 local elections, at hearings on plans by the city administration and company officials to close down the Carnation warehouse in the East Bay docks area. Phillips was scheduled to speak after Jim Ryder, a business agent of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 6.

Ryder: ... My final comment is that the plant committee and the membership of Carnation had suggested that I be the spokesperson for that plant this evening and whatever you're going to hear next is not official ILWU Local 6 or Carnation policy or a presentation, it's individual.

Wilson: Now, Martha Phillips indicated she wanted to speak on the other side of this issue.

Phillips: Yes, my name is Martha Phillips. I'm the Spartacist candidate for Oakland Councilmember At Large. Yes, the side that I want to speak for is for the Carnation workers to keep their jobs...

Wilson: Well, that's the same side.

Phillips: This deal is an outrage...

Wilson: Well, that's the same side.

Phillips: Excuse me, could you please speak when I'm finished...

Wilson: I'm sorry, I called only because I thought we've dealt with this issue, but if you were on the other side and were going to speak against what we're doing.... And that's just what we're doing, then you ought to be entitled to speak. But say I'm sorry since you're not speaking against it, why, I'm going to proceed.

Phillips: Excuse me, I would like to speak to the Carnation workers here. Let's look at what's happening. The Port Commission is getting millions of dollars. Carnation is getting millions of dollars, and the workers at Carnation, 160 of them of the ILWU, plus 20 others, are getting the ax. Now, let's look at the real situation here. There's no...

Wilson: Pardon me, just a moment (gavel, gavel).

Phillips: ... reason that this plant has to close.

Wilson: Excuse me, now just a moment.

Phillips: I would like to talk about the example of the Oakland general strike. Let me tell you what happened only a few blocks from here...

Wilson: I'm sorry...call the guard.

Phillips: ...a couple of blocks from here there were 110,000 workers when the city, just like your city administration, wanted to take jobs away from people...

Wilson: Would you...I'm sorry, will you please step back from the mike.

Phillips: You know what happened—110,000 went on strike. I would like to address my remarks not to you but to the Carnation workers...

Wilson: Well, address your remarks somewhere else, not in this meeting.

Phillips: Look, you and your high office say that these workers should be on the streets. Let me remind you what happened to the Fremont auto workers...

Wilson: Just pardon me.

Phillips: People like you said that they should be thrown out on the streets. A year after...

Wilson: Now just a moment please...

Phillips: ...they were out on the streets only 12 percent of them got a job. The message that I have to the Carnation workers is this: the time to fight for a job is when you still have it! Don't let them throw you out on the streets. Take that plant! You spent your lives working in it, you deserve the right to a job. And the message that I have to the voters of Oakland, despite the Democratic administration that wants to take jobs away from people, is that it's time for the labor movement to start to fight. If you take over that plant, the labor movement will back you up. With mass picketing and a plant occupation, I'll tell you, this mayor will sing a different tune. It's sitdowns or souplines. Carnation workers, we salute you. You occupy that plant and the labor movement will back you up. The time to fight is now! Thank you. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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EDITOR Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER Linda Jarreau

EDITORIAL BOARD: Charles Burroughs, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Mary Jo McAllister, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Marjorie Stamberg

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FBI...

(continued from page 1)

Warriors, a new "subversives list" is not a sufficient license for what they have in mind. They want to come after the left with armored vehicles and machine guns. Therefore, what was "subversive" in the 1950s has been defined as the "terrorism" of the 1980s. The politically "subversive" organization has been recast as a violent "criminal enterprise."

The new FBI "Guidelines" may well be the watershed document in this sinister process of criminalizing and setting up left-wing opposition to the government. It codifies, makes public and *directs* the FBI to wipe out any legal distinction between the government's political opponents and "organized crime." The introduction, from Reagan's attorney general William French Smith to FBI director William Webster, is, in Richard Nixon's favorite phrase, perfectly clear:

> "It is important that the FBI devote its criminal intelligence expertise to domestic security/terrorism cases as it has, with increasing success, in organized crime cases. In the past, operating under distinct guidelines setting different standards and procedures has hampered this effort. The new approach, combining both organized crime and domestic security investigations in a single set of guidelines, should make it easier for your agents to focus their intelligence efforts on those criminal enterprises which threaten our people to attain ideological goals."
>
> —*Criminal Law Reporter*, Vol. 32, No. 24, 23 March 1983

The last ten words of the paragraph above are, of course, a witchhunter's dream. And so is the entire strategy of which these guidelines are a part. Not since the days when the Roy Cohn types read passages of Karl Marx in court as "proof" of criminality has there been such an open declaration of official red-hunting.

Worked out with the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism headed by right-wing fanatic Jeremiah Denton, the "Guidelines" were consciously aimed directly at the political left and other perceived ideological opposition. It was speech, "advocacy" and political program rather than criminal acts which were the targets of the hearings. As Webster explained, groups which "produce propaganda, disinformation and 'legal assistance' may be even more dangerous than those who actually throw the bombs" (*New York Times*, 24 June 1982).

The FBI claims to be investigating crimes, but here the "focus of evil" is propaganda, even "legal assistance." This last target might recall the 1950s when the courts often threw the lawyers in jail along with their clients (this is called a "chilling effect" on legal representation for the accused). It was committee head Senator Jeremiah Denton himself who explained during the hearings that the "terrorist groups" are "no different from other criminal enterprises, except that their motivation may be political rather than financial" (*New York Times*, 24 June 1982). The witchhunters are no longer satisfied with the profile of the New Left "terrorist" of the 1960s. They have their Cold War big guns and their army of provocateurs not for robbers and bomb-throwers. They already have plenty of laws on the books for that. They are after us, gentle reader, you and me!

Just who are these "terrorist groups" and "criminal enterprises"? First on Denton's list was none other than one of the most tame, "peaceful-legal" reformist outfits on the left: the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). As for these "legal assistance" "terrorists," he cited the National Lawyers Guild because it "seeks to exploit the law in order to bring about revolutionary change" (*New York Times*, 24 June 1982). So think about it. If the "terrorist groups" will include the SWP and the Guild, which groups can conceivably *not* be falsely branded as terrorists?

These FBI Guidelines are a dangerous deception. Of course the government knows full well that such groups are not terrorist or criminal conspiracies. After all, it has been the government which has had these groups under its surveillance for decades. "Surveillance!" What a mild word, for the witchhunting attacks of the government. Continuous "surveillance"—for over 60 years they have spied, penetrated, set up, framed up, imprisoned and attempted to destroy the Communist Party in every known way—legally and illegally: for over 40 years the SWP has been hit with the same "surveillance" of provocateurs, informers, wire taps and mail covers, firings, Smith Act prosecutions and jailings; and we know that the Spartacist League has been on the FBI hit list for this filthy business for 20 years.

The only time they ever got criminal prosecutions and/or convictions was when they invented laws in connection with "advocacy" or membership. The FBI excuse for all of this surveillance is that they are supposed to be stopping crimes which it is even historically clear these groups do not commit. But what has the FBI done to stop the Croatian terrorists, for instance, or *gusano* terrorists of Omega 7, who really do bomb and murder, extort and hijack?

The real FBI targets are the leftists, particularly revolutionaries. And with the charge of terrorism, the secret police have added a most dangerous twist to the witchhunt. Not only does the charge serve to falsely discredit political opponent organizations in the eyes of the public, it can scare hell out of potential new members. It says that if you join this organization you are a terrorist in the eyes of the state, i.e., the guys with the frame-up laws and the guns. Of course all this is transparently meant to isolate and intimidate the members of the leftist political organization and those people whom it hopes to influence. And with the net of conspiracy thrown so wide, the witchhunters hope to be able to reduce the funds of the target organization by intimidating potential contributors. This is the standard stuff of political witchhunts.

The point of a really effective witchhunt then is not only to get the immediate victims, but to coerce the entire population into ideological conformity. In the U.S. this obvious kind of witchhunting runs into the bourgeoisie's sometime pretense to the democratic idea of free expression. It is no wonder that the Reagan FBI Guidelines have already provoked a nationwide yelp from civil libertarians. Even the chairman of the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights noted that "the FBI wants to investigate speech": "The guidelines permit the launching of a full investigation based on 'advocacy' alone" (*New York Times*, 8 March).

In the U.S. the government goes out of its way to define the victims of its politically motivated state repression as terrorists rather than political opponents. The victims of ideological witchhunts are treated as common criminals. There are no political prisoners in U.S. jails according to the government, just common criminals. The Reaganite red-hunt has followed this "law of the excluded middle" to its last letter, coming up with the tag of "terrorist." They recognize only two categories of opposition. Lawful dissent is limited to the likes of college professors and churchmen who write letters to the *New York Times* expressing tender concern over the government's validation of the human rights record of El Salvadoran butchers, or South African apartheid. All other political opponents of the government become "criminal terrorists."

Big Brother RICO Does More Than Watch

Branding the left as terrorist "criminal enterprises," the Reagan FBI Guidelines serve two important, linked functions for the witchhunters: 1) for *investigation* it justifies the continuing spying on left-wing organizations although no crimes have been committed or even alleged; and 2) for *prosecution* it defines the left within the special set of RICO (Racketeer-Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act) conspiracy laws.

Under the Guidelines Section III headed, "Criminal Intelligence Investigations," the attorney general lays out the rationale for the FBI to continue to do all those things it was supposed to have stopped doing after the exposures in the 1970s because they exceeded its "legitimate authority."

Step one: equate "the mob" with the left as similarly violent "enterprises." "This section authorizes the FBI to conduct criminal intelligence investigations of certain enterprises who seek either to obtain monetary or commercial gains or profits through racketeering activities or *to further political or social goals* through activities that involve criminal violence [our emphasis]." (For the government, participation in the struggles of the working class, like strikes and demonstrations, and particularly the preparation of the working class for a future socialist revolution necessarily "involve criminal violence.")

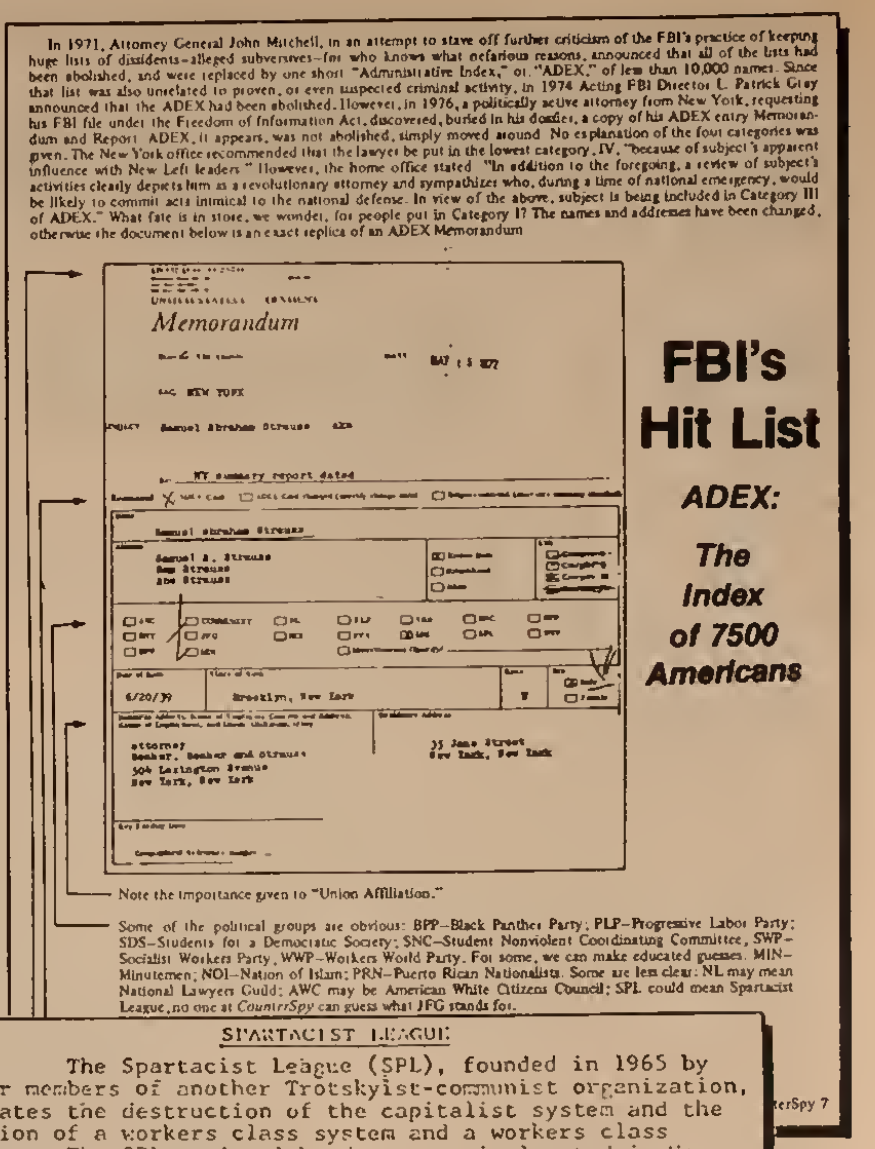
Step two: define the investigation as not limited to specific, actual crimes. "These investigations differ from general crimes investigations.... An intelligence investigation of an ongoing criminal enterprise must determine the size and composition of the group involved, its geographic dimensions, its past acts and intended criminal goals, and its capacity for harm."

Step three: determine that the license for such investigation lasts indefinitely. "While a standard criminal investigation terminates with the decision to prosecute or not to prosecute, the investigation of a criminal enterprise does not necessarily end...."

Step four: establish that anything goes. "Unlike the usual criminal case.... It often requires the fitting together of bits and pieces of information many meaningless by themselves to determine whether a pattern of criminal activity exists. For this reason, the investigation is broader and less discriminate than usual...."

All this talk about "intelligence" and "information" is of course about penetration agents, informers and disruption, smear jobs, firings and worse. "Highly intrusive" measures are to be employed only for "compelling reasons." But the FBI decides when to feel compelled. Editorializing in defense of "constitutional rights," the *Los Angeles Times* (9 March) expresses concern that the new FBI Guidelines will make it easier within the law to "place informers in organizations before the agency has a 'reasonable indication of criminal activity'." And the *New York Times* (8 March) notes that an FBI investigation now "is substantially less strict than the standard for obtaining a search warrant, which requires 'probable cause' to believe that a crime has been or will be committed."

For prosecution, the government has the extended conspiracy laws of RICO which gives them sweeping legal powers that are in particular aimed at financially stripping their victims, thus denying them adequate legal defense. Passed by Congress in 1970, RICO's vague definition of "racketeering" invites precisely the strategy the government is using to ensnare the left in its net. RICO is the law to get those who are "ungettable" by the usual means. Not only are multiple prosecutions and special heavy sentences available under RICO, but the government can grab the assets of the



In 1971, Attorney General John Mitchell, in an attempt to stave off further criticism of the FBI's practice of keeping huge lists of dissidents–alleged subversives–for who knows what nefarious reasons, announced that all of the lists had been abolished, and were replaced by one short "Administrative Index," or "ADEX," of less than 10,000 names. Since that list was also unrelated to proven, or even suspected criminal activity, in 1974 Acting FBI Director L. Patrick Gray announced that the ADEX had been abolished. However, in 1976, a politically active attorney from New York, requesting his FBI file under the Freedom of Information Act, discovered, buried in his dossier, a copy of his ADEX entry Memorandum and Report. ADEX, it appears, was not abolished, simply moved around. No explanation of the four categories was given. The New York office recommended that the lawyer be put in the lowest category, IV, "because of subject's apparent influence with New Left leaders." However, the home office stated: "In addition to the foregoing, a review of subject's activities clearly depicts him as a revolutionary attorney and sympathizer who, during a time of national emergency, would be likely to commit acts inimical to the national defense. In view of the above, subject is being included in Category III of ADEX." What fate is in store, we wonder, for people put in Category I? The names and addresses have been changed, otherwise the document below is an exact replica of an ADEX Memorandum

FBI's Hit List

ADEX: The Index of 7500 Americans

Memorandum

NEW YORK

Samuel Abraham Strauss

NY summary report dated

Samuel Abraham Strauss

Samuel A. Strauss
Sam Strauss
Abe Strauss

6/20/39 Brooklyn, New York

attorney
Benhart, Benhart and Strauss
304 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York

35 Jane Street
New York, New York

Note the importance given to "Union Affiliation."

Some of the political groups are obvious: BPP–Black Panther Party; PLP–Progressive Labor Party; SDS–Students for a Democratic Society; SNC–Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, SWP–Socialist Workers Party, WWP–Workers World Party. For some, we can make educated guesses. MIN–Minutemen; NOI–Nation of Islam; PRN–Puerto Rican Nationalists. Some are less clear: NL may mean National Lawyers Guild; AWC may be American White Citizens Council; SPL could mean Spartacist League, no one at *CounterSpy* can guess what JFG stands for.

SPARTACIST LEAGUE:

The Spartacist League (SPL), founded in 1965 by former members of another Trotskyist-communist organization, advocates the destruction of the capitalist system and the creation of a workers class system and a workers class society. The SPL national headquarters is located in New York City. While the SPL does not openly advocate the violent overthrow of the U. S. Government at this time or violations of other Federal or state laws, the SPL does believe that eventual violent revolution to overthrow the present capitalist system of government in the U. S. is inevitable. The objective of the SPL is to organize a membership to take action to precipitate such a revolution when conditions are ripe and to direct and seize control of the revolution when it occurs.

erSpy 7

Sample page from FBI's "ADEX" hit-list file as it appeared in CounterSpy magazine 6 December 1976 (above). The special listing of "SPL" on ADEX makes us targets for the new FBI Guidelines. The FBI definition of the Spartacist League (below) uses classic witchhunt language of "violent overthrow," and "does not openly [our emphasis] advocate" to falsely accuse the SL of secretly planning some kind of conspiratorial putsch. Now they have added "terrorist."

accused "criminal enterprise" even as it is being tried. Thus without a crime, the victim is made to pay. Further, RICO grand juries can make wide-ranging assaults based on conspiratorial "association" which can be as flimsy as a "common belief" in "social goals" such as socialism.

RICO is also a first-strike legal weapon in the government's union-busting war against the labor movement. With such "labor racketeering" laws the bosses' state has carried out vicious vendettas against the ILA's Tony Scotto, and recently used RICO to get the Teamsters' Roy Williams. Marxists say: labor must repel the class alien intruders and take care of its own house—state out of the union movement!

The model offered by the witch-hunters for the effectiveness of the "terrorism/RICO" method is the Nyack Brinks job witchhunt in the fall of 1981. Using the case of a bank robbery with a strong smell of government provocation about it, the FBI whipped up a first-rate "red terror" and "anti-terrorist" witch-hunt. Pushing the line of getting "to the bottom of" widespread "conspiracy," the cops kicked down doors, shot up and arrested people on the basis of alleged "connections." While tanks and Air Force SWAT teams hit the home of a black nationalist leader in Mississippi with no evidence of involvement, an official explained that "the groups share common purposes." Another official suggested that the purpose could he "the creation of a socialist state" and "an end to the United States Government as we know it" (see "The Nyack Brinks Job: We Don't Know," *WV* No. 292, 6 November 1981). The deputy director of the FBI in New York was quick to proclaim the witchhunt a "major racketeering investigation," thus putting the RICO grand jury in place which has been busy rounding up and terrorizing "the usual suspects."

Recently, the government's RICO machine was buffeted around in appeals court, which ruled that the Croatian terrorists didn't fit as a "racketeer" organization because they weren't out for financial gain. And an "organization striving for the independence of their native land" was certainly not "corrupt," the judge's panel said (*New York Times*, 27 January). Thus the Croatians who bomb for "freedom" but not for profit slipped out of the RICO net in court.

A Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!

When the Spartacist League discovered in 1981 that we had been included on a government "terrorism/RICO" hit list, we determined that we would not be silent while the secret police branded us "terrorists" and blew us away. We fought California's attorney general (now governor) George Deukmejian and his pioneer effort to define the left as terrorist. His "Organized Crime Report" was developed under Reagan adviser Edwin Meese III when he was Alameda County District Attorney. The Spartacist League was listed as "left-wing terrorists" under the category "organized crime." It was not just a "subversives" list. The witchhunters want us to be known for what we don't do. They willfully confuse Marxism with terrorism so they can create the atmosphere to wipe out the Marxists. We fight to be known for what we do. We organize demonstrations against the KKK/Nazis, for instance. We publish Marxist socialist propaganda on behalf of the workers and the oppressed. The cops long to answer *Workers Vanguard* or militant trade-union leaflets with a .357 Magnum. It is they who want the excuse for a military solution to the political opposition of the revolutionaries. We understand that at bottom the witchhunters want to destroy the vanguard of their class enemy. In our fight against Deukmejian's hit list, we demanded: "Workers Party Has a Right to Organize!"

We fought this dangerous smear with a campaign that included a lawsuit against Deukmejian. And we won. "Marxists Not Mobsters," was the memorable headline in the *S.F. Examiner* (18 December 1981), as our success struck a blow against California's new McCarthyism and punched a small hole in the RICO net. Deukmejian's office was forced to back down on its terrorist smear charge against the SL, retracted our name, and admitted their "error" in a statement which it distributed to cop/FBI agencies nationwide.

Now the White House and the FBI are putting this most dangerous witch-hunting strategy into place on a national level. Does the FBI have a list? The FBI is in the hit-list business, from the authorization of the 1950 McCarran Act secret list for the future internees of the concentration camps to the "subversives" list compiled and called the "administrative index" or ADEX (see "What Is the ADEX File?" *WV* No. 151, 1 April 1977). The ADEX file was supposed to be abolished and destroyed in 1974 after the Watergate and COINTELPRO revelations. But in 1976 an ADEX "memorandum" was obtained and made public through the FOIA (Freedom of Information Act). It revealed a list of 17 organizations which get special FBI attention, including, besides the CP and SWP, the designation "SPL." The FBI admitted its "SPL" was the Spartacist League (see "FBI Targets the Spartacist League," *WV* No. 151, 1 April 1977). Because the Spartacist League appears on the ADEX, we are surely targets for the new FBI Guidelines.

During the Senate's 1975-76 Church Committee hearings, when the heat was on for the FBI to streamline its operation, many promises were made to cease illegal acts and to destroy files like the ADEX. But there is every reason to assume that the ADEX and its priorities remain intact. Recently even the FBI admitted it. When pressed in connection with the Denton Subcommittee's interest on how it could "clear" prospective employees if it had destroyed its files, the FBI answered simply:

> "No FBI Headquarters files related to subversive, terrorist or extremist activities by individuals or organizations have been destroyed. The information appearing in these files documenting such activities is readily retrievable...."
>
> —Analysis of Claimed Terrorist Incidents in the U.S., 1981 (p. 73)

When does the FBI destroy a file? Ask Rosemary Woods. The case of Elmer (Geronimo) Pratt is a case in point. Pratt, a Black Panther leader, was targeted for "neutralization" under COINTELPRO, framed up on murder charges and is still in jail in California. Pratt has shown that on 18 December 1968, the day the state claims he murdered someone in Santa Monica, his surveillance records would reveal he was in Oakland. He has demanded those records. But the FBI first claimed they had no records on Pratt before 1969. Then it was revealed that the FBI had all the Black Panther leaders under surveillance in 1968. So they explained to an appeals judge that with regard to the records wanted by Pratt, "the transcripts of the conversations recorded by these telephone taps have been lost or destroyed" (*CounterSpy*, February-April 1982). It is in part on the basis of the Pratt case that Amnesty International is demanding a U.S. human rights "commission of inquiry into the effect of domestic intelligence activities on criminal trials...."

It is the U.S. government and its secret police which are a criminal enterprise. They are the perpetrators of terrorism and violence, leaving a trail of dead and maimed across the entire globe. Preparing to plunge the world into another war, they contrive the spectre of a "violent revolutionary conspiracy" to legitimate their own terror tactics, their own consummately violent state and economic war on millions of proletarians and blacks. That is why the FBI must portray the "speech crimes" and "thought crimes" of the Marxists as "terrorism." Capitalism's secret police have no other purpose than to frame up and destroy the state's political enemies. And they don't much care about the law or the naive reformers who imagine otherwise. In 1977 when many liberals were smug in their conviction that the FBI would become a gentlemanly operation because of the post-Watergate/COINTELPRO exposures, we wrote, in "What Is the ADEX File?":

> "The government's covert operations may be reshuffled and reorganized, streamlined and prettified, renamed and swept further underground. But the FBI continues to carry out its dirty work of spying, intimidation and harassment, slander and disruption of the political and personal lives of people whose only 'crime' is their political convictions."

Fight the New McCarthyism!

Before the early 1970s, most Americans thought of the FBI as the guys who caught the criminals rather than being the criminals themselves. They then learned what the left had known all too well for decades. It was no longer possible for the government to completely cover up FBI crimes as it was revealed that the FBI was up to its shoulder holsters in the blood of Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, murdered as they slept in their beds in Chicago. Americans learned how George Jackson was shot down like a dog in prison. And they read about FBI creature Gary Rowe, who was perhaps the most murderous of all the Klansmen in the U.S. They learned of the COINTELPRO program which set up and tried to destroy particularly what it called "black hate" groups which included not only the Panthers, but even liberal pacifist Martin Luther King.

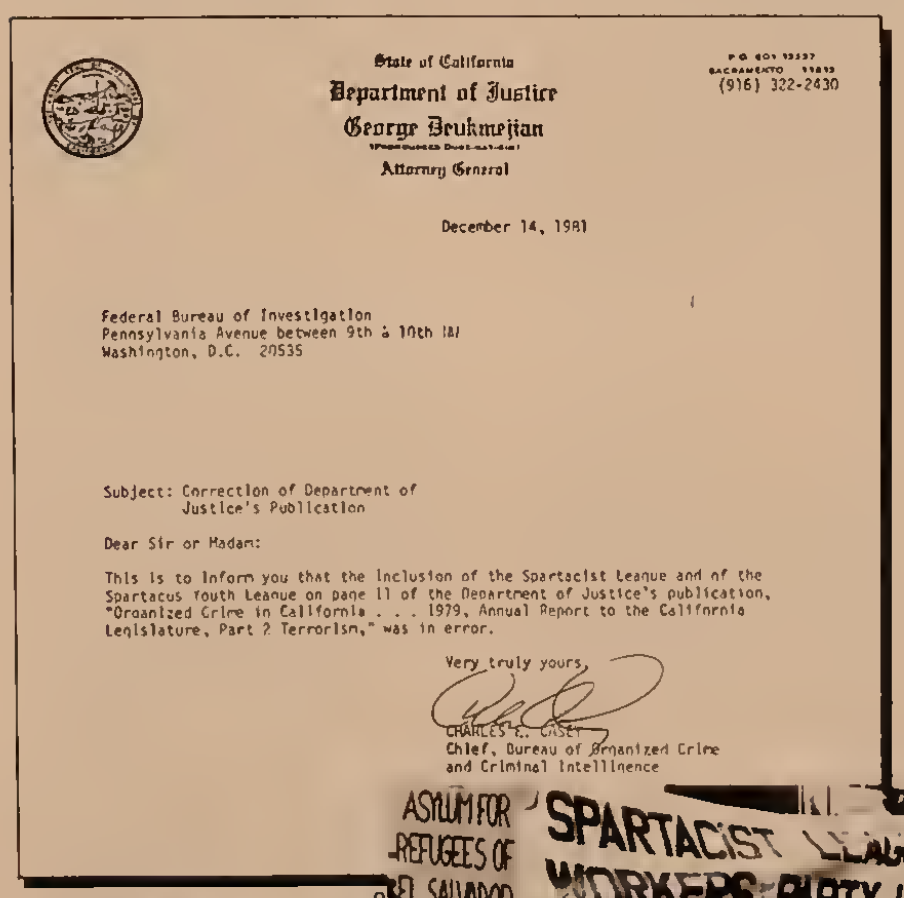
Because the antiwar movement and civil rights movement had a large bourgeois liberal constituency, so did the FBI's "enemies list." Not just the left, radicals, labor and blacks, but bourgeois "respectable" citizens found out that the FBI had read their mail and tapped their phones, investigated their sex lives and medical records. That was when the decisive sections of the bourgeoisie decided the FBI had overstepped its "legitimate authority." The FBI had broken the rules, they said, and began to write new rules. In the wake of the Watergate and COINTELPRO exposures, "Guidelines" were established in 1977 by Gerald Ford's attorney general, Edward Levi. It is this set of guidelines that is now being replaced.

But for the Reaganites the new punitive Guidelines are part of a concerted effort to rearm U.S. imperialism after the U.S. defeat in Vietnam. When Reagan proclaims that "America is on the mend" he is sloganeering not only for his economic policies. The Reaganites understand their political mission as the cure for the "Vietnam syndrome," the disease of declining U.S. imperialism demonstrated by the U.S. defeat in Southeast Asia. This mission

continued on page 10

UPI

Geronimo Pratt (right) with Black Panthers after their L.A. headquarters was shot up in 1969 SWAT team attack: Ask the Panthers what it means to be brandad "terrorist" in the U.S.



State of California
Department of Justice
George Deukmejian
Attorney General

P.O. BOX 13397
SACRAMENTO 95813
(916) 322-2430

December 14, 1981

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Pennsylvania Avenue between 9th & 10th NW
Washington, D.C. 20535

Subject: Correction of Department of Justice's Publication

Dear Sir or Madam:

This is to inform you that the inclusion of the Spartacist League and of the Spartacus Youth League on page 11 of the Department of Justice's publication, "Organized Crime in California . . . 1979, Annual Report to the California Legislature, Part 2 Terrorism," was in error.

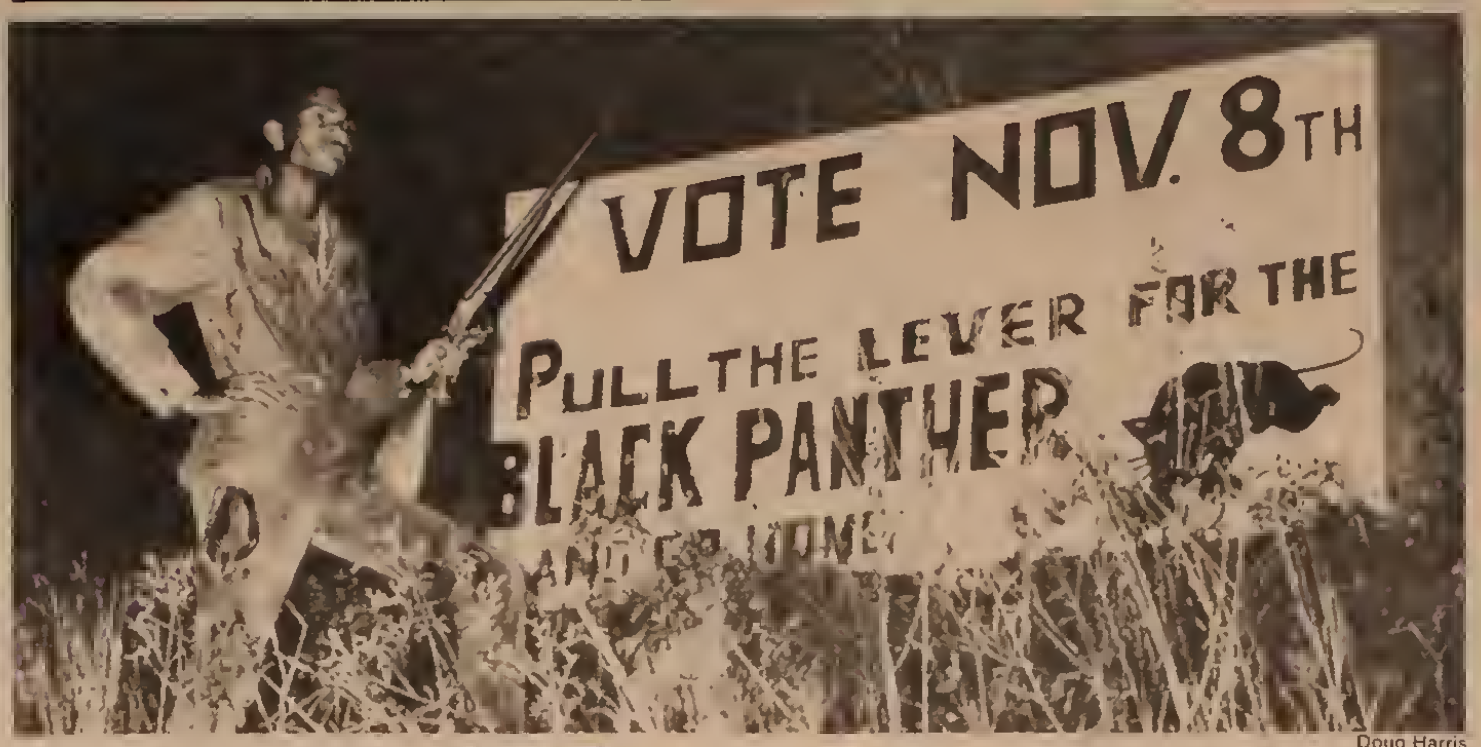
Very truly yours,

CHARLES R. CASEY
Chief, Bureau of Organized Crime
and Criminal Intelligence

WV Photo

In 1981, California attorney general George Deukmajian backs down and his office issues statement of "error" to FBI and other police agencies. SL campaigns in San Francisco, July 23, against Deukmejian "terrorist" smear: We do not intend to be nameless, faceless victims.

Neither Nationalism Nor Liberalism, But Revolutionary Integrationism!



Election night, Lowndes County, Alabama, 1966. Doug Harris

SNCC: "BLACK POWER" AND THE DEMOCRATS

The 5,000 demonstrators, overwhelmingly black and working-class, who stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in the nation's capital last November 27 may have opened a new chapter in the struggle for black liberation in America. Responding to the call of the Labor/Black Mobilization, initiated by the Spartacist League, thousands of anti-racists streamed from the Capitol to the White House, chanting, "1, 2, 3, 4, Time to Finish the Civil War—5, 6, 7, 8, Forward to a Workers State!" Our slogan caught on instantly, expressing the continuity of a century and a half of struggle for black freedom. After a decade of defeats, November 27 pointed the way forward out of the impasse reached in the 1960s when the militant civil rights activists ran headlong into the realities of black oppression in racist, capitalist America.

The spectre of blacks and reds backed up by the power of labor sent shivers down the spine of the bourgeoisie. So their furor against "outside agitators," the "Tarzan Trotskyists," was predictable. Despicably, a "socialist" cult-sect based in Ann Arbor even echoed this with talk of "carpetbaggers." The bourgeois hysteria came not just from Reagan, whose attorney general had vowed to protect the KKK and even brought in the FBI to back up city police. On November 27 Washington's black mayor, Marion Barry, conveniently departed for a "mayor's conference" in Los Angeles, leaving his cops to tear gas and club black youth. The Walter Fauntroys and their reformist hangers-on had their "free food" diversions, their pop-front gab fests at distant sites to try to channel the anger of the masses into "safe" directions. But they failed...and the Klan was stopped.

On November 27, a spokesman for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) asked from the Labor/Black rally podium why Marion Barry wasn't out there with us. Many demonstrators had the same question, and a National Black Network talk show host later asked rally organizers whether we thought Marion Barry had sold out. After all, Marion Barry was the first chairman of the militant Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in the early 1960s. And as was pointed out in a recent TV documentary in the *Frontline* series, "In the Shadow of the Capitol," ex-SNCC activists dominate the D.C. city administration. Ivanhoe Donaldson, Marion Barry's deputy mayor and chief political adviser, was a SNCC organizer in Mississippi. John Wilson, now a city councilman, used to run SNCC's draft resistance program. Courtland Cox is another top Barry aide. Frank Smith was just elected to the City Council, and so on.

So ex-SNCCers are practically running the Washington city government, such as it is. But what has that meant for the quality of life in the Southeast D.C. black ghettos? As ex-SNCC staffer Charlie Cobb, narrator of the TV documentary, noted, "The guys in Anacostia don't really feel like they know Marion Barry anymore." Barry, who once led lunch counter sit-ins in Nashville, now tells the demonstrators who picket outside his office, "I can get more done in five minutes with my signature on a document" than they can with 1,000 people on the street. And just what are those documents he's signing? How is it that these "Movement people" have now become the protectors of the KKK, the administrators of racist budget cuts, the instigators of mass expulsions of black students at the University of the District of Columbia?

Washington Post

Washington, 27 November 1982: Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization stopped the Klan.

Marion Barry did not "sell out." SNCC was heterogeneous, and its "moderate" wing never saw itself going beyond reforms "within the system." They and their seniors in Martin Luther King's SCLC were always looking to become something like the mayors of Atlanta and Washington, D.C. And they did. But what about the radicals like Stokely Carmichael (now Kwame Toure) who fought *against* the Marion Barrys and whose break from liberal pacifism was expressed by the slogan "black power"? While Carmichael and his "All-African Peoples Revolutionary Party" may not be administering the bourgeois state apparatus, they are totally irrelevant and frequently *obstacles* to today's black struggles. As the white sheets and burning crosses multiply in Reagan's America, Stokely says, "It's a waste of time" to fight the Klan!

So here you have the spectacle of two former chairmen of SNCC: one leaves town ordering his cops to protect the Klan, and the other tells the Howard and UDC students who were part of the thousands of black Washingtonians who stopped the KKK November 27 that their action was "a diversion." A recent book, *In Struggle—SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s*, by Clayborne Carson sheds considerable light on a subject of great interest to communists: how the left wing of the civil rights movement, located mainly in SNCC, broke from liberalism only to disintegrate and become trapped in the dead end of black nationalism.

In Struggle is a comprehensive, vivid description of the crisis in this crucible of black radicalism. What Carson cannot explain is why it happened. To understand the impasse of the civil rights movement, to open the road to the genuine emancipation of black people in America, requires a materialist analysis and Marxist program of revolutionary integrationism.

From Liberal Pacifism to "Black Power"

The appearance of the Southern civil rights movement with the 1956 Montgomery bus boycott opened a new phase in postwar American history, ending the period of Cold War/McCarthyite hysteria. Increasingly American society was polarized along the lines of for-or-against Jim Crow. The young liberal activists, black and white, who threw themselves into the lunch counter sit-ins and freedom rides were not sympathetic to communism, but they were breaking with the anti-Communist prejudices of their parents which had paralyzed the struggle against racism.

SNCC was formed in 1960 at the initiative and under the auspices of King's SCLC. Its founding statement of principles began: "We affirm the philosophical or religious ideal of nonviolence as the foundation of our purpose...." SNCC at birth was a constituent part of the black liberal establishment in the South, the youth group of what W.E.B. Du Bois earlier termed "the talented tenth." Yet six years later SNCC would infuriate liberal opinion by raising the slogan "black power," and shortly thereafter its new chairman Hubert "Rap" Brown would declare, "the only thing 'the man's' going to respect is that .45 or .38 you got." What caused so radical a transformation during those six years?

Through bitter and repeated experience the SNCC activists learned firsthand that the white liberal leaders—the Bobby Kennedys, the Hubert Humphreys and Walter Reuthers—were a lot closer to Dixiecrat racists George Wallace and James Eastland than they were to the civil rights activists. They saw information given in confidence to Justice Department "observers" passed on to cracker sheriffs who naturally used it to victimize SNCC organizers and supporters. There came a moment when a majority of SNCC had rejected liberalism as they knew it, but had not yet embraced black nationalism. Black oppression could not be overcome within the framework of bourgeois democracy, however radical. The conditions weighing upon the impoverished

urban masses. South as well as North—terrorized, last hired/first fired, condemned to a life of desperation in the ghettos with their mean streets, lousy schools, rat-infested housing—these could not be solved by a new Civil Rights Act. Genuine equality for blacks is inconceivable without socialist revolution and the massive redistribution of society's wealth, possible only through socialist economic planning.

The SNCC radicals came up against the social revolutionary implications of the struggle against black oppression, but without the intervention of communists they were not able to make the leap to proletarian socialism. When SNCC attempted to go beyond voting rights and access to public facilities (which blacks in the North and a number of Southern cities already had), the organization entered a prolonged crisis of identity. James Forman, SNCC executive secretary in this period, later wrote, "So long as we were working on voter registration and public accommodations, there was a broad consensus under which everyone could move" (*The Making of Black Revolutionaries*). So long, but no longer.

During the critical period of 1963-66 SNCC militants faced three fundamental political alternatives: reintegration into the liberal establishment, the reactionary utopianism of nationalist separatism, or proletarian socialism (Marxism). Some, like Marion Barry, took the first road via LBJ's "Great Society" poverty programs. However, the most militant elements in SNCC went over to black nationalism, initially a small and isolated current in the organization. Why did these young black radicals opt for nationalist separatism rather than Marxism?

One important factor was their revulsion against the existing organized labor movement, whose liberal face was that of United Auto Workers chief Walter Reuther, a man SNCC cadre had good and personal reasons to despise. In general, the Meany/Reuther-led AFL-CIO was, if anything, more committed to the racist status quo than were many liberal Democratic and even Republican politicians. Typically the children of preachers, schoolteachers and funeral parlor owners, the student radicals in SNCC were isolated from the mass of the black working class and socially above them (despite wearing farmers' coveralls, which became almost a uniform). These petty-bourgeois radicals had no conception at all of setting the base of the labor movement against the top.

But who could bring them this conception except Marxists? The fate of SNCC was decided, as much as by any other single factor, by the criminal abstentionism of the ostensibly Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Defining itself in effect as a "white party," the SWP *refused* to involve itself in the Southern civil rights struggles while tailing "the Movement" from the outside. Here a historic but fleeting opportunity was lost to change the course of black struggle in contemporary America. The history of SNCC is the story of the road not taken, the only road leading to black liberation, that of proletarian socialist revolution.

Breaking with the Liberals

SNCC emerged out of the lunch counter sit-in movement which swept the Southern black campuses in the spring of 1960. It began when the North Carolina A&T students sat in at Woolworth's in downtown Greensboro (the city where 20 years later, the KKK/Nazis would massacre five blacks and leftists in cold blood). The SNCC activists came out of the elite black schools like Morehouse College (Julian Bond), Howard University (Stokely Carmichael), Fisk (Marion Barry) or even Harvard (Bob Moses). An extension of black liberalism, the initial goal was formal, legal equality—civil rights, or "Northernizing the South." The political strategy was to seek the support of, and avoid antagonizing, the liberal establishment, bringing to bear the powers of the federal government which was controlled by this establishment.

But if the SNCC activists at first saw themselves as the future Martin Luther Kings, soon their experience was teaching them different lessons from those taught by the preachers. They had illusions in the federal government, but repeatedly received object lessons in the class nature of the bourgeois state. On the freedom rides, the young activists watched how the FBI "observers" stood by taking notes as the sheriffs' goons bashed demonstrators' heads (the FBI of course was in cahoots with, and often part of, the Klan). Carson tells how, after Bob Moses first went into Amite County, Mississippi in 1961, a black sharecropper who helped him was gunned down by a white state legislator, E.H. Hurst. A black witness then told Moses he would testify at Hurst's trial, if promised federal protection. Moses told this to a Justice Department official who not only refused protection ("Justice" was only there to "observe"), but the identity of this witness was passed on to the local racists and he was subsequently murdered.

Fitch/Black Star

CORE's Floyd McKissick (left), Martin Luther King and SNCC's Stokely Carmichael lead march in Mississippi, 1966. When Carmichael raised the slogan of "black power" at this time, incensed liberal establishment went wild.

From Albany to the "Farce on Washington"

From Albany, Georgia to Lowndes County, Alabama to the plantation country of Mississippi, SNCC was radicalized by its grassroots organizing of poor black sharecroppers which repeatedly brought it into head-on conflict not just with the Dixiecrats, but the whole racist, capitalist state. Every struggle drove them further away from the liberal premises on which they were founded. The Kennedy White House might be willing to integrate the bus station bathrooms and drinking fountains, but they were not about to make a fundamental change in life in the "Black Belt," where the heirs of slaveowners still lorded over the plantations and the Dixiecrat politics, while the sons and daughters of slaves, the terrorized black majority, scratched out a precarious existence as sharecroppers, day laborers and maids. And as SNCC's organizing among the black masses repeatedly brought the situation to flash point, the government rushed in their black brokers to cool it, their CIA agents to co-opt it, their courts to indict it, their troops to crush it.

Albany, formerly the slave and cotton capital of southeast Georgia, marked the beginning of the open split between SNCC and the black preachers of the SCLC. In Albany SNCC sang "Ain't Gonna Let Chief Pritchett Turn Me 'Round," but after more than a year of sustained struggle, SNCC found all its tactics—mass arrests, flooding the jails, rallies, boycotts, vigils—failed to break the grip of Jim Crow. "We were naive enough to think we could fill up the jails.... We ran out of people before [Chief Pritchett] ran out of jails," SNCC staffer Bill Hanson said later.

In Albany, the SNCC workers who had tirelessly stomped the dirt roads, gone door-to-door on the black side of town to win support for the movement, were less than thrilled with King and Abernathy's highly publicized weekend jaunts into town to cool things out and arrange "truces" on their behalf. "Don't get weary. We will wear them down with our capacity to suffer," King told the black masses in Albany. But SNCC was beginning to question King's whole strategy of non-violent resistance. In midsummer with 3,000 Klansmen massed outside town, Albany's black youth fought back with bricks and bottles when the cops attacked a rally outside a black church. King declared a "day of penance" for the "violence," but SNCC refused to condemn the action. In Albany, SNCC started referring to King contemptuously as "De Lawd."

At the August 1963 March on Washington, SNCC saw how the whole liberal establishment and particularly the liberal wing of the trade-union bureaucracy was used by the government to put the lid on the exploding black movement. The civil rights leaders had initially called the march to put the heat on Kennedy who was dragging his heels on the passage of the civil rights bill. But when the president called them into conference they quickly changed their tune, agreeing to change the march location from the White House to the Lincoln Memorial, deny participation to all "subversive" groups and censor all speeches. So, orchestrated straight from the White House, the march would be a giant liberal prayer fest to channel the masses safely back into liberal Democratic politics. King's "I Have a Dream" speech celebrated "non-violence," while the USIA filmed the whole event for foreign consumption to prove how "peaceful change" was still possible in America. Disgusted SNCC staffers took to wearing "I Have a Nightmare" buttons, and Malcolm X dubbed it the "Farce on Washington."

While the popular front stretching from Kennedy to Reuther to King could all comfortably rail against the Southern Dixiecrats, at the march SNCC's bitter fury against the federal government had to be kept in check. There would be no "communist" words like "masses" or "revolution" in Washington that day, the "official" black leaders vowed. They censored SNCC chairman John Lewis' speech, deleting his conclusion that:

> "The party of Kennedy is the party of Eastland.... We cannot depend on any political party for both Democrats and Republicans have betrayed the basic principles of the Declaration of Independence."

The labor bureaucrats Walter Reuther and A. Philip Randolph took the lead in pressuring Lewis (who was far from a radical within SNCC) to tone down his language and criticism of the Kennedy administration.

MFDP vs. Lowndes County Black Panther Party

As the culmination of SNCC's voter registration projects in Mississippi, 80,000 blacks who had been prevented from registering as Democrats signed "protest ballots" as members of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP). At the 1964 Democratic Party convention, the MFDP hoped their 68-member alternate delegation would unseat the "regular" Jim Crow slate. With the Dixiecrats already vowing to bolt to Goldwater in '64, the MFDP was making a bid to the liberals for the Democratic Party franchise. As Carson put it, "The hopes of the MFDP delegation were based on the belief that they, rather than the regular, all-white delegation, represented the expressed principles of the national Democratic party." Surprise, they didn't.

The MFDP was based in Ruleville, Mississippi, where Dixiecrat boss Senator James Eastland had his plantation. Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Eastland launched a personal vendetta against SNCC for registering the blacks off his estate. The story of Fannie Lou Hamer, who

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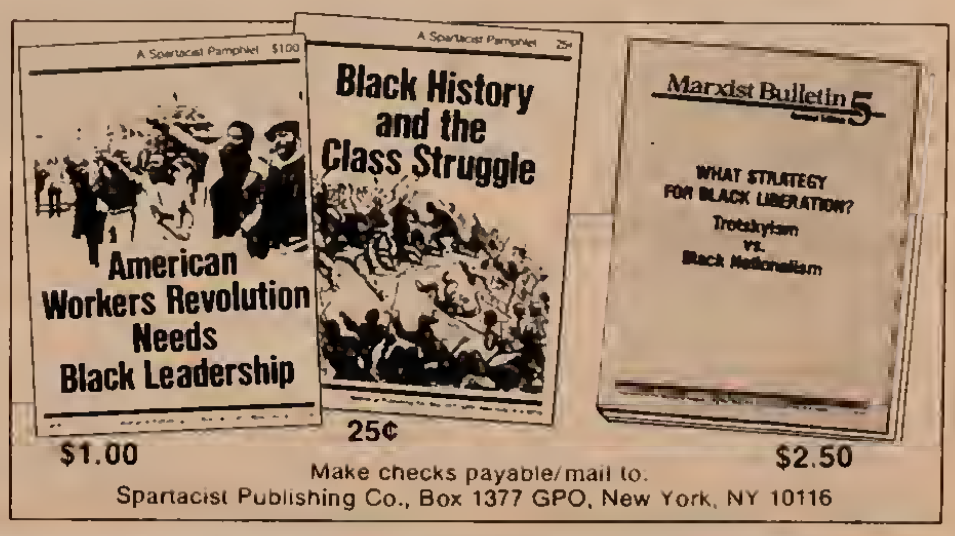

SNCC...

(continued from page 7)

became the MFDP's Congressional candidate, was typical—the youngest of 20 children of black sharecroppers, she was evicted from the plantation where she had worked for 18 years because she registered to vote. When she moved in with a friend in Ruleville, their house was firebombed.

The MFDP was really an outgrowth of the 1964 "Mississippi Summer Project," braintrusted and financed through Allard Lowenstein, the sinister operative of Cold War liberalism. (As the *New York Times* wrote upon his assassination in 1980, "Most of the New Left labeled Mr. Lowenstein as a CIA agent.") Working closely with Bob Moses, Lowenstein brought thousands of Northern white college kids to the South for the summer, hoping to "restore faith in the system" by forcing a confrontation in which the federal government would have to intervene.

Going into Atlantic City, the MFDP had considerable support from Northern state delegations. But Lyndon Johnson, still determined to keep the Southern white vote, offered Hubert Humphrey the vice-presidency on the condition that he get the MFDP to back down. They lined up the whole liberal entourage—from Reuther to King to Lowenstein—to put the squeeze on the MFDP to accept the "compromise" by which they would get two "at large" seats, while the *entire* Dixiecrat delegation would be seated. Despite the pressure, the SNCC leadership rejected the "compromise" and the racists were seated. As Forman wrote, "Atlantic City was a powerful lesson, not only for the black people from Mississippi but for all of SNCC and many other people as well. No longer was there any hope, among those who still had it, that the federal government would change the situation in the Deep South."

In Lowndes County, Alabama Stokely Carmichael and the other SNCC staffers who stayed on to organize after the Selma demonstrations of April 1965 drew their conclusions from the bitter experiences of the MFDP. In George Wallace's Alabama where the words "white supremacy" were part of the Democratic ballot designation, SNCC decided to register blacks for an independent party. As Carmichael said, it was "as ludicrous for Negroes to join [the Democratic Party] as it would have been for Jews to join the Nazi party in the 1930s." The local residents agreed. One recalled, "SNCC mentioned about the third party and we decided we would do it, because it didn't make sense for us to go join the Democratic party when they were the people who had done the killing in the county and had beat our heads." The new organization took a snarling black panther as its symbol, and soon came to be called the Black Panther Party.

Although narrowly based on a single impoverished rural Black Belt county, Lowndes was important because it was organized *in opposition* to the Democrats. The Lowndes Black Panther Party was also important for its open advocacy of armed self-defense. Armed self-defense was a burning necessity for the black movement in the South. In Monroe, North Carolina beginning in 1959 local NAACP chapter head Robert Williams' courageous battle against KKK terror and his book *Negroes With Guns* became a beacon to militant blacks throughout the South. Indeed, James Forman, then a young *Chicago Defender* reporter, visited with Williams just before Williams was forced into exile in Cuba in 1961. In Lowndes the SNCC workers were influenced by and defended the militant black sharecroppers who owned guns and were willing to use them against racist attack. By 1965 the Louisiana-based Deacons for Defense and Justice had spread to Alabama; black rallies in the county were often defended by these armed self-defense squads.

The Ghettos Explode

But it was above all the Northern ghetto explosions which marked the end of the civil rights period and had a profound effect on the SNCC militants. This is something Carson doesn't understand—the main weakness of his account is its SNCC-centricity, barely touching on factors such as the ghetto "riots" or the influence of Malcolm X, except insofar as they directly intersected SNCC. But "non-violence" died in Harlem in the summer of 1964 and Watts a year later. Until then the civil rights leaders could plausibly claim that their policies and outlook were supported by the black masses, actively in the South and at least passively in the North. But after Harlem and Watts, when it was clear that the explosions were no isolated event, but part of a pattern, it was clear that the whole "turn the other cheek" ethos had no relevance to the embittered urban black masses.

There was enormous pressure on the official black leaders to denounce the "riots." So in '64 it was only the reds who defended the Harlem ghetto masses against what was in fact a *police* riot. Bill Epton of the Progressive Labor Party, organizer of the militant Harlem Defense Council, was witchhunted by a bourgeois hysteria campaign which included all the black establishment figures. The Spartacist group vigorously defended Epton and the Harlem youth. On the eve of the "riots" we had noted that the mass character of the black struggle in the North was posing a direct threat to the capitalist system and predicted that the cops would soon crack down hard. *Spartacist* (No. 2, July-August 1964) called for block councils as a "basis for *the organization of self-defense.*" At a mass rally in the New York garment center, called by the Spartacist-initiated Harlem Solidarity Committee, we called for removal of the rioting cops from the ghettos and recognition of the ghetto masses' right to defend themselves against police occupation.

In contrast, in Watts in the summer of 1965 King declared, "It was necessary that as powerful a police force as possible be brought in to check them [the ghetto masses]" (*New York Times*, 16 August 1965). The Black Muslims' famous cartoon captured King's spirit: "If there is any blood spilled on the streets, let it be *our* blood." King's defense of cop terror to smash the ghetto explosions was the ultimate proof of what his one-sided "non-violence" really amounted to. For the SNCC radicals this provoked a sharp break with King and the whole liberal civil rights movement. For up until that point the young militants, although many were never committed pacifists, had accepted "non-violence" as a tactic. They had fought for "one man, one vote." But how did "non-violence" and voter registration answer the oppression of Northern ghetto blacks? As Forman later wrote:

> "The basic question, 'What is SNCC?' had not yet been answered. Our long-range goals had called for redefinition ever since Atlantic City, and especially since the 1964 and 1965 Civil Rights acts—which made obsolete many aspects of our early organizing work. Watts had exploded in August, 1965; could we still call ourselves 'nonviolent' and remain in the vanguard of black militancy? If we were revolutionaries, what was it that we sought to overthrow?"
>
> —James Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries* (1972)

Crisis of Identity

SNCC radicals had broken with liberalism as they knew it. But where did they go from here? Although he cannot explain it, Carson graphically describes the prolonged crisis which broke out after the MFDP debacle—the malaise, the complaints of "loss of will," the endless conferences, the debates, the therapy sessions. Psychiatrists came in and diagnosed it as "battle fatigue" after the grueling Mississippi summer. Sociologists chalked it up to the problems of elite black students "relating" to ghetto youth. It was not a sociological question. SNCC had run head-on into the black question in capitalist America.

The Waveland Retreat in November 1964 was symptomatic. For this conference *37 papers* were written analyzing SNCC's failure to act decisively after the "freedom summer." The ensuing debates took up everything from Forman's position to turn SNCC into a professional cadre organization to Bob Moses' "anti-leadership" bent for local community work. But around what program? There was massive dissatisfaction with SNCC's penny-ante projects. What good was integrating the lunch counters, if you couldn't afford to buy lunch, they argued. Instead of "stopgap measures which buy off revolution," SNCC should "take all the Negroes from the rural areas into the cities and force the revolution," one member proposed. At Waveland, a women's workshop was held protesting the relegation of SNCC women to office chores and their exclusion from leadership roles. The workshop was generally ridiculed; Carmichael notoriously responded that the proper position of women in SNCC was "prone."

Basically SNCC was, within its own terms, effective so long as it was fighting institutionalized Jim Crow and could unite the entire black community around the most elementary democratic demands, such as voter rights or access to public facilities. But in places like Atlanta or Montgomery, they found that the kind of things they were doing had been done, and done better, by the Democratic Party lobby, or the churches, and somewhat later by the poverty programs. They had to develop a social revolutionary program. In the absence of this, those who did not want to be merely co-opted into the liberal Democratic mainstream were drawn to nationalism.

The first nationalist locus in SNCC was a circle around Bill Ware, a Pan-Africanist who only entered the organization in 1964 and set up his own operation, the Atlanta Project. Ware worked briefly building support for the Julian Bond Democratic election campaign in Atlanta's Vine City ghetto. (Bond, who had won election to the Georgia state legislature, was refused seating by die-hard white supremacists.) But the Atlanta Project soon split off to work Vine City on a hard nationalist basis. The Atlanta separatists argued that whites could not "relate to the black experience," that their presence "diluted" SNCC and intimidated blacks from expressing themselves, etc. But to most SNCC cadre, white staffers like Bob Zellner and Jack Minnis were seen as an integral part of the group. The Ware faction's motion at the March 1966 staff meeting to expel all whites was defeated by a majority which then included Carmichael. (Although he's disappeared it now, Stokely, from Bronx High School of Science, was around YPSL and the social-democratic Howard University Non-Violent Action Group and for years had some of the closest ties to white leftists.)

Although the nationalists were initially isolated, they quickly gained ground for *they were the only ones with a coherent anti-liberal ideology*. SNCC hated in their guts the treacherous white liberals, the trade-union bureaucrats, the government agents with their crocodile tears and their money, their connections, all tantalizingly held out to wrap a net around the struggle and draw it back under their control. The black militants rejected integrationism which they identified with the ideological hegemony of the Bobby Kennedys and Allard Lowensteins. They never became aware of the program of *revolutionary integrationism*—integration into egalitarian *socialist* society.

SNCC knew who they hated. But it was a negative program. In the absence of a revolutionary alternative, the nationalists won out in their call to break all ties with the "white Establishment" in which they lumped together the communists with the liberals, the unions with the bureaucrats, thus cutting off the road to socialist revolution for the black working masses in America. It is a historic crime of the Socialist Workers Party that it refused to go in and do battle for people who were quite openly groping for a radical alternative to the liberalism of the Hubert Humphreys and Martin Luther Kings. Inside the SWP the Revolutionary Tendency (RT)—the core of the future Spartacist League—fought for the party to seize this opportunity to win black Trotskyist cadres. An RT motion to the convention of the SWP's youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), urgently insisted:

> "The masses of black workers and the SNCC leadership and ranks will not pragmatically come to understand and adopt the science of Marxism simply by virtue of their militancy and readiness to grasp any methods within their reach....
>
> "The rising upsurge and militancy of the

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> black revolt and the contradictory and confused, groping nature of what is now the left wing in the movement provide the revolutionary vanguard with fertile soil and many opportunities to plant the seeds of revolutionary socialism. Our task is to create a Trotskyist tendency in the broad left wing of the movement, while building that left wing...."
>
> —"The Negro Struggle and the Crisis of Leadership." Draft Resolution on Civil Rights, submitted to the YSA, August 1963

The RT's resolutions were voted down and shortly after we were expelled. The majority's position was that *no* SWPer was needed in the South at all, since SNCC would become revolutionary on its own in the course of the struggle. When black RTer Shirley Stoute received a personal written invitation from James Forman to work with SNCC in Atlanta, the SWP had to accede. But they sent down majority agents to spy on her, and within about a month called her back to New York on a pretext, refused to let her return to Atlanta, and would not even let her give them a statement why! Thus as the SWP tailed popular black figures, searching around for a "black Castro," they actually forced militant party cadres *out* of this critical work. For the SWP's centrist degeneration was marked precisely by its rejection of the need for a revolutionary vanguard party from Cuba to the black struggle at home. In 1963, the expulsion of the RT opened the road for the SWP's consolidation around reformism—only a year later after the murders of Chancy, Schwerner and Goodman in Philadelphia, Mississippi, the SWP would come out with its obscene call to withdraw the troops from Vietnam and send them to Mississippi!

"Black Power"

In Lowndes County SNCC had broken with the Democrats. The black radicals advocated armed self-defense in the South and sided with the ghetto rebellions in the North. As the Vietnam War escalated, they made the link between black oppression at home and the U.S.' dirty imperialist war abroad. SNCC's stand against the war horrified the black establishment. When King, Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young pleaded with SNCC to call off an antiwar protest outside Lucy Baines Johnson's wedding on 5 August 1966, they shot back a bitter reply:

> "You have displayed more backbone in defending [the president's daughter and her fiance] than you have shown for our black brothers engaged in acts [of rebellion in our cities. As far as we are concerned you messengers can tell your boss that his day of jubilation is also the day that his country murdered many in Hiroshima."

This trend had culminated in the May 1966 election of Stokely Carmichael as SNCC chairman. A month later in Greenwood, Mississippi Carmichael raised the "black power" call to a cheering crowd.

The effect was electric. "Black power" was picked up by the young radicals from the burning ghettos to the Jim Crow South as the rallying cry *against* the black preachers' sermonizing, the liberals' begging. After all the hopes and expectations of the black masses raised and betrayed by the civil rights leaders, "black power" was the definitive rejection of their "faith in the system," a vow to take matters into their own hands. For SNCC, the "black power" slogan was their hoped-for route to catch up to the urban ghetto masses who had outstripped them. "If America don't come around, we're going to burn it down," swore "Rap" Brown. As the bourgeois press screeched, virtually the entire black establishment was mobilized to condemn it as the "new racism." King temporized, saying he didn't want to "excommunicate" the black power radicals. And Harlem demagogue Adam Clayton Powell was sharp enough to see which way the wind was blowing—he jumped on the bandwagon declaring "black power" meant voting for him. But white liberals were horrified.

Initially, the "black power" movement was contradictory. As we wrote:

> "SNCC's empirical rejection of the more obvious brands of reformism advocated by white liberals and petty-bourgeois Black 'leaders' has taken the form of a call for 'Black Power,' a militant-sounding phrase which frightens the white liberals and Uncle Toms. The concepts implied in the SNCC slogan of 'Black Power' are radical enough to have caused the bourgeois press and politicians to shower vicious abuse on it, precisely because the slogan is a groping for solutions *outside* the framework of the capitalist society."
>
> —"SNCC and Revolution," *Spartacist* No. 8, November-December 1966

But we warned: "...the slogan 'black power' must be clearly defined in *class*, not racial terms, for otherwise the 'black power' movement may become the black wing of the Democratic Party in the South" ("Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom," *Spartacist* No. 10, May-June 1967). Our prediction seemed almost inconceivable to most people at the time, yet that is precisely what happened.

UPI

Harlem, 1964: Ghetto youth protest against shooting of black teenager by racist cop Gilligan. In response cops rioted against black community.

Even though we were small, the Spartacist tendency, recently expelled from the SWP, fought to intersect the "black power" radicals. Our call for a "Freedom-Labor Party" was the axis to link the exploding black struggle to the power of labor, North and South. With it we posed a series of transitional demands to win militants to this class-struggle perspective: for "A Southern Organizing Drive Backed Up by Organized Labor," for "A Workers United Front Against Federal Intervention," for "Organized, Armed Self-Defense." And we sought to translate this into practice, organizing aid ("Every Dime Buys a Bullet") for the Deacons for Defense and Justice. The Deacons were black vets who sprang up in Jonesboro and Bogalusa, Louisiana to protect CORE workers there. As we wrote:

> "The Deacons organization is a tremendous step forward for the Negro struggle, not only because it saves lives, but also because it raises the level of consciousness of the civil rights movement by encouraging independent action and discouraging reliance upon the institutions of the bourgeois state."
>
> —"Toward Arming the Negro Struggle," *Spartacist* No. 5, November-December 1965

But we lacked the forces. As a result of the criminal abstention of the SWP when SNCC first began to break from liberalism the "black power" radicals never found a bridge to the program of workers power. Increasingly in SNCC "black power" came to mean exclusion of whites and consolidation around a hard separatist program. In December 1966 the remaining whites were finally expelled. Even then the vote was 19-18 with 24 abstentions, indicating how deep the bonds of comradeship had been, how wrenching the destruction process. A few years later, as Carson observes, Carmichael's anti-"honky" separatist diatribes put SNCC far to the right of the Panthers. In Oakland, California, the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense had been inspired by and took its name from Lowndes County. But in 1968 the Panthers broke with Carmichael over his anti-communist and anti-white political line. At one point Carmichael refused to speak at a big "Free Huey" rally at the Oakland Courthouse (where Huey Newton was imprisoned on frame-up charges of killing a cop) because he didn't want to sit on the same platform with whites from the Peace and Freedom Party. When he finally did show up, it was only to denounce all "white" doctrines such as "Marxism." "Communism is not an ideology suited for black people, period, period," Carmichael raved. Bobby Seale felt compelled to reject this position from the podium, stating that Carmichael was playing "the Ku Klux Klan's game."

Forman, who had been increasingly uneasy about Carmichael's hard "reactionary nationalism" and seeing himself some kind of Marxist, went with the Panthers in the split. After playing around with his "Black Manifesto" scheme, Forman briefly got involved with the important circle of black radical workers springing up in and around the Detroit auto plants. But the League of Revolutionary Black Workers never broke from nationalism and lumped the UAW into the white "power structure." Thus even though it was located in America's most strategic concentration of black workers, it too could not find the road to revolutionary power, working-class power.

Repression and Co-optation

But if the bourgeoisie uniformly denounced black radicals, they also recognized that some of them could be bought. Lyndon Johnson's "Great Society" poverty programs were extremely important in co-opting many. Carson tells how Marion Barry, who was sent to Washington in 1965 as SNCC's representative, wrote back to complain that they were losing good organizers to the federal poverty programs, which were doing the same thing as SNCC but paying the staff a lot better! Shortly after, Barry quit SNCC to become head of PRIDE, Inc. Barry was typical of a whole layer of the organization that went this route into the Democratic Party.

On the other hand, those who were so alienated that they couldn't be bought—the "Rap" Browns and a big layer of the Panthers—were simply wiped out. As the ghettos exploded, the bourgeoisie mounted a campaign to pin the riots on black radicals (while SNCC leader Brown played into their hands with his verbal terrorism). Dubbed the "Rap Brown Act," an amendment to LBJ's voting rights act made it a federal crime to cross state lines to start a riot. The feds busted down the doors to SNCC offices, framed up the leaders on the whole gamut of phony charges—arson, conspiracy, criminal syndicalism—and finally just gunned them down in the streets. J. Edgar Hoover's COINTELPRO labeled Carmichael and Brown "vociferous firebrands" and started moving in—Carmichael escaped to Africa (having married South African folk singer Miriam Makeba), but they shot Brown and sent him up for a long stretch in jail. The Panthers, coming slightly later, got the full brunt of the unprecedented campaign to exterminate a whole generation of black radical leaders.

Where Are They Now?

In Carson's "Where Are They Now?" epilogue, you can see three SNCC generations. The first generation, who really were simply younger versions of Martin Luther King, ended up in the Democratic Party—Marion Barry, Julian Bond, John Lewis, Charles Sherrod, Ivanhoe Donaldson. A middle layer, like James Forman and Bob Moses (who, burned by Lowenstein, broke off all relations with whites and dropped out after MFDP) drifted back into academia—they were not hardened nationalists but were too radical to be comfortable in the Democratic Party. And the black nationalists only became more so. Carmichael and his AAPRP are the embodiment of reactionary utopian Pan-Africanism. Rap Brown today is a Black Muslim.

Although at one time Barry and Carmichael represented polar opposites in SNCC, nonetheless, as was seen on November 27, their basic response to today's struggles is to put themselves on the same side—the side opposite the black masses. There is indeed a symbiotic relation between the black liberal establishment and the nationalist-separatist sects. One is the wing of "the talented tenth" who have made it in America; the other is the wing who aspire to their own bourgeois state power. Both of them are instinctively threatened by real struggle for black liberation in America.

A decade ago when black militants were groping toward revolution we did not have the organizational weight to pose an alternative to the no-win choice of liberalism or dead-end black nationalism. A whole generation of dedicated, young black fighters was lost. What would 100 black Trotskyist cadre have meant in Oakland in 1968 or in the volatile conditions of Detroit auto at that time? Surely the whole course and rhythm of the American class struggle would look quite different today.

We didn't have the weight to change the course then. Today, instead of the "choice" between Carmichael and Barry, there is a Marxist answer for class- and race-conscious black youth, for black workers seeking emancipation from racial oppression and wage slavery. November 27 as we marched, 5,000-strong, blacks and workers led by communists triumphantly through the streets of the capital, the resounding slogan, "Finish the Civil War—Forward to a Workers State!" pointed the way forward to Black Liberation through Socialist Revolution. ■

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WASHINGTON, D.C.

"Star Wars"...

(continued from page 1)

for a laser weapon).

Democratic critics, posing as the peace party in order to grab the White House in 1984, instantly dubbed it a "Star Wars" scheme. But some, like *Time* and *Newsweek*, took it seriously and dutifully printed artists' conceptions of laser battle stations in space. Edward Teller, the so-called "father of the H-bomb" and archetypal "Dr. Strangelove," dubbed Reagan's speech a "turning point in history" comparable to FDR's decision to build the atomic bomb. Despite the Democrats' ridiculing, it is being taken seriously in important bourgeois circles because both sides of the aisle recognize the need to sell the anti-Soviet war drive in the face of peace sentiment in West Europe and at home.

Ever since the outbreak of the Cold War the American ruling class has tried to convince itself that it could fight a nuclear war with the Soviet Union and somehow still survive. Reagan ran in 1980 openly calling for military "superiority" over the Russians, that is, first-strike capability. The now notorious Pentagon "Defense Guidelines," leaked last year, spoke of "prevailing" in a "protracted" nuclear war. But as Soviet defense minister Dmitri Ustinov warned last July, "the aggressor will not be able to evade an all-crushing retaliatory strike." Hence, developing "defensive" weapons against incoming missiles is key to any first-strike strategy. And this fact is recognized by all weapons experts. For example, Victor Weisskopf of MIT, one of the scientists who met with Reagan just before his Star Wars speech, called the U.S. commander in chief's plans "extremely dangerous and destabilizing" (*New York Times*, 25 March).

Reagan has rekindled an aspect of the arms race which has lain relatively dormant for 11 years—since 1972, when the U.S. and the USSR signed the ABM treaty. Ballyhooed as a victory for "peace," the treaty merely was a tacit recognition of technical reality—that a truly effective ABM system was impossible. Pentagon experts lamented at a 1981 Senate Armed Services subcommittee hearing that a "damage denial" ABM system would cost an incredible $500 billion and even then would suffer "leakage"—i.e., enough "enemy" missiles would get through to cause "unacceptable" damage. And it would be easy to foil such a system—such as by overwhelming it with decoy missiles or, in the case of a laser system, wrapping your offensive missiles with a shiny coating to reflect the laser beams. Even more ominous, a space-based system designed to destroy the "enemy" missiles when they were launched would have to destroy *thousands* of missiles within a few hundred *seconds* after detecting an attack, and so would have to be virtually automatic and computer-controlled.

The 1972 ABM treaty was the product of the momentary weakness of American imperialism, which at the time was spending millions of dollars *per day* for carpet-bombing the Vietnamese, and so wanted to limit the nuclear weapons race. This was a major aspect of the short-lived "détente" with the Soviet Union. But now the American imperialists are trying to shake the "Vietnam syndrome" in favor of a renewed arms race aimed at the Soviet Union. Even if a space-based ABM system doesn't work, Reagan gloats at the prospect of bankrupting the Soviet economy with a spiraling military budget.

Reagan Newspeak: "War Is Peace"

While mobilizing the greatest arms buildup in human history, Reagan is using "peace" rhetoric to cover for his war plans. His PR men have noted the significant public opinion in favor of a nuclear "freeze." Why, his ABM plan is not for war but "to give us the means of rendering these nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete," cooed Reagan. The "peace through strength offensive" was also taken to Europe, in an attempt to undermine the protests against the scheduled deployment of 572 NATO missiles beginning this year, including 108 Pershing 2s in West Germany—a scant six minutes from the Soviet Union. Reagan's original "zero-option" proposal was a pure propaganda ploy: the USSR is supposed to *dismantle and destroy* all 600 of their present intermediate-range missiles in exchange for the U.S. *not deploying* the 572 Pershing 2s and cruise missiles in Europe. Soviet leaders naturally and rightly rejected this demand for massive unilateral disarmament out of hand.

Now Reagan steps forward with another propaganda ploy, the so-called "interim solution," suggesting that he would compromise at an "equal" number of missile launchers and warheads for the U.S. and the USSR in Europe. The Soviets, of course, noted the cynicism of this "equality," which would prevent them from answering the threats from France, Britain, China and U.S. sea-based forces. Even the Stalinist bureaucrats in Moscow, who long ago gave up world revolution for the will-o'-the-wisp of détente with imperialism, seem to be finding Reagan's plans for nuclear war too much to take. In an unusual press conference in Moscow broadcast live on Soviet TV on April 2, Soviet foreign minister Andrei Gromyko answered the hypocrisy of Reagan's "interim solution." Noting that "it is common knowledge that a circle of American military bases surrounds the Soviet Union," that "Japan and the waters around it are stuffed with nuclear weapons and carriers for them," he asked, "Does the Soviet Union not, may one ask, have the right, for the purposes of defense, to have something to match those weapons? It does have this right." And in a cutting response to Reagan's "evil empire" remark, he shot back, "If it were possible to start compiling charts of the amount of evil in the two systems I want to assure you that the height of the curve for the United States would be hundreds of times higher than ours" (*New York Times*, 3 April 1983).

The "Freeze" Fraud

The Stalinists and other reformists base their hopes on the so-called "freeze" movement, a loose protest movement whose focus is a Congressional resolution which calls for "a mutual and verifiable freeze on the testing, production, and further deployment of nuclear warheads, missiles and other delivery systems." While it has postured as "non-political," it is overwhelmingly led by Democratic politicians. Anybody who thinks the Democratic Party is the party of "peace" should be reminded that it was the Truman administration which in 1945 dropped two atomic bombs on Japan, which had already been defeated, in order to intimidate the Russians. And it was the Kennedy administration which brought the world to the brink of nuclear war in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis. Indeed, the Democratic Party has historically been the American imperialists' war party in the 20th century precisely *because* it has a more popular image and so is more capable of mobilizing for war.

To the extent that the freeze resolution represents a real policy difference with the Republicans, it is a call for a more "rational" weapons mix of nuclear and conventional arms to make war against the Soviet Union. Some of the $90 billion savings from the freeze over the next five years "could be spent...to improve the readiness and reliability of our conventional forces," candidly wrote Democrat Kennedy and Republican Hatfield in their book *Freeze!* But leave it to the "left" donkeys for the Democrats to paint even this cynical gimmick as some kind of "people's" movement for "peace." "Peace Power Shakes House," trumpeted the Communist Party's *Daily World* (17 March) about the drive to pass the "freeze" resolution in Congress. "Freeze movement is snowballing" boasted the social-democratic *In These Times* (23-29 March) and, just to prove how popular it's become, they brag shamelessly that former CIA director William Colby has become "a convert to the movement," along with "disillusioned military scientists and even former Pentagon officials."

American imperialism led by both major parties is rushing headlong toward World War III—unless the proletariat stops it. Reagan's maniacal belief in finding the "super-weapon" to save a dying system is reminiscent of Hitler's *Götterdämmerung* and reflects at bottom the frenzy of a dying class. More than ever, the American working class needs a workers party to fight for a workers government, to put an end to the capitalist system of war and exploitation. And a workers political revolution is needed to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, whose dangerous détente illusions threaten the defense of the gains of the October Revolution! Defeat Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive through international proletarian revolution, the only road to world peace! ■

Phillips...

(continued from page 3)

leftist insurgents in El Salvador, for unconditional defense of Cuba and the Soviet Union, for a one-day West Coast port shutdown against Reagan's Central American war drive. The main enemy is at home, she told the KDIA audience. "For there to be real justice, real equality, real jobs, it's going to take a socialist revolution."

Phillips is running as a class-struggle fighter for black rights on the Trotskyist program of black liberation through socialist revolution. On March 28 the Spartacist candidate sent a telegram to the Orange County district attorney denouncing the grotesque police murder of a five-year-old black child, Patrick Mason, in his home near Los Angeles, and the racist victimization of Patrick's mother Patricia Ridge by a grand jury investigation. Phillips demanded that the killer cop be jailed and all charges against the victimized mother be dropped.

As Phillips concluded in her election brochure:

> "There isn't much time. Reagan is ready and able to blow up the world. What is needed is a multi-racial revolutionary party whose aim is a workers government that will rip the productive wealth of this country, including all the idle factories, out of the hands of the capitalist class and establish a planned socialist economy. This is key to the liberation of minorities, women and all the oppressed. The struggle must begin now to forge such a party. Stopping the Klan, fighting for jobs, the fight against racial and sexual discrimination—victories in these struggles will not be won at the ballot box. Martha Phillips' campaign aims to mobilize the exploited and oppressed against their class enemy. A central part of this campaign is building a new and very needed Labor/Black League For Social Defense. Join Us!" ■

FBI...

(continued from page 5)

has been expressed lately in the vocabulary of faith-healing. Like Hitler during the interwar period, Reagan & Co. are trying to revive new "national pride" based on militarist Cold War reaction.

It is in this context that the Reaganites want to create a climate of opinion more favorable to the secret police. This was stated quite clearly by Senator John East of North Carolina, on the Denton Subcommittee, to Webster. East associated the 1976 Guidelines with "a tendency in the Congress and among a number of people...to belittle and to berate the FBI and CIA...weakening their morale...weakening their capacity to perform effectively." East explains that it is the job of the committee "to see that you have the tools that you need. To do everything we can to help boost the morale of your organization...."

These are not the words of a mere FBI "booster." This man is preparing the tools to whip up a good ole witchhunt to help the war drive. In 1977 we wrote in "FBI Targets the Spartacist League":

> "The current climate of bourgeois opinion militates for the present against the application of the kind of 'Catch 22' for which the FBI lusts: legislating the 'criminality' of the communist program in order to force the left into the defensive semi-clandestine status which would then serve as a definitive self-justification for the illegal conspiracies and murderous machinations of the secret police."

It is the political residue of that climate, conditioned by the Vietnam War defeat, which Denton and East hope to witch-hunt out of existence.

This particular strategy for domestic witchhunting for Cold War II has been a while in the making. The wide-ranging McCarthyite witchhunt of the 1950s was not a carbon copy of the Palmer raid "red scare" and deportations of the 1920s against "foreign Bolsheviks." And now the witchhunt of the 1980s has followed its own twisted logic. It has its deadly machinery in place—retooled, streamlined and ready to roll out destruction to the left, black and labor movement.

Witchhunting is part of an overall political policy. Often for the imperialists it is the natural political reflex to war preparations. In this case it is the anti-Soviet war drive pushed by all wings of the U.S. capitalist class—starting with the Carter administration and made more acute and ideological by Reagan.

Congress has taken steps toward an "official secrets act" in an attempt to stop up "leaks" while the CIA escalates covert operations from Nicaragua to Poland. Polygraph loyalty tests for federal employees, visas denied, FOIA information squeezed off, convicted FBI criminals pardoned, a variety of "Un-American" committees in the Congressional wings, and the extended conspiracy net called RICO. All of this in Reagan's America with racist terror on the rise from the KKK/Nazis to the trigger-happy cops.

It is in this context that the 1983 Reagan FBI Guidelines represent the culmination of a Cold War witchhunting process. Defining the left organizations as violent and conspiratorial "criminal enterprises" and their members as "terrorists" sets up all of us for legal murder. It gives the police a license to treat leftists as if they were mad dogs to be shot down with impunity. It is McCarthyism with a drawn gun.

For all the government's talk about "terrorism", it is precisely the element of state terror which they have made central to the new style of witchhunting. For those who think that a U.S. witchhunt must follow the pattern of the "Hollywood 10," recall the case of Fulani Sunni Ali (Cynthia Boston). Not long after the Brinks robbery, she was at her home in rural Mississippi while her children played with neighbors' kids outside. Sunni Ali, a black nationalist member of the Republic of New Africa, was the first victim of the Brinks job RICO dragnet. They blitzkrieged her shack with three tanks, four SWAT teams, helicopters, 150 cops and troops. They seized Sunni Ali and held her incommunicado. They even grabbed the terrorized kids. "When you exercise military force or armed force," explained FBI director Webster to the Denton Subcommittee, speaking of the Mississippi operation, "in a potentially violent situation, be sure that you are in a position to succeed...."

When you're looking up the road and the tanks are coming down, it may be too late. That's why the new red hunt must be fought now. ■

Down with Racist Gun Control!

Recall Labor-Hater Feinstein in S.F.!

SAN FRANCISCO—"I shed a few tears," San Francisco mayor Dianne Feinstein told reporters in January, when recall petitions with 35,000 signatures, nearly twice the required number, were filed at City Hall. And well she might have. For the recall election, scheduled for April 26, gives S.F. workers, minorities, gays and leftists a chance to dump the haughty Feinstein, with reason aplenty.

Turning out Feinstein would be richly satisfying to the oppressed of San Francisco, who have suffered her arrogant labor-baiting, pro-cop grandstanding, benign-neglect racism and anti-gay bigotry. From her posh Pacific Heights mansion, Feinstein has lorded it over S.F.'s workers and poor since 1978, when she slipped into the mayor's office over the corpse of then-mayor George Moscone, gunned down along with gay Supervisor Harvey Milk by ex-cop Supervisor Dan White.

San Francisco is a financial, legal and marketing center and has not been as hard-hit by the capitalist recession as the industrial Midwest and Northeast; the city even shows a budget surplus. But this has not prevented Feinstein from turning the screws on the unions, unemployed, the homeless and aged, like her brethren big city Democratic mayors who were wielding the austerity ax even before Reagan was elected.

Doubly grating is the style in which Feinstein wines and dines the city elite, delights in hobnobbing with visiting dictators and dignitaries (most recently the British monarch), while turning a deaf ear to the city's dispossessed. A blend of Jane Byrne, Marie Antoinette and Nancy Reagan, with her guileless currying of the rich and famous, Feinstein has richly earned such nicknames as Attila the Hen, Queen Bee and Lady Di.

The San Francisco recall law is extremely limited, even by normal bourgeois-democratic standards. If Feinstein loses the vote, Board of Supervisors president Wendy Nelder (the not-too-bright live-at-home daughter of an ex-S.F. police chief) assumes the post until the Board appoints a new mayor. No new election is mandated and S.F. voters would be saddled with the hand-picked choice of the Board of Supes, most likely another mainline Democrat like Feinstein.

But Feinstein would be barred from office for two years, a respite much to be enjoyed. A "yes" vote on the recall is a repudiation not only of Feinstein but of the class-collaborationist city labor tops who have rushed to embrace the labor-hating Feinstein. Vote yes! Recall Feinstein!

Gun Ban Backlash

The recall effort was sparked by Feinstein's attempt to ban handguns in S.F. last year. Modeled on the infamous Morton Grove, Illinois ordinance, Feinstein's gun ban was passed by the Board of Supervisors and signed into law last June. It required all owners of handguns to turn them in to their local police precinct or face confiscation and prosecution.

Shortly after the gun ban passed, the White Panthers, a small communal group left over from 1960s Haight-Ashbury hippiedom, began circulating recall petitions against all the Supervisors who had supported it, then decided to focus in on Feinstein. Basing themselves on an eclectic "Marxism, Leninism, Maoism, Castroism," flavored by a strong devotion to the Bill of Rights' Second ("right to bear arms") Amendment, the White Panthers clearly tapped into a pool of discontent far beyond their small numbers, estimated at less than two dozen.

The attempted gun ban generated an enormous controversy. There is widespread opposition to attempts to disarm the populace. In Reagan's America, with Klan/Nazi terrorism on the rise blacks feel the threat with especial intensity. Campaigning with Richard Bradley last November for S.F. Board of Supervisors, Spartacist candidate Diana Coleman won vigorous applause when she spoke out at a special public hearing on the gun bill: "If guns are banned, only the cops and Klan will have guns...gun control will leave blacks and other minority people defenseless in the face of racist terror."

Despite various Feinstein stunts to boost the gun ban (a highly publicized ceremony where she handed over her own .38 police special and a presentation to the pope of a cross made of 15 melted-down guns, including her own), only a few dozen guns were handed over. A nervous city attorney ruled against enforcement of the ban until court suits against it were resolved. Meanwhile, the California electorate

Ressmeyer

S.F. mayor Dianne Feinstein sports police jumpsuit while trying to disarm citizenry.

buried by a two-to-one margin a November ballot proposition which would have frozen the number of pistols in the state, a repudiation of gun control that went largely unreported in the nation's media. The state Court of Appeals subsequently ruled Feinstein's gun ban illegal and inconsistent with state jurisdiction over gun ownership, a decision upheld by the California Supreme Court.

What was especially rankling about Feinstein's attempt to confiscate everybody's guns was her long and well-known record as a fervent fan of the police, whose day-to-day job is to inflict violence on the poor and working people. The mayor has opposed even the sop of a civilian review board to investigate repeated charges of police brutality and harassment, particularly against Chicanos, blacks and gays. With a penchant for giving the keys to the city to right-wing dictators, she has sent her TAC Squad heavies against protesters while the Philippines' Ferdinand Marcos, Pakistan's Islamic fanatic Zia and Salvadoran junta president Napoleón Duarte enjoyed the city's hospitality.

Of course, Feinstein would continue to enjoy ample armed protection while everyone else went defenseless. One of her pet projects is to cruise the streets in her city-provided limo, surrounded by armed bodyguards, radioing in police cruisers when she "suspects" trouble. Just last month, Feinstein outraged black residents when she called in several carloads of police after she "thought" she had seen a man with a gun through the window of a parked van. Shotgun-brandishing cops spilled into the streets, roughing up several blacks—and no gun was found.

In her anti-recall campaign, Feinstein has attempted to bury the failed gun ban and focus on a red-baiting attack on the White Panthers as a radical "fringe group" abusing the recall process. But the thousands of signatures on the recall petitions show the breadth of discontent surpassing the White Panthers or even the gun ban issue. Jobless minorities living in dilapidated housing have watched the mayor cut city funds for jobs and training while hoarding the budget surplus to entice the Democrats to hold their '84 national convention here with promises of massive police protection and plenty of red carpet treatment. Gays have been outraged by Feinstein's broken promises of more protection from police harassment and, most recently, her veto of "live-in lover" legislation that would have granted legal status and opened the door to minimal health benefits for non-married companions of city employees.

But centrally, it is the city's workers and unionists who have every reason to hate Feinstein. Her anti-labor record goes back to when she was on the Board of Supervisors and in the forefront of the labor-baiters during the 1976 city workers strike. Her administration has pursued a vendetta against the small Plumbers local union stemming from that strike, seeking a $4 million damage award because the Plumbers alone refuse to waive the right to respect picket lines. In 1980, Feinstein's cops repeatedly waded into the picket lines of striking hotel workers for violation of "excessive noise" laws. Last fall, Feinstein sparked repeated demonstrations of shipyard workers when City Hall engineered the sale of Bethlehem Shipyards' city-owned land to Todd Shipyards at the cost of hundreds of union jobs.

Having been repeatedly kicked in the teeth, the city's labor leaders have shamelessly thrown themselves into Feinstein's anti-recall campaign in a groveling attempt to regain some influence at City Hall. The Central Labor Council and the influential International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union have provided full-time organizers and hundreds of canvassers to hit the streets backing the mayor.

The recall's perceived threat to bourgeois "stability" has united virtually the entire spectrum of the city's political establishment. The unholy alliance embracing Feinstein ranges from the labor bureaucrats to "democratic socialist" Supervisor Harry Britt. The Republican County Central Committee joined its Democratic counterpart in backing Feinstein, reportedly after promises of patronage appointments in the future. The Black Leadership Forum and most of the city's black ministers are boosting Feinstein, including the rad-lib Rev. Cecil Williams, a favored speaker at reformist El Salvador protests. Virtually all the big business-controlled newspapers, TV and radio stations have come out for Feinstein. Unfettered by normal financial restrictions on campaign contributions, S.F.'s big corporations have poured thousands of dollars into Feinstein's nearly $350,000 war chest, with Feinstein's investment banker husband Richard Blum acting as bagman. Standard Oil, Bechtel, Pacific Telephone, Bankamerica Corp. and Southern Pacific among others have each contributed $10,000.

The bourgeoisie and its bootlicking labor lieutenants are sticking with Feinstein. The Communist Party's *People's World* has maintained silence on the question, characteristically unwilling to part company with the Democrats and labor misleaders. For our part, we urge a large and defiant turnout on April 26: Dump Feinstein! Vote "yes" on the recall! ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Ann Arbor
c/o SYL
P.O. Box 8364
Ann Arbor, MI 48107
(313) 662-2339

Berkeley/Oakland
P.O. Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 835-1535

Boston
Box 840, Central Station
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Chicago
Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 427-0003

Cleveland
Box 91954
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 621-5138

Detroit
Box 32717
Detroit, MI 48232
(313) 961-1680

Houston
Box 26474
Houston, TX 77207

Los Angeles
Box 29574
Los Feliz Station
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 663-1216

Madison
c/o SYL
Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701
(608) 251-3398

New York
Box 444
Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk
P.O. Box 1972
Main P.O.
Norfolk, VA 23501
(804) 543-4300

San Francisco
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.
210 7th St. S.E., Suite E12
Washington, D.C. 20003
(202) 636-3537

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Vancouver
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C. V6C 2L8
(604) 681-2422

WORKERS VANGUARD

SL Protests CIA/Somozaist Invasion of Nicaragua

Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs!

"Defend Nicaragua! Complete the Revolution! Kill the Invaders!" read the banner the Spartacist League (SL) unfurled outside the Honduran Mission to the United Nations in New York City. Some 90 Spartacist-organized protesters chanted, "Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs, Nicaragua Needs MIGs." The SL mobilized the largest, most combative contingent on March 25 to protest the CIA-directed, U.S.-financed invasion of Nicaragua by counterrevolutionary mercenaries bent on overthrowing the Sandinista government. Meanwhile, the reformists, nationalists and liberals of the anti-Reagan popular front split the demonstration in half rather than demonstrate with the Trotskyists, and held their own desultory picket around the corner.

As members of the Honduran mission peered out the windows they saw some 200 demonstrators ringing the building. Casa Nicaragua and the Coalition for a Free Central America who called the emergency protest mobilized a grand total of 100. Their organizers refused to march with the Spartacists because we called for defense of Cuba and the USSR against U.S. imperialism and for the Russians and Cubans to send all necessary military aid to Nicaragua to beat back the *contras*. Quite a few Latin American militants were disturbed by the sectarian splitting move, lingering between the two picket lines engaged in intense political discussion with Spartacist supporters. While the dispirited "Coalition" droned on with their liberal slogans, many picked up our chants, including *"¡Muerte a los somocistas. Obreros al poder!"* (Death to the Somozaists, Workers to Power!).

The official organizers of the protest also went out of their way to avoid directing their fire against the U.S., choosing to focus on *Honduran* backing of the Somozaist invaders. As an SL spokesman said at the rally:

> "Why are we here at the Honduran mission? We should be at the U.S. mission to the United Nations, the home of Jeane Kirkpatrick, America's Madame Chiang Kai-shek. The Reagan administration is what's behind this invasion and it's necessary to strike at its source. We say that Jeane Kirkpatrick ought to be extradited to a liberated area of El Salvador. Kill the invaders!"

WV Photo

New York City, March 25: Spartacist-organized protesters chant "Defend Nicaragua! Complete the revolution! Kill the invaders!"

The U.S.-orchestrated onslaught against Nicaragua is aimed at destroying revolutionary struggles throughout the region. The Sandinistas have constantly sought to appease Yankee imperialism, refusing to aid Salvadoran leftist rebels against the U.S.-backed butchers. Even now as the CIA/*contras* attack towns along the Honduran border and deep inside Nicaragua, and the U.S. Second Fleet conducts menacing "exercises" only miles off the shores of Cuba, the Sandinistas deliberately downplay the counterrevolutionary threat. "Coalition" representatives even objected to our references to "invaders," saying it was only a matter of "intervention." In contrast, the SL vigorously chanted, "Drive the *contras* into the sea! Kill the invaders!" and "Roach motels for the CIA—They check in and there they stay!" But it's not just a question of a mop-up operation against a few thousand die-hard Somoza-loving killers.

This is a moment of decision for Nicaragua. "*El pueblo unido jamás será vencido*" (The people united will never be defeated) was a constant refrain from the picket organized by Casa Nicaragua. The supporters of the petty-bourgeois nationalist FSLN want to maintain the "unity of the people" at all costs. The Trotskyists say that's impossible, that the "unity" of the working masses with their exploiters will only pave the way for a reactionary bloodbath as in Chile. Today in Central America it's either social revolution or bloody counterrevolution. As the SL spokesman told the demonstrators:

> "It's necessary not just to defend the Nicaraguan revolution. It is necessary to extend it and complete it. Inside Nicaragua there is a capitalist fifth column. They just expropriated Coca Cola. [They] aren't the only pro-imperialist forces there. The capitalist *class* there is aiding the counterrevolution. It's necessary to expropriate the bourgeoisie and wage a Central American-wide war."

SL signs proclaimed: "For Central American Workers Revolution!" and "For a Trotskyist Party," while demonstrators chanted, "*Contras no, obreros si*, overthrow the bourgeoisie!"

The strategy of the reformists and nationalists is to pressure the imperialists with appeals to the United Nations and the Democrats in Congress. Casa Nicaragua's press release says, "During the critical moments CASA NICARAGUA asks the support of the American People to denounce this aggression by writing to your Congress Person or the President of the United States." In contrast, the SL protesters carried signs demanding, "No U.S. Aid to Central America! For a One-Day Port Shutdown!" Militants in the San Francisco Bay Area longshore union have initiated a call for a 24-hour shutdown of all West Coast ports to oppose Reagan's war drive. That's what's needed—militant working-class action not impotent appeals to the imperialist war makers.

The reformist left in the United States, taking their cue from the Sandinistas and the leaders of the Salvadoran opposition popular front, call for a negotiated "political solution" that would sell out liberation struggles in Central America. The Spartacist League, which has consistently fought for military victory to leftist insurgents in El Salvador and workers revolution, chanted "No sellout political deals, win it on the battlefield!" While the American bourgeoisie, from Reagan to the liberal Democrats, worries about dominoes toppling from Panama to the U.S. southern border, SL signs at the demonstration proclaimed boldly, "Extend the Revolution to the Rio Grande! Mexican Workers Arise!" As a speaker at the Spartacist protest told the crowd in Spanish, "We must put all of Central America in flames! Defend, complete, extend the revolution!" ■

Labor Action Against U.S. Aid to Central American Butchers!

S.F. Longshore Local For One-Day Port Shutdown

The following resolution was passed on March 21 by the executive board of Local 10, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) to be forwarded to the upcoming ILWU convention as the position of the Local. The call for a 24-hour West Coast port shutdown is urgently necessary in the face of Reagan's war escalation against Salvadoran rebels and Sandinista Nicaragua. We hope that union militants will press forward their efforts to turn this call into effective action, which could electrify the labor movement, striking a dramatic blow of solidarity with the embattled workers and peasants of Central America.

WHEREAS:

The November 1980 International Executive Board has stated "The ILWU strongly protests any further U.S. military, political or economic assistance to the military government of El Salvador which has imposed a virtual reign of terror over its people" and all ILWU locals have been authorized to "refuse to handle any and all military cargo or so-called 'riot control' equipment being shipped to El Salvador", and

WHEREAS:

In response to the dramatic battlefield victories by the Salvadoran rebel forces the Reagan administration is demanding an immediate massive escalation of U.S. military and economic aid to the bloody junta, including sharply increasing the number of U.S. military advisers, and

WHEREAS:

Our brothers and sisters in El Salvador urgently need immediate help from the American labor movement in the form of specific acts of labor solidarity, therefore be it

RESOLVED:

The ILWU will organize a 24-hour shutdown of every major West Coast port to demand an end to all U.S. military, political and economic assistance to El Salvador.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 328 — 22 April 1983

Fight Racist Backlash Against Black Mayor

Harold Washington Will Betray Black Chicago

AP

The "morning after" Washington has "unity" luncheon with racist pols: (from left) Saul Epton, Jane Byrne, Richard Daley, Jr.

Chicago Tribune

Chicago blacks will still face the same police brutality as these did lining up for temporary city jobs.

CHICAGO—The second-largest, and most segregated, city in the United States now has its first black mayor. Democrat Harold Washington narrowly snatched victory from a racist mobilization instigated by the Democratic Machine he loyally served for three decades. Hundreds of thousands of black people in Chicago and millions across the country see the Washington election as their victory. Jesse Jackson proclaimed it "the most significant national event" for blacks since the Selma-Montgomery march of 1965. But the hair's breadth election of this Democratic Party hack is *no victory for the black masses*. The racists have been emboldened, the cops are preparing for the next round and Harold Washington is desperately trying to maintain the status quo. The white racist backlash that whipped through Chicago during the recent mayoral elections reveals the dangerous potential for race war in this depression-ravaged country. But there is also the tremendous potential for class struggle in Chicago, in the industrial heartland of America.

Harold Washington must betray the aspirations of black Chicago. The Democratic Party for decades has kept labor and minorities tied to their most determined enemies, from Southern Dixiecrats to openly racist Northern mayors like Jane Byrne and New York's Ed Koch. But Washington has as much right to be mayor and exercise the prerogatives of his office as any other capitalist politician. For half a century

continued on page 4

U.S./China—Hands Off Vietnam!

APRIL 19—Once again it appears that United States imperialism is trying to crush Vietnam. Over the weekend China, Washington's anti-Soviet ally in Asia, launched artillery attacks against Vietnam for the first time since Peking's 1979 invasion. Meanwhile the U.S. is rushing ultra-modern weaponry—Redeye anti-aircraft missiles, long-range 155-millimeter howitzers and the like—to Thailand. Early this month, U.S.-supplied Thai warplanes dropped napalm on Vietnamese forces in Cambodia (Kampuchea). And then came an ominous report that CIA director William Casey had dined with former South Vietnamese Marshal Ky, the jumpsuited Hitler-lover, at the Philippines presidential palace in Manila. The Chinese border, the Cambodian border, poking around in the south . . the Americans are orchestrating an attack all around Vietnam and inside as well. The Trotskyists demand: U.S./China—Hands Off!

Even more ominous is the way this onslaught is being presented. "U.S. is Airlifting Missiles to Thailand in Face of Vietnamese Threat" headlined the *New York Times*. What threat? Peking presents a diplomatic note to Hanoi saying that if Vietnam lets "the trend of armed provocations against China's border continue to develop, they must be held responsible for the grave consequences." Earlier the Chinese chief of staff declared in Bangkok, that "if Vietnam dares to make an armed incursion into Thailand . . . the Chinese army will not stay idle." This is the language of someone who is planning war, like Bismarck's Prussia on the eve of its war against France in 1870. The U.S. allies are acting provocatively, hoping to draw in the Vietnamese and then claiming some incident as a pretext for unleashing a bloody attack.

Perhaps behind these anti-Vietnamese provocations is a message from Reagan to Andropov: "Get out of Nicaragua and El Salvador and we will let you have 'Nam." But there is a corollary: "this is what we intend to do to the Soviet Union." The Chinese are telling the Kremlin that the price of détente is giving up Vietnam. Vietnam is a long way from Russia and the connection is from Vladivostok through the western Pacific. The Americans could easily interdict those sea lanes, but then they've got World War III. So it depends on what the Soviets are going to do and on how crazy those guys in Washington are.

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DRV

Ho Chi Minh

Women in Sri Lanka

Iowa City, Iowa
30 January 1983

Comrades,

...In *WV* 322, while I have not had time to read the whole paper yet, I did read the item on Sri Lanka among others. Generally the actions of this iSt section seem politically good. However in the slogan (p. 5) on women's issues is included "Abolish night shifts!" This sounds backward and sexist—why can't women work night shifts too? If there are special circumstances there an explanation would be useful; if not the section should reconsider this item.

In solidarity,

Loren Schutt

WV replies: Your observations about the controversy surrounding night shift work for women in Lanka prompted an interesting discussion in the Centre. What is in question at the moment is evidently something called the International Labour Office Convention No. 89, which prohibits night work for women. Ten years ago Sri Lanka's government ratified this ILO agreement. They have now decided to pull out of this convention and to revise their own protective legislation on women workers. The July 1982 issue of Lanka's English-language feminist magazine, *Voice of Women*, says the new codes will permit women workers on night shifts if this is "voluntary," and that the new codes would require such employers to comply with "certain provisions such as transport facilities, maternity benefits and overtime pay."

Voice of Women observes that the capitalist countries which did not ratify the ILO convention are the advanced industrial nations—the U.S., United Kingdom, West Germany, Japan. The only ex-colonial country listed in *Voice of Women* as a non-signer is Singapore, which seems to be the Jayewardene government's model for hoped-for industrialization via "free trade zone" foreign capitalist investment. The new "voluntary" regulations are visibly part of the concessions to employers on working conditions and union rights deemed necessary to attract foreign investors.

It's a safe assumption that protest against the abolition of this form of protective legislation for women in Lanka comes mainly from the social-democrats and other reformists, who of course look toward UN pronouncements and domestic legislation to protect women workers, rather than toward the urgently neeessary "illegal" unionization of the free trade zone. Even on the narrow level of legislative

AAFLI

Ninety-five percent of Sri Lanka Free Trade Zone workforce is made up of women without protection of unions or other rights.

reform, our proposals are not the same as those of the social-democrats; we stand for the extension of any necessary protective legislation to all workers, not just women. But our first concrete concern is against the abolition of protective legislation, as we made clear in many of our articles on the early debates over the Equal Rights Amendment in this country.

In other countries, particularly in Britain where the patronizing and puritanical Labourite types often rail against night shifts in general and over night work for women in particular (an agitation of a piece with the archaic, teetotalist, Sunday-blue-law harassments aimed at "protecting" conventional "family life"), sections of the iSt have generally responded by counterposing demands addressing the specific hardships of night work—e.g., demands for "penalty pay" for unpopular shifts, childcare facilities, etc., depending on particular conditions. We have denounced opposition to night shifts in principle as retrogressive and comparable to workerist resistance to automation, for example. A modern industrial nation requires 24-hour capacity in certain industries (e.g., steel plants, oil refineries, sewage plants). If only this were the question in Lanka! What is involved in the Katunayake free trade zone is greedy small entrepreneurs trying to squeeze every last rupee of profit out of the sheds and sewing machines.

Most important, the social overhead for workers involved is by no means comparable to the discomforts of night shift workers in the U.S., where frequently we are talking about a woman who makes $15,000 a year and drives to work at a Midwestern factory in her own car. Even in a decrepit advanced capitalist country like Britain, the hazards of night work are essentially trivial. But in the ex-colonial world, essential preconditions for the integration of female labor into the industrial workforce virtually do not exist. To make Lanka a place where a married woman with kids can easily enter the industrial labor force requires an "industrial revolution," which is to say in this day and age a socialist revolution and an international division of labor. To care for a family in Lanka is virtually a full-time job. To prepare a curry, one begins by sitting on the floor grating coconut for half an hour. Thus the very real hardships of night work in Lanka, from the lack of public transport at night to the impossibility of getting much sleep in the daytime in the teeming, noisy cities of Asia, are reinforced by the myriad forms of social inequality, oppression and dire poverty. One cannot dismiss the concern for the women workers as patronizing in this context, even though our fundamental approach to a solution is counterposed to the reformism and ultra-legalism of the Lanka "left" epitomized by the LSSP.

Under Lankan conditions the typical worker in the free trade zone is a young unmarried woman who by law is to have no union protection. Many of these workers live in barracks-type housing provided by the employer at a cost which may be half their pathetic salary. If you find yourself on the road in Katunayake at 5:30 in the morning you will see hundreds and hundreds of young women walking miles to work. One can imagine how many of these workers would risk their jobs by refusing "voluntary" assignment to night shift. Nor can one put much faith in the provisions of the new codes requiring employers to provide "transport facilities" and such, when complaints of violations of all kinds of laws on working conditions are already widespread—above all complaints regarding the free trade zone where the government woos investors with promises of good labor productivity and the legal ban on unions there.

We stand for the integration of women into the workforce in Lanka through a class-struggle fight for the necessary social institutions—e.g., childcare centers, free maternity care, etc. We stand for equal pay for equal work and the organizing of class-struggle unions in the free trade zone and among the agricultural workers. We also stand for the maintenance and extension of whatever protective legislation for the working class there is, however flawed or partial, and against its repeal. Most important, we are guided by the objective conditions and needs confronting the working class. Therefore we must take a different attitude toward the question of night work for women in Lanka than we take in Britain, where protests against it are focused on essentially trivial hardships and motivated centrally by social conservatism toward the disruption of the normal functioning of the bourgeois nuclear family. ■

Class Struggle vs. Communalism in Lebanon

New Haven, CT
March 17, 1983

Workers Vanguard
New York, N.Y.

Comrades,

I have just read sections of the March 11 *Workers Vanguard*, in which you directly imply that the Revolutionary Communist League - (Internationalist) presents a view of the world, and of the conflict in Lebanon, as one in which the opposing sides are composed of "progressive, democratic" "peoples" on the one side, and "reactionary" "peoples" on the other. To my knowledge, we have never used sueh terminology, which you placed in quotes. We have no sympathy for classless analyses of the world, individual societies, or wars, in this class-rifted world.

We have always sought to advance a consistent class analysis not only of Palestinian society, but of the conflicts and crises in Lebanon, Poland, Afghanistan and elsewhere. It is true that we differ sharply with the Spartacist League analysis of the '75-'76 war in Lebanon. We see that conflict as *in the final analysis* a class war, albeit not a chemically pure one. And we are very critical of views, such as sometimes presented in the *New York Times*, that claimed the civil war in Lebanon to have been primarily one between sects or nations. We are genuinely sorry that the Spartacist tendency, which is part of the workers' Movement, repeated such shallow views, which are consciously advanced by the bourgeoisie to obscure its actual aims in a class war. We also believe the Spartacist tendency committed a very serious error in taking an abstentionist stance in that conflict.

You may—you do—disagree with our analysis. But in misrepresenting our views, you are doing a disfavor not only to the RCL-(I), your members and readers, but to the entire Movement. We request that you reprint this clarification without delay.

In struggle,
Issam Mohareb
for the RCL-(I)

WV replies: We wrote in Part 3 of our article "From the 'Arab Revolution' to Pax Americana" (*WV* No. 325, 11 March) that "these small-time Marcyites [the RCLI] are expressing the essentially Stalinist concept that if a people [such as Lebanese Christians] is misfortunate to fall under the sway of fascist or other right-wing leadership, then they are condemned to be subjugated, if not exterminated, by the 'progressive, democratic' peoples." The RCLI indignantly denies upholding any notion of "progressive" and "reactionary" peoples. Yet this is in fact the logic of its line on the 1975-76 Lebanese civil war. This quickly became a communalist conflict between the Lebanese Muslims and Palestinians on the one side and Christian Maronites on the other, though initially there was a potential for social revolution. Mohareb asserts, "We see that conflict as *in the final analysis* a class war," but makes no effort to substantiate this claim. The letter does not address any of the concrete issues raised in our article. What, for example, is the RCLI's attitude toward the massacre in the Christian village of Damur carried out by PLO commandos and the Druze militia of Kamal Jumblatt? Was this class war? Sam Marcy's Workers World Party, with which the RCLI is in general political sympathy (indeed they very much want to join the Marcy Marcyites), applauded this communalist atrocity at the time.

Our position on the Lebanese civil war cannot be

continued on page 9

WORKERS VANGUARD

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EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Linda Jarreau

EDITORIAL BOARD: Charles Burroughs, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Mary Jo McAllister, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Marjorie Stamberg

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No. 32B **22 April 1983**

Stop Anti-Tamil Terror! U.S. Out of the Indian Ocean!

Spartacist, Tamil Association Protest Sri Lankan Leader

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Some two dozen spirited demonstrators chanting "Smash Anti-Tamil Terror!" and "Stop U.S./J.R. Arms Deal!" picketed outside the National Press Building on Wednesday, April 13 where Sri Lankan prime minister Ranasinghe Premadasa was addressing a VIP luncheon at the National Press Club. Jointly organized by the Spartacist League/U. S. and the Eelam Tamils Association of America, the demonstration focused public attention on the vicious state repression of the Tamil minority under the Reagan-backed regime of Sri Lankan strongman J.R. Jayewardene. The prime minister was hustled into the building amidst cries of "Premadasa/Jayewardene—You have blood on your hands!" and "Stop killing Tamil babies!"

A Spartacist League (SL) statement distributed at the demonstration noted, "Premadasa is a representative of J.R. Jayewardene's United National Party, which recently moved further toward naked dictatorship by ramming through a plebiscite to extend the life of the UNP-dominated parliament which means six more years of his IMF-dictated austerity rule. J.R. has bowed to every dictate of the imperialist bankers, slashing state subsidies on foodstuffs, cutting health care and education, reducing workers and the poor to a life of desperate misery, while joining the schemes of Reagan and his murderous advisers like Jeane Kirkpatrick to further U.S. hegemony in the Indian Ocean." In particular the SL pointed to the U.S. naval base on the island of Diego Garcia and secret arrangements to take over the militarily strategic Trincomalee harbor, a former British naval base in the Tamil area. Demonstrators demanded "U.S. Hands Off Trincomalee and Diego Garcia! U.S. Imperialists Out of the Indian Ocean!"

Premadasa's "unofficial" visit to the U.S. included talks with President Reagan and ex-CIA head, now vice president George Bush. Both American and Sri Lankan officials were visibly discomfited as demonstrators' militant chants "marred" their hoped-for roses-and-champagne luncheon for this bloody butcher. For all the diplomats' complaints, they were only able to get the D.C. police to move the demonstrators across the street. When at the banquet a reporter asked Premadasa for his response to the demonstration outside and the treatment of the oppressed Tamil minority, he cynically replied that the assembled dignitaries no doubt had to deal with "agitators" in their own countries and that "in Sri Lanka, our people are living in peace and harmony."

WV Photos

Protest against reactionary Sri Lankan leader in Washington.

The "peace" that J.R. is attempting to force on the Tamil areas is that of the cemetery, under the "harmony" of the state emergency regulations by which the North is occupied by the Lankan army. Last month a government crackdown and wave of police brutality was launched against student strikers—both Sinhalese and Tamil—at Colombo University and other campuses. In Jaffna on January 26, students demanding repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act mounted the biggest protest march in recent times. A number of the Tamil participants at the Washington demonstration had themselves been imprisoned, beaten and tortured by the Lankan government.

One participant told *WV* of his years-long jail term, which began the night the army encircled his house, dragged him into the street and brought him to the offices of the secret police where he was tortured and interrogated. "We were kept under detention, we were never brought before a magistrate, just taken in, kept in prison.... Many boys who were arrested like me were murdered and some bodies are missing. Some of my friends who were released were arrested again. We don't know where they are, they have been killed. About five bodies were found in the street, hanging and heads separated, just to show the public that 'this will happen to you' once you start shouting there."

A spokesman for the Eelam Tamils Association charged the Jayewardene/Premadasa government with genocide against the Tamil people: "We have been murdered, butchered, burned alive. Ceylon is an island with two countries. Tamil-Eelam is occupied by the Sinhalese Sri Lankan army of occupation.... They're killing our babies—it's their final solution to the Tamils." The Tamils Association advocates a separate state of Eelam in the north and east of Sri Lanka.

Spartacist signs at the demonstration called "For the Right of Self-Determination for the Tamils!" "Free Victims of Anti-Tamil Terror!" and "For a Revolutionary Workers and Peasants Government in Sri Lanka!" The SL also demanded full citizenship rights for the stateless Indian Tamil plantation workers who face grueling working conditions, pogromist raids and deportation. In the face of the May-June 1981 anti-Tamil army rampage in Jaffna, the newly formed Spartacist League/Lanka raised its voice in protest, while the chauvinist left was virtually silent. Other sections of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) have also actively defended the oppressed Tamil minority. When in August 1981 hundreds of Tamils fled to West Berlin to escape the vicious repression in Sri Lanka, the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD), German section of the iSt, organized a demonstration demanding the right of political asylum.

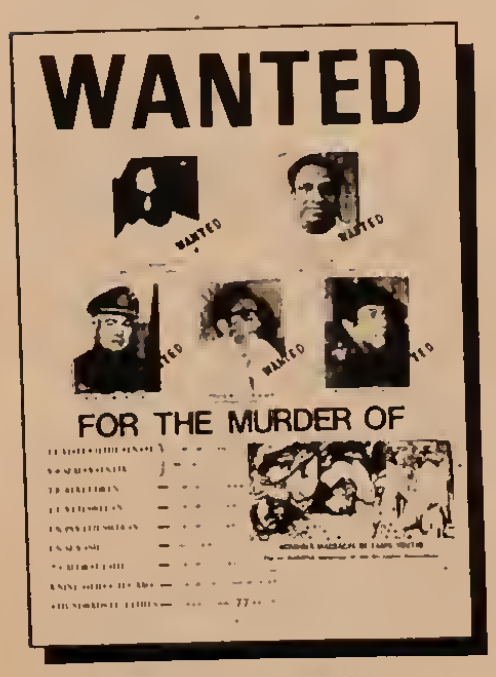
Last fall our comrades of the Spartacist League/Lanka denounced J.R.'s phony referendum—"an election to end elections"—to consolidate his dictatorial rule. Both *Lanka Spartacist* (Sinhala) and *Illangai Spartacist* (Tamil) defended the right of militant Tamil groups to organize a boycott against the plebiscite. The SL/L noted that it was under the impact of a worldwide economic crisis that the capitalist rulers of Sri Lanka are compelled to remove the veneer of bourgeois democracy. In a desperate attempt to rescue his crisis-wracked economy, J.R. has established "free trade zones" where young women live in barracks, work in slave labor conditions and unions are outlawed. The protesters in Washington demanded, "Full union rights for all workers! Equal pay/equal rights for women!" They also pointed to the role of the Sinhala-chauvinist and anti-working-class repressive Bandaranaike popular front in bringing Jayewardene to power. An SL sign proclaimed, "Bloody Mrs. B Paved the Way for 'Yankee Dickie' Jayewardene!"

As the Spartacist spokesman outside of the press club summed up:

> "J.R. Jayewardene, you were such a good boy at the Nonaligned Conference. You opposed the motion against the [U.S.] military base at Diego Garcia.... What about the deals, shrouded in mystery, about leasing oil tanks in Trincomalee? What are the U.S. interests in Trincomalee? What about the IMF loans that the U.S. is planning to cut back?... Trincomalee, Diego Garcia are stepping stones in the Indian Ocean to encircle the USSR. Reagan needs allies like J.R. to build his war drive against the Soviet Union. J.R. is willing to squeeze every drop of blood from the Sri Lankan workers and peasants if only Reagan will bankroll his bankrupt capitalist system. We're here to mount revolutionary protest against the sinister link between the U.S. government and J.R. Jayewardene, and for revolutionary defense of the gains of October! For military defense of the Soviet Union!"

The SL spokesman called for internationalist revolutionary struggle against the hated Jayewardene government by the workers and peasants of Lanka, Sinhala and Tamil, men and women: "Tamil workers are a bridge to socialist revolution in the Indian subcontinent."

After his powwow with Reagan/Bush, Premadasa's next stop was London's 10 Downing Street, Monday April 18. But as he arrived to shake hands with British imperialism's "Iron Lady" Thatcher, Premadasa was once again confronted by demonstrators organized by the Spartacist League/Britain, undaunted by torrential rains from raising their internationalist protest. ■



Poster put out by Congress of International Tamil Students.

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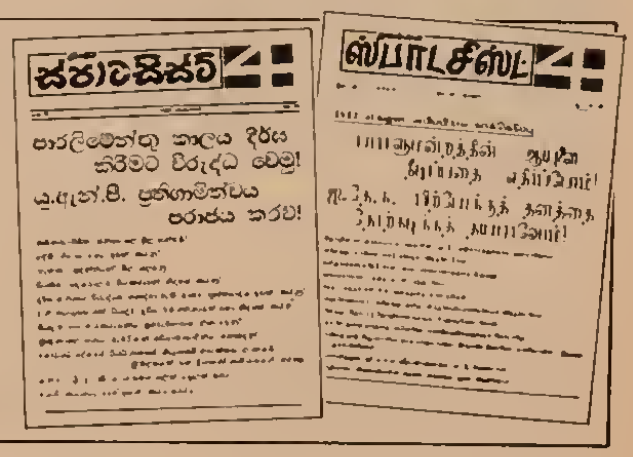

Chicago...

(continued from page 1)

the Democratic "primary" had been the real election in Chicago. But after the black candidate won the February vote, the Democratic Machine in effect scheduled another election. Defeated mayor Jane Byrne launched her one-week "white-in" campaign. They tried to reduce Washington's powers of office by rushing through appointments. The Republicans saw their chance. The cops launched Republican Bernard Epton's racist campaign with police chief Brzeczek's threat that the streets would not be safe under a black mayor.

When the "stop Washington" campaign sprang up last month, we wrote:

> "Washington has the right to take office with all the normal prerogatives. Blacks have a right to elect whoever they want to office. Byrne and the bonapartist police better keep their hands off. The election of this Machine Democrat (in a fractured Machine) is no victory for black people—it will mean more of the racist austerity, strikebreaking and cop terror blacks suffered under Boss Daley, Bilandic and Byrne. But this is supposed to be a bourgeois democracy, and Byrne *lost*."
>
> —"Jane Byrne, You Lost!" *WV* No. 326, 25 March

Now Washington has won again, and again there will likely be attempts to deprive him of victory or to take revenge against blacks. The danger of a cop riot in the black communities and a cop revolt against the new city administration is very real. Such naked displays of police power must be met with mass mobilization by Chicago labor and blacks.

There was a plot to stop Washington by local Democratic pols determined to hold onto their spoils system. There was another plot by national Democratic Party bigwigs to elect Washington in order to herd the black vote into the anti-Reagan "popular front" in the 1984 presidential elections. Had Washington lost they faced the possibility of an "independent" black candidate. Now Washington is using the euphoria over his election in the black communities of Chicago and around the country to build illusions in a "new Democratic coalition." But just as Washington is now embracing Byrne, Daley and the rest of the racist Machine Democrats who kicked him in the face and unleashed the lynch-mob fury, the Democratic coalition ties blacks and labor to their oppressors.

But while numerous reformist left groups were climbing on the bandwagon of this black Democrat, the Spartacist League (SL) refused to give political support to Washington. As a Democratic Party mayor of Chicago he has to maintain capitalist law and order. That means, just like Coleman Young in Detroit, he's going to break strikes. He's going to slash social services. He's going to lay off city workers. And he's going to have the racist cops break up protests by trade unionists, blacks and others who can't take it any longer. That's Harold Washington's job.

Our job is to break through the racial polarization in Chicago which can easily become a race war. And that means racially integrated class struggle against both bosses' parties. Jobs for all—30 hours work for 40 hours pay! Sit-ins against mass layoffs! Mass organization of the unemployed under the leadership of the unions! Fight racial and sexual discrimination! Not a man, not a penny for the imperialist war machine! To fight for this program requires a revolutionary party of black and white workers whose aim is a workers government that will rip the productive wealth of this country out of the capitalists' hands and establish a planned economy.

Horan/Picture Group

Democratic ward heelers built Republican Epton's "before it's too late" racist backlash campaign.

The Morning After

Now that Washington's won, all the bigwig black politicians are trying to cool out black expectations. Maynard Jackson advised Washington to "temper the extraordinarily sky high expectations of an ecstatic black community. The first black mayor is not Superman incarnate" (*New York Times*, 17 April). Washington never promised to fight for open housing in the first place, but already he's backpeddling as fast as he can on the question of construction of public housing: "...it's not in my purview to pick the sites.... Public housing is not going to flourish; it's a question of dollars and cents." Washington postured as a "reform" candidate, but he has dirty work to do now. The guy who used to visit the prisoners in Cook County jail every Christmas will now be stuffing those jails.

Washington acts as if blacks are just another ethnic group like the Irish, Poles or Italians, and there is a widespread illusion that Washington's victory means Chicago blacks will finally get their chance to make it. "I'm a child of politics," said Washington. "I saw the Irish pick themselves up by the bootstraps...the ballot box was the avenue." But black oppression is deeply rooted in this capitalist society where blacks are overwhelmingly concentrated in what Marx called the "reserve army of labor." That's the reason for the astronomical unemployment rates in the ghetto, even in times of relative prosperity. No Harold Washington's going to do anything about that. It took the Civil War to free blacks from chattel slavery, and it will take a social revolution to bring about real black equality.

Black people know something terrible is happening to them. The question is how to fight it. This is not the first mass black voter registration drive. The civil rights movement did it in the 1960s. So now we have black mayors enforcing austerity on the black masses. The liberal-led civil rights movement of Martin Luther King came to a dead end in Chicago precisely because it failed to address the basic economic oppression of black people. Jobs, housing, education—these are the same problems Chicago blacks face today. Thousands of steel workers have been thrown on the streets, and huge steel mills stand idle or are working at only a fraction of their capacity because the steel bosses can't make a profit. Dilapidated houses and decaying housing projects stretch for mile after mile on the South Side. The El system is falling apart and now they're shutting down service to the black neighborhoods. The teachers haven't had a raise in two years and the schools may not open in the fall if they can't find the money to pay off the deficit. Just what is Harold Washington going to do about all that? You have to have a program to overturn the boom-bust capitalist system, a program which can mobilize black and white workers to fight their common enemy.

Smash the Racist Backlash!

The Democratic Party, with its 50-year legacy of ethnic-patronage politics, made Chicago Segregation City to begin with. Boss Daley's Democratic Machine ensured that there was never even an attempt to implement busing here. Byrne, elected with the minority vote, infuriated the black population with her high-handed, abusive racism. When she passed over a black for head of the Chicago Housing Authority, that was the last straw—blacks were determined to turn her out.

After Washington's primary victory we wrote, "Harold Washington Takes Over Chicago Machine." Well, he certainly tried, but it wasn't that simple. The Machine's black captains had always dutifully delivered the black vote for the party's candidates, and Washington made it clear he expected the same from the white aldermen. But a number of the ward bosses went into open revolt. No one did more than Byrne to inflame the situation. Her one week write-in campaign, appropriately dubbed a "white-in," was a brazen attempt "to save Chicago" from a black mayor. The Nazis backed Byrne as a "symbol of resistance" and urged a vote for her as "a step in the right direction—white power."

The Republican candidate shamelessly pitched his campaign to the racists with the slogan, "Epton, before it's too late." Ugly racist mobs sporting Epton buttons twice accosted the black candidate as he campaigned in predominantly white neighborhoods. All the hoopla millionaire Epton made over Washington's taxes, in a town like Chicago where millions of dollars of graft flow openly from City Hall each year, was a deliberate attempt to smear all blacks as shiftless hustlers. It was a cover for the racist vote. In the final days of the campaign Epton proclaimed "bitterness and hatred" are the price of freedom and championed "the freedom to hate." Then Epton refused to sit in the same TV studio with Washington for a debate on "Meet the Press"; Washington responded, "He thinks he's in South Africa."

In fact, Washington's unheard-of (for a Machine-loyal flunky) 36-day stint in jail for failing to file income tax returns for four years, involving a measly $500 of outstanding taxes, was the result of an "investigation" launched by then-state's attorney Ed Hanrahan, who was infuriated because Washington had raised criticisms of the FBI/Chicago police-organized massacre of Black Panther leader Fred Hampton. That Washington hid this—virtually his only decent act independent of the Daley Machine—during the attacks on his character which eroded much of his liberal support—indicates his willingness to capitulate to the racist status quo rather than be associated with "black militancy."

The notoriously racist and corrupt police department provided the shock troops for Epton's campaign as the "Great White Hope" to stop Washington from taking office. When the cops were told there would be no on-the-job politicking they simply painted their Epton buttons white. Racist propaganda was posted in precincts around the city. The day before the election, news broke of a plot by the white cops to conduct mass arrests of blacks to prevent them from voting. It was an ominous bonapartist display of muscle by the cops, as was the special unit they organized which knocked 2,500 blacks off the voter registration lists. The cops are the racist enemies of blacks and working people and any bonapartist drive on their part to organize as an independent political force or break loose from civilian control must be smashed.

The racist backlash swept through the city. White punks sported T-shirts emblazoned with slogans like "Go get 'em Jew Boy" and "Vote Right, Vote White" on St. Patrick's Day. White fears that gains for blacks will come at their expense were whipped to a fever pitch. One steel worker was quoted as saying,

> "You've got to vote racist, there's no other way. They've got nothing, you've got a little something, and they're going to take yours away. Washington said during the primary, 'It's our turn'."

The ethnic porkbarreling politics of the Democratic Party only fuel these racist fears.

Conservative columnist William Safire cynically alibis the white racist backlash:

> "...if it is laudatory for black voters to vote as a bloc for a black candidate, the logic dictates it should bother nobody that white voters are likely to vote as a bloc for the white candidate.... Voting on the basis of race is racist."
>
> —*New York Times*, 24 March

Safire's too "civilized" to get down there on the streets with the mob and put on a "White Power" T-shirt. But it's "White Power"—a fascist slogan—that Safire is really trying to put over with a slick, twisted "logic." His article is a call for more "sophisticated" racists to mobilize "before it's too late." To talk about "reverse racism" in the face of the brutal oppression of black people in this country and the current drive by the ruling class to roll back even the limited gains of the civil rights movement is an obscenity. The cutbacks have been aimed with almost surgical precision to hit blacks and minorities hardest. But the depression has meant that millions of white workers too now find themselves on the unemployment and welfare lines with nowhere to turn. The bourgeoisie hopes to deflect any possibility

continued on page 9

Partisan Defense Committee
Fundraiser

"We Stopped the Klan!"
Labor/Black Mobilization Shakes Washington, D.C.

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Ran Blake,
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Martha Phillips for Oakland City Council!

Spartacist Campaign for Labor/Black Defense

We reprint below the brochure of the Spartacist Party Campaign Committee.

Oakland is falling apart. Depression-level unemployment, bad housing, miserable medical care and lousy schools—the poor and working people of the city are being viciously squeezed to pay for Ronald Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. To enforce this policy racist cops terrorize the population, while in nearby suburbs the Ku Klux Klan, with police connivance and participation, runs amok. In Oakland Democratic Party mayor Lionel Wilson presides over the closing of the Carnation plant which is throwing hundreds more workers onto the streets. Meanwhile the largely Democratic Board of Education debates how much more damage in teacher layoffs and cuts they are going to inflict on the Oakland schools and our children's lives. Yet the capitalist politicians all say they're against unemployment and social decay. *They lie!*

Spartacist candidate Martha Phillips, running for Oakland Councilmember At Large, says the truth. The choice facing labor/black Oakland is fight or starve! Phillips, an unemployed ITU Local 21 member, knows from experience: the best time to fight the bosses is while you still have a job. Talk to the 6,000 auto workers from the Fremont GM plant. After a year of shutdown only 12 percent have found new jobs.

The Spartacists say: Sitdowns not Souplines! What's needed are massive strike actions and factory occupations linked to the struggles of the unemployed, not only for immediate demands for relief but for jobs for all. And that means a fight against the boom-bust capitalist system.

The question of unity of the employed and unemployed in this country is the race question. Deep-rooted and vicious racial oppression ensures that blacks suffer twice the unemployment of whites. Black youth unemployment has gone over 50 percent. Under capitalism a whole generation has no future. Racist terror groups like the Klan and Nazis, the last line of defense for the decaying capitalist order, target blacks and Hispanics. This deadly threat must be crushed by mass labor/black mobilizations which can open the road for militant class struggle against the depression conditions these vile race-haters feed off.

Smash Klan/Nazi Terror!

Last November 27 in Washington, D.C. this perspective was proved. More than 5,000 demonstrators, overwhelmingly black and many unionists, chased the KKK out of the city. The KKK fascists said they would rally at the Capitol and march in their white sheets to the White House. And the Reagan administration was determined to force this provocation down the throats of the black population of D.C. But at noon on November 27 more than 5,000 angry demonstrators massed near the Capitol waiting for the Klan. The "White Power" terrorists took one look at the Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization and didn't try to march. They didn't even put on their hoods. Instead the working people—minorities, unionists, socialists—surged up the hill to where the Klan had gathered, and finding the racists had run away, took over the streets and marched the very route the Klan had planned to march.

Martha Phillips was one of the organizers of the November 27 victory. She is a supporter of the Trotskyist Spartacist League which has a proven history of successful militant labor-centered anti-fascist struggle. In Detroit in 1979, in San Francisco in 1980, in Chicago in 1982, wherever we could, given the limited resources of a small socialist organization, Spartacists have worked to mobilize labor and minorities to stop the fascists. In San Francisco in 1980, when the Nazis planned to celebrate Hitler's birthday at the Civic Center, the Spartacist-initiated April 19 Committee Against the Nazis mobilized to stop them. The demonstration, endorsed by representatives of over 20 area unions, was so successful that the Nazis closed down their office and haven't come back to the city since.

Spartacist campaign for April 19 election launches Labor/Black League in Oakland.

In Oakland in 1946 there was a General Strike that shut down the city and the whole Bay Area for 54 hours. The strike started because the city government tried to bring in scabs to break a Retail Clerks strike. The clerks had voted for a union at Kahns (now Liberty House) and Hastings. When news leaked out on the morning of December 3, 1946 that scabs were going to be brought in to break the union, 110,000 workers—black and white—hit the bricks. *Everything stopped.* Twenty thousand unionists rallied at the Oakland Auditorium. Confronted by a solid and determined strike the City Manager had to come pleading to the unions, promising no more scabs. That's the power the workers and minorities of this city could wield if they had a leadership willing to fight instead of crawling to pro-capitalist Democratic Party politicians.

This city also has a militant history of mass struggle against segregation and racist oppression, from the fights against segregated housing of the 1950s to the struggles of the Black Panther Party. The Panthers were heroic fighters against racial oppression but they proved unable to transcend a nationalist strategy of looking to the chronically unemployed rather than the working class. Fed up with the cringing gradualism of preachers and politicians and despairing of the fight to forge a militant class-struggle leadership capable of mobilizing the power of the organized, integrated unions in defense of black rights the Panthers were set up for murder by the cops. Unable to find the road of militant working-class struggle they mainly drifted into eventual demoralized reconciliation with the Democratic Party. The token legal gains (like busing) won in the mass civil rights struggles are being rolled back in the streets and courts. In today's crisis-ridden capitalist economy, the situation of black people is desperate. But the misleaders of labor and blacks say: "Vote Democratic!" The city of Oakland is itself the best argument against the Democratic Party.

Decaying Oakland is run by Democrats who like to blame Prop 13 and Reagan for all the cutbacks and layoffs. But it doesn't wash. We remember Lester Maddox' buddy, Jimmy "Ethnic Purity" Carter. All over the country big-city Democratic mayors like Lionel Wilson, Dianne Feinstein, Tom Bradley, Jane Byrne, Coleman Young and Ed Koch have been slashing budgets, unleashing cops on the ghetto poor and busting unions to enforce capitalist austerity plans. And millions of jobs have been lost by the pro-boss labor bureaucrats' "Crawl—Don't Strike" program of "Vote Democrat." The Democrats stand shoulder to shoulder with Reagan in his anti-Soviet war drive. Their only dispute is over the pace and type of war preparations.

The liberals, like Cassie Lopez and their fake-socialist pals like Jan Gangel, argue for reshuffling the priorities of the bosses' government. But the workers and oppressed must understand that capitalism puts *nothing* before its profits. The capitalist state cannot be "reformed" to serve the interests of working people; there is no solution to black oppression under capitalism. Wage slashing and unemployment, KKK/Nazi and cop terror, imperialist war are all part of the logic of crisis-ridden capitalism.

Stop Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive!

Understanding this, Spartacist candidate Martha Phillips is campaigning on a program of mobilizing labor and minorities to struggle for a decent life. Phillips says: *The main enemy is at home!* Calling for not one man, not one penny for the imperialist armed forces, she denounces as a dangerous diversion the "nuclear freeze movement" led by Vietnam War criminals. Imperialist wars will end only when the proletariat takes power, establishing its own class rule.

Phillips demands the complete withdrawal of Israeli/imperialist troops from Lebanon and the Occupied Territories. She also calls for military victory to the leftist rebels in El Salvador. Unlike the liberals and reformists who urge the Salvadoran workers and peasants to accept a negotiated sellout "political solution," the Spartacists insist that the only road to a real victory lies in the Salvadoran masses seizing power in their own name. Phillips urges American workers to refuse to ship arms to the bloody junta. Joining with union militants from several area maritime unions she is working for a one-day shutdown of all West Coast ports to protest Reagan's escalation of military support to the butcher junta. Phillips' campaign gives Oakland voters a chance to register their opposition to the program and policies of U.S. imperialism.

As a Trotskyist Phillips stands for the *unconditional* defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and internal capitalist restoration. Today Reagan and his imperialist masters are busy preparing a thermonuclear world war against the USSR. From Nicaragua and El Salvador, to Cuba, to Afghanistan and Poland the capitalists are trying to "roll back Communism."

The Spartacist candidate says the defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in El Salvador! Phillips condemns Walesa's Solidarność as a *company union*, the Pope's and Wall Street's hope for capitalist restoration in Poland. That's why Reagan, the PATCO-smasher who hates all unions, loves Solidarność. The so-called Polish "freedom fighters" proved what kind of "freedom" they're fighting for when thousands of them were airlifted from Vienna by the apartheid government of South Africa to take skilled jobs ("white jobs") there. What partisan of freedom would enlist in that racist elite and live off the brutal exploitation of black labor? Reagan's "free world" means the Washington/South Africa connection, which in Namibia and Angola proved its importance to the anti-Soviet war drive.

Vote Phillips! Vote Spartacist!

There isn't much time. Reagan is ready and able to blow up the world. What is needed is a multi-racial revolutionary party whose aim is a workers government that will rip the productive wealth of this country, including all the idle factories, out of the hands of the capitalist class and establish a planned socialist economy. This is key to the liberation of all oppressed minorities. The struggle must begin now to forge such a party. Stopping the Klan, fighting for jobs, the fight against racial and sexual discrimination—victories in these struggles will not be won at the ballot box. Martha Phillips' campaign aims to mobilize the exploited and oppressed against the class enemy. A central part of this campaign is building a new and very needed LABOR/BLACK LEAGUE FOR SOCIAL DEFENSE. JOIN US!■

Khomeini Turns Against Stalinist Henchmen

Tudeh Victims of Islamic Terror

In late January and February the reactionary government of Iran intensified its murderous repression, which has claimed at least 15,000 lives over the last four years. During the five-week period beginning January 22, some 3,800 opponents of Ayatollah Khomeini's Islamic theocracy were executed, according to *Iran Liberation*, newspaper of the radical-Muslim Mujahedin guerrillas. There were also more arrests, adding to the estimated 50,000 political prisoners jammed into Khomeini's jails. Significantly, the crackdown fell not only upon critics and opponents of the regime but on its groveling supporters in the left as well. On February 5 in Teheran, squads of *pasdaran*, the so-called "revolutionary guards," picked up a number of leaders of the pro-Moscow Tudeh ("Masses") party, including first secretary Nureddin Kiyanuri. The Tudeh leaders were charged with "forging documents" and "spying" for the Soviet Union.

A statement issued February 7 by the Tudeh party central committee complained that Kiyanuri has been "one of the resolute defenders of the combatant clergy and Moslem followers of Imam Khomeini's line." Indeed, for four years Tudeh has slavishly offered its services to the clerical reactionaries, from supporting the 1979 referendum for an "Islamic Republic" to hailing Khomeini's "egalitarian" program for women (the veil) to backing brutal wars against the Kurds and other oppressed nationalities. When the sordid border war between Iran and Iraq erupted, Kiyanuri ordered Tudeh members to report to their mosques (!) for military duty under the *pasdaran*, and the party denounced strikes as "sabotage" of the "anti-imperialist" struggle. Tudeh cadre have reportedly taken posts in the state apparatus, ostentatiously flaunting their new-found devotion to the word of the prophet. In particular Tudeh has defended every wave of repression ordered by the mullahs against "ultra-leftists."

Tudeh served the mullahs as both a clamp on labor unrest and a pawn in Iran-Soviet relations. But as we pointed out almost four years ago, even bootlickers get kicked in the teeth:

> "Détente between Teheran and Moscow will not be enough to save the Tudeh party from Islamic repression.... Can there be any doubt that once Khomeini has succeeded in consolidating his rule and repressing the far left he will also move to smash Tudeh?"
>
> —"Moscow Stalinists Cheer Khomeini's Witchhunt," *WV* No. 231, 11 May 1979

With the recent chill in relations between Iran and the USSR, Tudeh's usefulness to the "Islamic Republic" has apparently come to an end.

Karim/Al Akhbar

Khomeini's terror against the left was supported by Moscow-line Stalinists. Now they too face the executioner.

The arrests and executions of January and February came on the heels of Khomeini's "eight-point message," in which he promised democratic rights for all except those who oppose Islam or "devise subversive schemes." This decree, which earned cautious praise in the bourgeois press in the West for its promise to ease up on businessmen, landowners and the middle class, set the stage for intensified repression against the labor movement and what remains of the left. The persecution of Tudeh may signal an overture from Khomeini's Iran to the Western imperialists, including the "Great Satan" in Washington, and their anti-Soviet war drive. As part of the defense of the working class and the oppressed against Khomeini's theocracy Tudeh must be defended against the Islamic reaction it so faithfully served.

Not surprisingly this task is completely alien to the "Socialist Workers Party" (HKE) of Iran and its mentors and defense attorneys, the American SWP. The HKE has sometimes tried to pass itself off as "Trotskyists" as it competes with the Stalinist Tudeh in groveling before Khomeini's Islamic reaction. Like Tudeh, the HKE has backed Khomeini all the way: praising his *pasdaran* as "brothers," calling the *chador* (veil) a "symbol of resistance" and denying the right of self-determination for Kurds, Baluchis and other oppressed peoples. One HKE spokesman, when challenged by members of the international Spartacist tendency, joined the mullahs in denouncing recently executed homosexuals as "child molesters."

To prove that they are even more devoted "followers of the Imam's line," than Tudeh, the HKE and SWP now attempt to alibi the arrest of Kiyanuri and his comrades by denouncing their inconsistent support for the war against Iraq. In *Intercontinental Press* (28 March), the SWP's Ernest Harsch writes, "Because of its political line, however, the Tudeh Party has left itself open to attack." It "has been calling more and more for 'peace.' Local branches have even opposed entry of Iranian troops into Iraq (echoing Moscow's position on this question)"! Such an attack could easily come from the pen of any apologist for the *hezbollahi*, the clerical-fascist gangs. But it's no polemical "excess." In 1980 the HKE like Tudeh hailed the "brave action" of the armed *hezbollahi* who invaded the universities to drive out the populist Fedayeen in a campaign of "purification" that left 20 militants dead.

And yet... this past January 17 Bahak Zahraie, former editor of the HKE's *Kargar* newspaper (which has been banned), was jailed in Evin Prison in Teheran. We defend even this social-chauvinist from Islamic reaction, with disgust.

Iran's class-conscious vanguard will insure that the working class never forgets that Tudeh and the HKE helped make Iran what it is today. Tudeh's support for Khomeini fit into its Stalinist strategy of blocking with the "progressive" bourgeoisie or even the feudal clergy in the eternal "first stage" of a two-stage revolution. The outcome is a country devastated by a war in which the working class of either side has no stake, with 150,000 dead and two million homeless. The left has been driven underground and the population cowers under the watchful eyes of the *pasdaran* and armed fascistic gangs. The mosques have become the centers of urban life, where one gets ration cards, jobs, entrance to schools and universities, etc. The position of women is summarized by the increasingly visible wall slogan: "Death to the Unveiled!" What kind of "revolution" starts off like this?

The Stalinist two-stage schema is responsible for countless defeats, from China in 1927, to Iran in 1953, to Indonesia in 1965. But unlike Chiang Kai-shek, Mossadeq or Sukarno, Khomeini never pretended to be "progressive." He openly set his sights on driving Iran back to the sixth century. Yet not just the HKE and Tudeh, but the entire left of Iran helped lift Khomeini and the mullahs to power. As we wrote in the aftermath of the "Islamification" of the universities: "But for the East the 1965 Indonesian coup demonstrated on a massive and catastrophic scale, for those even remotely connected to the left, that opportunism saved nobody's skin including their own" ("SWP/HKE: The Blood Is on Your Hands!" *WV* No. 256, 16 May 1980). Today most of these groups are politically at sea, hating Khomeini but unable to come to terms with their own support for him in 1979.

At that time the international Spartacist tendency uniquely fought for the perspective of mobilizing the huge workers' strike wave that struck the death blows to the Peacock Throne into a struggle for proletarian revolution against both the shah and the mullahs. "Down with the shah, down with the mullahs!" we proclaimed as the pseudo-socialists bowed to Khomeini. The proletariat of Iran desperately needs a revolutionary vanguard party armed with the perspective of Trotsky's Permanent Revolution. The grip of imperialism can only be broken, the democratic tasks of national liberation and agrarian revolution completed, and the relics of barbaric feudal oppression swept away once and for all, under the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. Only such a Bolshevik regime will avenge the thousands who have perished under Khomeini's bloody sword of Islam. ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Ann Arbor
c/o SYL
P.O. Box 8364
Ann Arbor, MI 48107
(313) 662-2339

Berkeley/Oakland
P.O. Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 835-1535

Boston
Box 840, Central Station
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Chicago
Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 427-0003

Cleveland
Box 91954
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 621-5138

Detroit
Box 32717
Detroit, MI 48232
(313) 961-1680

Houston
Box 26474
Houston, TX 77207

Los Angeles
Box 29574
Los Feliz Station
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 663-1216

Madison
c/o SYL
Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701
(608) 251-3398

New York
Box 444
Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk
P.O. Box 1972
Main P.O.
Norfolk, VA 23501
(804) 543-4300

San Francisco
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.
210 7th St. S.E., Suite E12
Washington, D.C. 20003
(202) 636-3537

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Vancouver
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C. V6C 2L8
(604) 681-2422

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

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Bay Area
Fri. 5:00-8:00 p.m., Sat. 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone: (415) 835-1535

Chicago
Tues. 5:30-9:00 p.m., Sat. 2:00-5:30 p.m.
523 S. Plymouth Court, 3rd Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone: (312) 427-0003

New York City
Tues. 6:00-9:00 p.m., Sat. 12:00-4:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, N.Y. Phone: (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto
Sat. 1:00-5:00 p.m.
299 Queen St. W., Suite 502
Toronto, Ontario Phone: (416) 593-4138

Smash CIA's Bay of Pigs, Nicaragua Needs MIGs!

One day in April 1961 the Central Intelligence Agency dispatched boatloads of counterrevolutionaries from Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua heading for a landing at Playa Girón on the island of Cuba. Their mission: to topple the "Communist" government of Fidel Castro and install a "democratic junta" in the name of the "free world." The head of the U.S.-sponsored regime was to have been José Miró Cardona, the first prime minister after the overthrow of bloody dictator Fulgencio Batista by Castro's July 26 guerrilla movement. But the Cuban population hated the Batista torturers and rallied to defend their homeland. The *gusano* invaders were slaughtered like pigs on the shores of the bay of the same name. Ever since, American right wingers have been smarting over their ignominious defeat, accusing liberal Democratic president Kennedy of a "stab in the back" for his refusal to send in the U.S. Air Force.

Now Ronald Reagan is attempting a Bay of Pigs II, as part of his anti-Soviet Cold War II, this time directed against Sandinista Nicaragua. The counterrevolutionary purpose is the same and the Nicaraguan *contras* are even trained in some of the same Florida camps as the Cuban *gusanos* before them. They are using Honduras as a launching platform just as 12 years ago Brigade 2506 took off from Anastasio Somoza's Nicaragua. Now as then the invaders are fantasizing about a domestic uprising against "Communist totalitarianism." This time among the candidates for "democratic" quisling is former Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) comandante Edén Pastora. But the Nicaraguan people will fight to the death against the bloodthirsty former National Guardsmen of the Somoza dictatorship. As one U.S. senator remarked, the CIA and its mercenaries are headed toward a defeat that "will make the Bay of Pigs look like a beach party."

As leftist guerrillas in El Salvador have gained the upper hand against the Washington-backed puppet regime in recent months, the Reagan administration has sharply escalated American intervention throughout Central America. In order to convince a reluctant Congress, they have invoked national security. United Nations ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick arrogantly proclaimed the region a "fourth border of the United States." Reagan told business executives at San Francisco's Commonwealth Club that "50 percent of everything we import comes through the Caribbean." In Washington he told the National Association of Manufacturers that if rebels win in El Salvador, soon Guatemala, Honduras and Costa Rica will be threatened—and even the Panama Canal and "ultimately Mexico," currently known in the White House as the "last domino." Conjuring up the specter of Cuban guerrillas along the Rio Grande, Reagan called for a half billion dollars in aid to prop up his tottering right-wing butchers.

UPI

Sandinista popular militia trains to fight contras.

Important sectors of the American ruling class vividly remember the Vietnam debacle, and want to avoid another humiliating defeat for U.S. imperialism. As Secretary of State Shultz bitterly complained, in the middle of the war Congress has cut military aid to El Salvador by two thirds. It has also prohibited the U.S. from financing mercenaries "for the purpose of overthrowing the Government of Nicaragua or provoking a military exchange between Nicaragua and Honduras" (the so-called Boland amendment). There are serious *tactical* differences in the U.S. bourgeoisie over policy in the region. For example, Carter's ambassador to El Salvador, Robert White, declared: "President Reagan is right to concern himself with denying Communism a new foothold in the Western Hemisphere. He is wrong only in his methods" (*New York Times Magazine*, 18 July 1982).

What is standing in the way of Washington's counterrevolutionary plans, however, is not an obstreperous Congress but the tenacious resistance of the Central American workers and peasants. In order to *defend* Nicaragua from the Yankee colossus it is necessary to *complete* the revolution, expropriating the bourgeoisie which acts as a fifth column aiding the imperialist enemy from within the country, and *extend* it up and down the isthmus, from Panama to Mexico, as the Reaganites fear.

Reagan's Not-So-Secret War

Already in the 1980 Republican platform the Reaganites had denounced the "Marxist Sandinist takeover of Nicaragua" and called for its reversal ("we will support the efforts of the Nicaraguan people to establish a free and independent government"). This produced a campaign to undermine the FSLN by everything from economic "destabilization" à la Allende's Chile to covert CIA-directed terrorism. The U.S. administration's program of clandestine subversion in Central America was codified in the secret National Security Decision Directive 17 (NSDD 17) approved in November 1981. NSDD 17 was reportedly funded to the tune of $19.5 million, primarily for operations against Nicaragua. This program was exposed almost immediately, but in recent weeks the press has "leaked" additional details of the administration's attempts to prevent "the proliferation of Cuba-model states" and to "eliminate Cuban/Soviet influence in the region." The *New York Times* (3 April) reports:

• Constant U.S. intelligence reports to the *contra* forces on the movements of Nicaraguan troops and artillery, obtained by Air Force reconnaissance flights (Operation Royal Duke) involving 15-20 U.S. personnel.

• Arming the mercenaries, including "numerous" United States C-130 cargo planes "full of weapons" landed at Puerto Lempira in eastern Honduras during joint U.S.-Honduran military exercises last August.

• More than 50 U.S. military advisers training the Somozaist bands last year, in addition to the regular advisers with the Honduran army.

• Providing underwater explosives to Argentine-trained sabotage teams which infiltrated Nicaragua and blew up port installations at Puerto Cabezas earlier this year.

• An operational plan by the *contras*, "made jointly by Honduran and American officials," to shift the operation from harassment to attempted overthrow of the FSLN. The first aim is to seize either Jinotega in northwest Nicaragua or Puerto Cabezas on the Atlantic coast in order to install a provisional government.

• Most recently the U.S. Navy held combat exercises off Puerto Rico and the U.S.' Guantánamo base in Cuba involving 77 warships including both the aircraft carriers Kennedy and Eisenhower (*Los Angeles Times*, 3 April).

Meanwhile the Somozaist *contras* permitted two U.S. reporters to accompany one of their task forces during the recent invasion from Honduras. A series of articles by Christopher Dickey of the *Washington Post* (3-5 April) reported that the mercenaries are outfitted largely with U.S. equipment, armed

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LeMoyne/Newsweek

Former members of Somoza's hated National Guard ("Rattlesnake" battalion) brandish U.S.-supplied weapons.

Spartacist Forum

Nicaragua: Defend, Complete, Extend The Revolution!

Speaker: **Jan Norden**
Editor, *Workers Vanguard*
SL Central Committee

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NEW YORK

Nicaragua...

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with long-range Belgian FAL rifles and M60 machine guns and American anti-tank weapons. They operate in units of several hundred men. One unit leader, "Comandante Suicide," was described as a former sergeant in the *Cascabeles* (Rattlesnake) Battalion of Somoza's National Guard and a "sometime assassin." "They say we are National Guard and that's true," he admits. The main leader of the *contra* political front, the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), is former Somoza colonel Enrique Bermúdez. According to James LeMoyne of *Newsweek* (11 April), the FDN is now seeking an alliance with former FSLN leader Pastora, "Comandante Zero," to gain respectability and open a southern front along the Costa Rican border. The *contras* sought this publicity in order to force Washington's hand and obtain open American backing. In the meantime, it knocks holes in Reagan's claim that the recent fighting in Nicaragua was an indigenous rebellion by "disillusioned revolutionaries."

"Kill the Contras, Workers to Power!"

The FSLN leadership initially tried to play down the significance of the invaders' attacks launched over the March 19-20 weekend. The government emphasized that calm reigned in the cities and there was a traditional holiday over Easter weekend with religious observances and recreation. The real danger, they said, was an invasion by Honduran forces along the Pacific coast, not some Somozaist bands sneaking across the border. So far the mercenaries have been met mainly by border guards, militia forces and reserve battalions while the main forces of the Sandinista army have been held back. The scope of the *contra* operations is sizable. The original Bay of Pigs landing involved 1,400 men, while the present "slow-motion" invasion involves three times that number or more, at least 2,000 of whom are already inside Nicaragua. The latest action by these CIA-linked terrorists was the grisly assassination on April 6 of Comandante Ana María (Melida Anaya Montes), a leader of the Salvadoran Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN), in a security zone in the Nicaraguan capital. Nevertheless, it is clear that the Sandinistas can contain and defeat anything short of a full-scale invasion involving U.S. forces.

How can such direct U.S. intervention be prevented? The nationalists of the FSLN have repeatedly looked to the United Nations and the Nonaligned bloc to exert diplomatic pressure on the U.S. But Kirkpatrick and Reagan could care less about newspaper articles on American "isolation" in the glass-house talkshop on the East River. In the U.S., reformists and liberals look to Congress to enforce the "law of the land." A leaflet by the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy distributed at an April 16 Nicaragua protest in New York declared that "the administration is violating the law" and "Congress must respond." Reagan of course claims he is complying with the law, just as he routinely certifies the "human rights" record of his Salvadoran mass murderers. U.S. officials in Central America recently told a Congressional "fact-finding" mission that they regard the Boland amendment as a "legal triviality." And the fact that it is simply ignored, even though passed by a vote of 411-0 in the House of Representatives, proves their point.

The imperialist "doves" have their own strategy for suppressing red revolution in Central America, and that involves buying off a decisive section of the petty-bourgeois nationalist Sandinistas. Robert White, a leading Democratic Party spokesman on Central America, has argued that "Nicaragua could go either way. It could end up totally identified with Cuba and the Soviet Union." But, he maintained, "the majority of Sandinists in positions of power and influence still believe that the peaceful future of Nicaragua depends on establishing close commercial and political ties with the United States" (*New York Times Magazine*, 18 July 1982). The liberals fear that Reagan's hard-line policies will force the Sandinistas, against their will, into Moscow's arms. And they have already been pushed pretty far down that road.

The liberals collectively shuddered when Nicaraguan defense minister Humberto Ortega said that if the Kremlin offered to station Soviet missiles on its soil, "we will examine the proposal...." In fact, while Reagan's spy satellites "discover" Russian helicopters which were used to transport the pope during his visit to Nicaragua, the Sandinista regime needs modern weapons from the Soviet bloc, in particular warplanes for its practically non-existent air force. (Hence the Spartacist League's chant at a recent protest against the U.S.-backed invasion: "Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs, Nicaragua needs MIGs!") Repeatedly in demonstrations over the last several years, the reformists and nationalists have tried to pretend that the struggle in Central America has nothing to do with the Russian question, vehemently objecting to our slogan, "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador!" But now comes the moment of truth.

Besieged on both borders, the Nicaraguan revolution must become internationalized to triumph. Yet to date the Sandinistas have adamantly insisted that they are *not* sending arms to leftist guerrillas in El Salvador (and if the U.S. had the slightest proof to the contrary, with all its sophisticated electronic sensors, you can be sure it would be shown). The FSLN's hands-off policy is derived from its petty-bourgeois nationalism. Yet faced with the onslaught of Yankee imperialism the only adequate defense is to unleash the forces of proletarian internationalism, through workers revolution extending throughout Central America and beyond, to Mexico and within the United States itself. And this requires a social revolution against the class enemy at home, expropriating not only the Coca-Cola capitalists but the entire bourgeoisie and their political representatives. It means driving the pro-capitalist elements out of the petty-bourgeois FSLN regime itself. As the German Spartacist leader Rosa Luxemburg wrote at the time of the first imperialist world war:

> "The fearless prosecution of the class struggle has always proven the most effective weapon against foreign invasion.... The classic example of our own times is the Great French Revolution. In 1793, Paris, the heart of France, was surrounded by enemies. And yet Paris and France did not succumb to the European coalition. If, at that critical time France was able to meet each new coalition of the enemy with a new and miraculous... burst of fighting spirit...it was only because of the impetuous release of the inmost forces of society in class struggle...against the intrigues of a dynasty, against the treasonable machinations of the aristocrats, against the scheming of the clergy, against the treachery of the generals, against the hostility of sixty departments and provincial capitals, against the united armies and navies of monarchial Europe."

Today such a struggle can be waged only on the program of permanent revolution, led by a Trotskyist vanguard party of the proletariat, which will sweep away the rapacious landlords and their genocidal armies, the strutting tyrants and their imperialist masters. ■

U.S./China...

(continued from page 1)

The Sino-Vietnamese border has been a potential trip wire for World War III since early 1979 when China, vowing to "teach Vietnam a bloody lesson," invaded that nation and ended up receiving a bloody lesson of its own. Perhaps the U.S. is now seeking to really smash Vietnam, using China as its instrument. Two or three million Chinese may die doing it. While the Vietnamese army is vastly superior to the Chinese army man-for-man, the population ratio of the two countries is 50 million to one billion. The Chinese can put more soldiers in the field than the Vietnamese have children. It is possible that Vietnam is on the brink of extinction. *If China does invade, all people everywhere must rally to the defense of Vietnam in all ways.*

Vietnam heroically fought French colonialism and American imperialism for 30 years and *won*. The Vietnamese army of peasants and workers inflicted the most humiliating defeat the United States has ever suffered. The image of those Marines desperately trying to escape from the roof of the American embassy in Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City) remains a searing, bitter memory for the men who inhabit the Pentagon, the CIA headquarters at Langley and other corridors of power in Washington. They long to avenge themselves on this small but heroic people.

And in Maoist-Stalinist China, frustrated in its ambitions to become the hegemonic power in Indochina, American imperialism found a ready instrument to attack Vietnam. In late 1978, shortly after Vietnam overthrew the hated genocidal Pol Pot regime in Cambodia, which killed at least two million of its own people, Washington gave Peking the green light for a "punitive" invasion of Vietnam, although it didn't turn out that way. We wrote at the time:

> "...the Chinese invasion is clearly intertwined with imperialist opposition to the gains of the Vietnamese revolution, won at the cost of more than a million lives and decades of struggle. Socialists and labor militants throughout the world must demand that China Get Out of Vietnam Now! We call on the workers and peasants of the Chinese deformed workers state to demand an end to the obscene, sinister anti-Soviet Peking-Washington alliance now aimed at bloodying the working people of Vietnam."
>
> —"China Get Out!" *WV* No. 226, 2 March 1979

The Chinese army withdrew at that time with heavy casualties. Ever since Washington/Peking have kept up military pressure on the Vietnamese, mainly through support for the remnants of the Khmer Rouge of the despised butcher Pol Pot and rightist insurgents in Cambodia supplied through Thailand. And it looks like the Vietnamese are finally cleaning up the counterrevolutionary scum in the border enclaves, which naturally causes their imperialist backers to cry "atrocity!"

The Vietnamese must counter the constant military threats at great cost. They suffer the grim consequences of three decades of imperialist war and devastation: per capita income in 1981 was only $153, ranking them among the poorest of nations. Under pressure from the U.S., most Western capitalist countries have cut off all aid and credits to the Vietnamese. Economic aid from East Europe is due to be cut by some 20 percent as well. It is with bitterness that we view the resources of the Russian collectivized economy being spent to fatten the bellies of clerical-fascist Pilsudskiites in Poland, while the heroic people of Vietnam endure grim poverty to stand up to the powerful forces arrayed against them.

By forcing Vietnam to expend massive military resources in Cambodia and on the Chinese border, U.S. imperialism is seeking to starve the Vietnamese people and prevent the government from rebuilding the war-ravaged economy. Another important U.S. ally against Vietnam is Australia, whose newly elected right-wing Labor prime minister Robert Hawke has aggressively put himself forward as Reagan's man in Asia. In the past few months Washington has evidently decided to step up the all-sided squeeze on Vietnam. When U.S. secretary of state George Shultz visited Peking in February, he and his Chinese hosts agreed to closer military cooperation.

Despite recent frictions disturbing the anti-Soviet Washington-Peking alliance (over U.S. arms sales to Taiwan), China continues to play the U.S. game, especially against Vietnam. Yet if U.S. imperialism succeeds in its ultimate aim of destroying the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China will not long survive. Does anyone doubt that an anti-Communist fanatic like Reagan would like to return China to the heirs of Chiang Kai-shek who now rule Taiwan under American protection? The defense not only of the Vietnamese Revolution but also of the gains of the Chinese Revolution and ultimately of the Soviet Union demand: U.S./China—Hands Off Vietnam! ■

As We Go to Press

The Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand has organized a demonstration to protest U.S.-backed Chinese aggression against Vietnam. The demonstration has been called for 7 p.m. on Wednesday, April 20 in Sydney where state Labor premier Neville Wran is hosting a state banquet for Chinese premier Zhao Ziyang. Slogans for the demo include "U.S./China—Hands Off Vietnam! Down with Hawke, Reagan's Man in Southeast Asia! Smash the CIA/Thai bloody provocations against the Indochinese people!"

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Chicago...

(continued from page 4)

for integrated elass struggle against raeist austerity hy pitting white against blaek in the scramhle for increasingly scarce jobs and resourees.

The ugly raeist baeklash won't be stopped in the voting booth. Working penple are under the gun and *something's* going to happen—either powerful class struggles nr morc racist polarization. The seething racism goaded by eeonomic eontraction, makes the eity a fertile reeruiting ground for raee terrorists like the Nazis and the Klan among the white ethnie losers. The Nazis have threatened to march on June 27 again this year. Mobilizing the organized power of labor and blacks ean *stop* them. When they tried it last June 27 the Spartaeist League mobilized 3,000 hlacks, unionists, Jews, gays and soeialists and stopped their "White Power" provocatinn against the Gay Pride Day march.

The people who brought you Harold Washington did nothing on June 27. When we contaeted I.u Palmer, one of the main promoters of the Washington campaign, and asked what he intended to do about the Nazis all he eould say was, "Aw, brother, I can't deal with it...." Now that Washington and Palmer are in City Hall, we know they won't want to deal with it. When the Spartacist League initiated and led a 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization that stopped the KKK from parading the streets of the nation's capital this last Novemher, black mayor Marion Barry flew to L.A. for a mayors eonferenee, leaving his eops behind to protect the Klan. Workers and blaeks must rely on their own strength to sweep the faseists off the streets.

Whose Turn?

In announcing his eandidaey, Washington deelared:

> "We've been giving white candidates our votes for years and years and years unstintingly, hoping they would inelude us in the process. Now it's come to the point where we say, 'Well, it's our turn, it's our turn'."

On eleetion night, Jesse Jackson and Atlanta's ex-mayor Maynard Jaekson talked on Chicago TV about the 223 blaek mayors aeross the country who got "their turn." In every one of these eities, they bragged, since the eleetion of a black mayor there have been no black "riots." Blaek ghetto upheavals were understandable, if futile, explosions of blaek outrage in this raeist capitalist system. They peaked in the mid-and-late '60s as a result of the deep frustration of inner-city blacks and their betrayed hopes in a civil rights movement that proved impotent in the North. Here the racist status quo could only be smashed by overthrowing the eapitalist system in which it was rooted.

The rise of the "BEOs" (Black Elected Officials) was a direet result of the *decline and defeat* of blaek struggle in the Northern ghetto. It also oeeurred at the same time as a rapid deterioration in the conditions of these ghettns which had already become hellholes for blaeks. Take Detroit where Coleman Young was eleeted mayor over a deeade ago. Running on his background in the auto plants, and with blaek nationalists and self-proelaimed "socialists" in his administration, Young's election was viewed with great hope by blaek and labor Detroit. Coleman Young's eontribution to "black power" in Detroit has been the now bankrupt Renaissance Center. Here he hosted the 1980 Repuhlican Convention that nominated Ronald Reagan, after breaking a militant city workers strike. These "black faees in high plaees" are mainly out for themselves, and they have one-and-all become black front men for the capitalists. As Rev. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), recently said: "I can remember back in 1968 when Andy Young and I were arrested in Atlanta for lying down in frnnt of some garbage trucks during a strike. Today Andy is mayor and in eharge of the trucks." The Youngs and Barrys demonstrate the hankruptey and treaehery of those hlacks who have sold their politieal souls to the Democratic Party.

WV Photo

Chicago, 27 June 1982—Spartacist League-initiated labor/black mobilization against Nazis shows way to defeat racist backlash.

But without a mass-hased workers party, black people are going to continue to give their votes to the Democrats. The natinnal Demoeratic Party figures that black people are the only constituency it can eount on. Even when it ran Dixiecrat Jimmy Carter, it eaptured elose to 90 percent of the black vote. National Democratic politieians knew the eyes of blacks aeross the country were on the Washington eampaign, and if after he had won the primary, he were deprived of vietory by a racist baeklash mobilized by the Chieago Democratie Machine, that might well sour the black vote in the '84 presidential elections. So national Demoeratic Party bigwigs threw their support behind Harold Washington and paraded to Chicago to eampaign for him.

Washington's victory was a victory for revarnishing the image of the Demoeratic Party whieh had paved the way for Reaganomies, for anti-Soviet militarism which takes lunehes away from school children to help purehase Trident suhmarines; the Democratic Party which rolled baek integrated public housing, busing and many other gains of the eivil rights movement and even the Civil War. Washington's demagogic talk of "our turn" in Chieago is the opportunity for another black politieian who will betray the hopes and expeetations of blaek working people and poor, just as "our turn" in the White House means eleeting the Democratic sueeessor to "Ethnic Purity" Carter.

The Democratic "Coalition" as the American "Popular Front"

On eleetion night Washington told his enthusiastie supporters:

> "Out of the crucible of this city's most trying election...blacks, whites, Hispanics, Jews, gentiles, Protestants and Catholics of all stripes have joined hands to form a new Democratic coalition and to begin...a new Democratic movement."

In faet, this is the old Democratie coalition that was forged in the Great Depression under Roosevelt's New Deal hetween Southern Dixieerats and ethnie minorities, hetween industrial workers and their exploiters in the corporate board rooms. It is that coalition whieh today makes it possible for a George Wallaee and Harold Washington, for California KKK "Grand Dragon" Tom Metzger and Black Panther Bohhy Seale, to inhahit the same party.

In the U.S. the politically backward and racially divided working class has not formed a mass reformist workers party. In the 1930s, the Communist Party used its considerable influence both within the labor movement and among blacks to tie revolutionary struggle for industrial unionism (represented by the rise of the CIO) and the awakening struggle of the hlack masses against Jim Crow to the Rooseveltian Democratie Party. This was and is the American version of the popular front. It has shaekled struggles for blaek equality, for working-class justiee, for the rights of lahor and the oppressed, to a party whieh represents the mortal enemies of those struggles. The CP in Chicagn is so tied to the Demncratie Party that it even endorsed Jane Byrne in the last mayoral election. Thus it was not surprising that they worked wholeheartedly for Washington's eleetion this time around.

The reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) ran their own eandidate, Ed Warren. The SWP downplayed the racist mobilization in Chicago, claiming "racist attitudes among white workers are not spreading" (*Militant*, 22 April). No wonder: the SWP has avoided like the plague the lahor/blaek mobilizations initiated by the SL whieh have stopped the faseists aeross the eountry. Instead the *anti*-Trotskyist SWP seeks "debates" with Klansmen and Nazis as if raee terror and genocide were debatable and fighting the fascists an aeademie exercise.

For Revolutionary Integrationism!

The desperate eeonomie eonditions in this country generated by the crisis and decay of American imperialism have turned the Midwest industrial heartland of this eountry into a wasteland, the so-called "rust bowl" of the '80s depression, and fueled the growth of a fascist fringe. The strident bipartisan anti-Soviet militarism generates on the fringes of *both* capitalist parties the shoek tronps for raee war. The Hitler lovers want to transplant here the lesson of the Third Reich: to wage world war against Russia abroad requires raee war at home.

The hlack Democratie mayor of the destitute Indiana steel town of Gary, Richard Hateher, had the following words of adviee for Harold Washington based on his own experience: "Blaek mayors dn not have the power and resourees to liberate hlack people." True. And their joh is to see that blaek people don't get those resourees. The industrial resourees to rebuild Ameriea are there hut it is going to take the revolutionary expropriation of eapitalist industry by a workers government to open up the plants, put the unemployed haek to work, and begin meeting the just needs of working people, the poor, the aged, the oppressed minorities.

If it is to be "our turn" to rule for blacks, workers, Hispanics and the poor they must break with the Demoeratic Party and find within their ranks the class-eonscious leaders that ean forge a fighting workers party determined to wage *class war* for power. Chicago may be the most segregated eity in Ameriea hut it has a powerful working class with an enormous potential for integrated class struggle. That potential was historically exhibited by the militant International Harvester workers. But after a long and hitter strike in whieh these workers faced down a union-husting eampaign hy IH management, the plant has heen virtually closed! The lesson is that the ordinary, eeonomic trade-union struggle, no matter how militant, is insufficient to beat back the savage anti-labor attaeks in this period of profound eapitalist crisis.

The struggle in the plants must be linked to the ghetto, to the organization of the unorganized worker and the unemployed worker, to the fight for labor/black mobilizations against race terror as was exemplified by the SL-initiated demonstration in Chicago last June 27. It must be led by a party that ean mobilize working people and the oppressed on the pieket line and in the streets, a party that fights tn extend busing tn privileged white suburbs, and fights for a massive publie works program including low-cost quality integrated public housing.

The industrial might of this eountry must be unleashed from an irrational, eapitalist system driving toward world nuclear holocaust and placed in the service of the working people and the poor both in the U.S. and internationally. The defense of the gains of the Russian Oetober Revolution, the first and only sueeessful workers revolution, must be an integral part of the program of the Leninist-Trotskyist party of the American soeialist revolution. And such a party will find some of its best fighters and leaders from those militant hlaek workers who really want "our turn."■

Lebanon...

(continued from page 2)

dismissed as hased on the views of the *New York Times* or other imperialist mouthpieces. In the article eited we quoted at some length from an interview with a spokesman for the "Marxist" Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a major combatant in the fighting, who reported that hy the fall of 1975: "The battles ended up in the street, among the ordinary people of Lebanon, hetween Christian and Muslim" ("Lebanon Explodes: 'Battles for Survival'," *MERIP Reports* No. 44, Fehruary 1976). We also eited a hook by two Lehanese leftists who likewise deseribed the fighting as "never going heyond the confessional framework estahlished hy the Phalange and accepted hy the Muslim bourgeoisie" (Selim Accaoui and Magida Salman, *Comprendre le Liban* [1976]). We will give another unimpeachahle source, the Front of Patriotic Christians. Formed in 1976, this group of leftist and liberal Christians associated itself with Jumblatt's National Movement. Yet its *friendly* criticism of the National Movement reveals the communalist bloodletting nn both sides:

> "...there was a tendency to treat Christians as a homogeneous antagonistic block.... This may explain the arbitrary shelling of Christian neighborhoods and other confessional-based operations. It is not a secret that some leftist groups participated in ugly attacks against Christian villages, some of which were under the control of progressive Christian elements."
>
> —"Program of the Front of Patriotic Christians," *MERIP Reports* No. 61, October 1977

To assert that the Lebanese civil war was "a elass war" is to identify the entire Christian Maronite eommunity with the capitalist elass (transforming them intn a reactionary people) and the entire Muslim and Palestinian eommunity with the working class (a "progressive" people). This is, as we wrote, nothing but a pseudo-leftist apology for nationalist and communalist pogroms.■

Smash GM/Toyota Union-Busting!

UAW Must Back Fremont Workers!

OAKLAND, April 17—One hundred and thirty United Auto Workers (UAW) local presidents and officials representing 28 General Motors assembly plant locals voted unanimously at a UAW sub-councils convention in New Orleans April 8 to hold strike votes across the country to defend the rehire rights of Fremont, California auto workers. In a union-busting bid that has drawn nationwide attention, GM refused to recognize the right of over 5,000 laid-off UAW members to be recalled by seniority when GM and Toyota reopen the idled Fremont plant in a joint venture next year.

"My vote is to shut them down nationwide," declared Benny Burgess, a UAW sub-council president from Wilmington, Delaware. If Fremont Local 1364 is broken, he said, "it can happen here too." A national auto strike and plant occupations are necessary to defeat union-busting and reverse the tide of union concessions. Strike GM—Bust the union busters!

As soon as the strike vote decision went public, the UAW International leapt to deny that the explosive Fremont issue had anything to do with it. Union-busting isn't a strikeable issue, according to Solidarity House. An International spokesman maintained instead that the strike votes would concern only "production related" issues, like contracting out and a new company-proposed relief system that would wipe out an average 400 jobs per plant.

Of course company man Doug Fraser and his gang have no intention of striking over these issues either. Their plans for the union's $500 million strike fund came out in a recent *Detroit News* story: since mass layoffs cut the union's income, fully half of the locals' dues money earmarked for the strike fund has been diverted into general International funds and local bureaucrats' salaries!

"The vote on seniority recall rights for the Fremont workers was the first issue," asserted Local 645 president Pete Beltran from Van Nuys, California who made the strike vote motion. "We're going ahead as planned." Beltran and other sub-council officials are feeling enormous pressure from the ranks who have suffered billion-dollar concessions while thousands of jobs went down the drain. Van Nuys will be the last remaining West Coast assembly plant if Ford's Milpitas facility shuts down on schedule next month.

But remember these are the same UAW sub-councils that voted for concessions last year and have enforced layoffs in their own locals. These officials intend the strike votes scheduled between now and the UAW convention May 15 to serve mainly as a pressure tactic against the International to get it to do something to defuse the members' anger. Solidarity House spokesman Peter Laarman said dryly, "Some local leaders, particularly in California, feel that Doug [UAW president Fraser] has been too slow on this" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 15 April).

In fact, Fraser and the International have been fast on this. To ingratiate themselves with GM/Toyota, they have been working overtime to sell the companies' line to the Fremont workers that the "new company" has no relationship with the old workers. Despite hot-air statements to the press about "going to war" over Fremont, Fraser makes it clear he is willing to enforce *any* concessions to protect the bosses' profits—even to the point of seeing Local 1364 busted—if only GM/Toyota will recognize the UAW and sit at the negotiating table.

The International and local UAW officials used scare tactics to suppress any fight against the Fremont shutdown in the first place: they led members out of the plant under the threat that a sitdown or any struggle against the closure would cause them to lose their layoff benefits and chances for later rehiring. So far 270 members, many of them black and Chicano with 20 and 25 years seniority, are being forcibly relocated to Oklahoma by May 4 (or lose their benefits under the terms of the concessions agreement) for the chance to be employed—and laid off again—as probationary new hires. Better to stay here and fight!

Fremont workers showed they are willing to fight when they passed a motion February 27 raised by the UAW Militant Caucus, the class-struggle opposition that fought inside the plant for sitdowns against layoffs and plant closures. The motion calls for the union to use "every tactic necessary" to stop any substandard contract deal and to ensure rehiring by seniority.

As the UAW Militant Caucus said in a March leaflet to the membership:

> "The UAW and the entire Bay Area labor movement must take resolute action to stop this union-busting attack! Every tactic necessary must be used, from mass picketing to seal off the plant, stopping any non-union labor from going in for any work, to plant occupations.... Our bottom line must be that nothing goes in or out of that plant until GM and Toyota agree that all hiring will be laid-off UAW members, strictly by seniority, with full contract rights on wages and working conditions."

The Fremont workers' fight against union-busting is the fight of the entire UAW and all labor! ■

Patrick Mason...

(continued from page 12)

the bedroom door, and from a distance of three feet shot and killed the defenseless black boy in cold blood. Stanton cops carry .357 revolvers; Patrick was playing with a red plastic toy gun. Killer cop Anthony Sperl claims he feared he was being "set up." But even in a "darkened room," at a distance of three feet you can tell the difference between a red toy and a "set up." Moreover, neighbors told the cop beforehand that Ridge worked and had a kindergarten-age son living with her.

Now the Orange County D.A. has picked an all-white grand jury to investigate charges against the *mother*. Supposedly the grand jury will "even-handedly" probe both Sperl, for failing to "perform his duty with due caution and circumspection," and Patricia Ridge, for placing her son in a "life-endangering situation." This is obscene. Being born black in America is life-endangering. But in a preview of the whitewash to come, Stanton police chief Ronald Johnson declared in advance that a "preliminary investigation" determined Sperl "was not at fault."

This is the single most devastating, heart-rending racist murder in recent memory. Last week the *Los Angeles Times* (4 April) published a lengthy story about the gruesome death of Patrick Mason. Reporter Maura Dolan's story captures the horror and tragedy. Patrick had been sick for several days and his mother wanted to buy him a toy. So they walked to the local market: "Patrick carefully examined a toy rack and chose a T.J. Hooker plastic gun. It came with a police badge, a nightstick and a holster." It was only two days later that cop Sperl burst into the apartment, flashlight in one hand, drawn gun in the other, and fired the single, fatal shot. "As the child died, his new holster strapped around his hips, he clung to the policeman's leg."

Patricia Ridge, 29, had grown up in a housing project in Chicago. Last August she went out to California where she and Patrick moved in with her sister into the two-bedroom Stanton apartment. Her sister moved out in the fall, taking almost all of the furniture and leaving Patricia to pay the $450/month rent. They were on welfare; there was no money, but she was proud. In February she got what seemed to her a break—a job charging batteries in a Sears auto shop at $4.91 an hour. She told neighbors she hoped this would be her escape from welfare. For two weeks after landing the job, she paid a babysitter $25 a week to watch Patrick. But with the rent to meet she could no longer afford the $1/hour the sitter charged.

They killed Patricia's little boy and now they're trying to portray her as an "unfit mother," guilty of "child neglect"! But her neighbors tell a completely different story. They talk about Patricia's devotion to her son, how the two seemed inseparable around the apartment complex, walking to the nearby market to buy ice cream, walking to the laundry room together, walking to the mailbox. Patricia walked her son to school every morning and back every noon. Her friend, Patricia Hopper, also a single working mother, with three children, said, "I've seen a lot of kids, but those two had some kind of bond.... I felt she had more than most in terms of being a good mother."

The "investigation" of this tortured, tormented woman is the baldest attempt to shut her up, or else face a second-degree murder rap. (Patricia Ridge's lawyer has filed a $20 million "wrongful death" claim against the cops on her behalf.) Meanwhile the police are taking the grand jury through its paces. The 15 April *Los Angeles Times* (Orange County edition) reported how the *cops* "re-enacted" the murder for the jurors. It noted that "the officer who retraced Sperl's movements Thursday entered with a flashlight...." They didn't mention his heavy-caliber weapon which was drawn to kill.

Every day the papers are filled with nauseating accounts of Sperl's supposed "remorse." He's even checked into a psychiatric hospital—probably on the advice of his lawyer. In fact, he's a cop's cop, a cop from a cop family. His father was an L.A. County marshal until he was convicted on felony charges and thrown off the force for corruption. He was "very ambitious," a guy who "pushed himself"—in his 15 months on the Stanton police at $24,000 a year, Sperl never took a day off. He dreamed of joining the FBI. And his nickname on the Stanton police force was "John Wayne," whom he apparently imitated regularly.

Well, "ambitious" cops in southern California make it by killing and brutalizing blacks. Even in notorious Orange County, the 40-man Stanton police force was known for its racist brutality: "...the Stanton police in the 60s and 70s had a reputation for being insensitive to minorities and sometimes harsh, overly aggressive treatment of suspects." As for his goal of joining the FBI, maybe Sperl could hook up with infamous FBI informer Gary Rowe, who bombed black schoolgirls in Birmingham, Alabama. Like his idol John Wayne, who grooved on the sadistic murdering Green Berets, racist cop Sperl got his "search and destroy" mission. He "zapped" the "enemy"—little Patrick Mason.

So now they're blathering about "child neglect," in order to get racist killer Sperl off the hook. The papers are filled with sob stories about "latch-key children." They shed crocodile tears about the need for more childcare. What hypocrisy! It's Reagan and the capitalist politicians, Democrat and Republican alike, who are cutting the budget to the bone to feed the anti-Soviet war drive, who make it impossible for single, black mothers like Patricia Ridge to get day care.

Even more grotesque are the so-called leftists who echo the same refrain in the service of this racist cover-up. Thus the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), in an ad in the Los Angeles *Sentinel*, announced a forum about Patrick Mason, saying nothing about the racist cop child-killer, only that Patrick's death showed the need to "fight for childcare"! At this meeting and in the *Militant* they *refuse* to call for Sperl's jailing. Instead these "peaceful, legal" reformists reveal their touching faith in the bourgeois justice system by demanding "prosecution...to the fullest extent of the law."

A five-year-old child is dead because he was black, his mother poor, and because the cops are racist killers. There will be no justice for Patricia Ridge in the capitalist courts. Particularly in Orange County. Here, the "prosecution" and defense are one. Not the killer but the bereaved mother is on trial. How can you talk of justice? We demand *vengeance* for Patrick Mason!

Racist killer elites like the Stanton police or the LAPD ride high in the open shop, union-busting bastions of southern California. They and their millionaire bosses need to feel the steel-toed shoes of labor on their necks the next time they try terrorizing a decent black or Hispanic working person around here. They'd learn a little "respect" if they saw their ports shut down, their aircraft plants come grinding to a halt, as they sense the threat of working-class power.

As the Spartacist League call for the April 26 demonstration stated:

> "What's needed is mass labor/black/Hispanic mobilizations to smash racist terror. It's this kind of power—5,000 blacks, workers, socialists—that stopped the Klan cold when they threatened to march through Washington, D.C. last November 27.
>
> "We're calling a demonstration April 26 in downtown L.A. Every decent person sickened by this brutal child murder must be there. Don't let the cops get away with murder! These true friends of Patricia Ridge and Patrick Mason—trade unionists, blacks, Hispanics and poor—will be heard!" ■

DEMONSTRATE!

Vengeance for Patrick Mason!

Jail Killer Cop Sperll

Stop the Investigation—No Charges Against Patricia Ridge!

Tuesday, April 26, 4:30 p.m.
Federal Building
300 N. Los Angeles St.
For more information: (213) 663-1216

LOS ANGELES

Detroit Labor/Black Struggle League Defends the Taylors

In Detroit, the newly founded revolutionary-integrationist Labor/Black Struggle League (LBSL) initiated by the Spartacist League is putting class-struggle defense into action. At its founding meeting on April 9, LBSL members and supporters from UAW locals at Pontiac Motors, Cadillac, GM Hydra-matic and Ford's River Rouge, as well as students and unemployed workers from Detroit, began planning a militant defense of the Taylor family.

The next day, a 13-year seniority worker at Pontiac Motors, who was one of the organizers of a local benefit for the Taylors which drew 600, presented the LBSL motion to Local 653. The motion called on the local to contribute to the defense fund and to "build a mass labor/black demonstration within three weeks to demand that: 1) all charges be dropped against the Taylor family, and 2) the murderous cops be jailed."

The call for an integrated fight to defend victimized union brothers received enthusiastic applause from the largely white membership. The local recording secretary, an older black woman, motivated the need for white UAW members to participate on the basis of union solidarity against the anti-union South. But local union officials, while paying lip service to the motion, nevertheless succeeded in killing it with vague promises to pressure UAW regional bureaucrats into action.

The same day at Cadillac, Local 22 officials, reluctant to oppose the LBSL motion, tabled a decision on the proposed action to the exec board. Rank-and-file members, however, volunteered to leaflet the Cadillac plant. From both meetings it was clear that what the UAW bureaucrats fear most is *any* mobilization that would put large numbers of angry auto workers into the streets.

In Willie Taylor's home Local 594 (Truck and Coach) in Pontiac, there is enormous support for the family: over $2,000 has been collected inside the plant. Yet for Doug Fraser and the UAW tops in Solidarity House, the solution to all problems, from unemployment to racist police terror, lies with appeals to the Democrats. In a recent leaflet to workers at Ford's massive Dearborn complex, the Rouge Militant Caucus (RMC) warns:

> "To rely on Democratic Party politicians, black or white, to defend the victims of racist cop terror is suicide.... And neither of the capitalist parties will 'protect' us from the bosses' thugs in blue—whether it's on the picket line or even a black family in mourning."

The caucus leaflet points out:

> "What is desperately needed is labor/black action in Detroit and Pontiac to bury this racist frame-up!"

In Detroit on April 19, the Maintenance and Construction unit of UAW Local 600 (Ford River Rouge) passed a motion introduced by RMC spokesman Charles DuBois which called on the union to throw its weight behind labor/black demonstrations to defend the Taylors.

The newly formed LBSL is well aware that justice for the Taylors will not come easy. But they intend to keep publicizing this case, building support for the labor/black defense until Alabama backs down. The charges must be dropped, the racist cops Spivey and Brown jailed, and the state must cough up a million dollars to compensate the Taylor family. As the 1857 Frederick Douglass statement printed on the LBSL membership card states: "If there is no struggle there is no progress.... Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will."

Taylor Family...

(continued from page 12)

in. Grandparents and children were roused outside, thrown in the mud, handcuffed and beaten amid a stream of racist insults. Now the state which ran this wanton, illegal search and seizure is blaming the victims to cover up its massive, racist crime. Initially, 26 family members were arrested. Eleven were accused of 60 charges including kidnapping and robbery (of the cops' guns). The burly undercover cops Les Brown and Spivey (both over 6 feet and 200 pounds) who shot 5 foot 8 inch, 145-pound Christopher Taylor as he ran from them now claim that Christopher attacked them.

Although many of the phony charges have been dropped, four members of the Taylor family now face charges of *attempted murder*. This charge carries a life sentence—but a much worse fate awaits convicted "cop killers" in Alabama's jails. The four, Willie Taylor, Sr., and Larry Hill of Pontiac, Michigan; Worrie and Albert Taylor of Warren, Ohio, and seven other family members spent ten days in the racist hellhole of the Montgomery city jail. Only after family and friends put up their homes and property to pay the incredible $400,000 in bonds were the Taylors released. And an Alabama grand jury is now being convened which can continue to hand down indictments.

"Justice" Alabama-style forced "South Africa"-style confessions. Christopher Taylor testified in a preliminary hearing that he had been beaten until he signed. "He [a cop] said they hung niggers three years ago," Christopher stated, "and said he would shoot me and throw me out the window" (*Plain Dealer*, 23 March). Willie Taylor, Sr. stated that while in the Montgomery police station he heard family members scream as they were beaten and kicked by the police.

As black city councilman Mark Gilmore, Jr. put it to *WV*, "They were put in the city jail. They were beaten. They were stomped. They were kicked." Even ten-year-old David, who was questioned without the presence of either parent, remembered how "they took all of us to jail. A white lady asked me some questions and when I didn't know the answer she told me I was full of B..., you know that bad word and that she would send me to the detention place because I was lying... I signed my name a lot."

In a hearing where only whites testified for the prosecution, Willie Taylor's son said that a cop told him: "You're going to burn. If I have to come to Michigan to get you, there's going to be another nigger killing." And then there's Johnny Taylor, who everyone admits was not present at the site of the cops' February 27 attack. He was grabbed when he went to the police station to ask about his family. He spent a week in jail.

Drop the Charges Against the Taylors! Jail the Nightriding Cops!

The Taylors ought to get a medal for their heroic defense against cop terror. And the state of Alabama should be forced to pay at least $1 million, which can only begin to compensate this family for the horror they've been put through. But Alabama wants to make an example of the Taylor family. And if they can storm a home and pull black people out like that, what is the next step in this land of the Ku Klux Klan and the lynching "party"?

The idea that "Yankee" black auto workers actually defended themselves has the racists on a rampage in Montgomery. The Klan has even trampled on the memory of Annie Bell Taylor as they shot up and ransacked the Taylor family home in Montgomery and painted it with KKK slogans, while it was "under

WV Photo

Auto worker militants organize against fascists in Ann Arbor, 20 April 1982.

surveillance" by their buddies in blue. Hand in hand, the cops and Klan in Montgomery have declared open season on blacks as kill-crazy cops like Spivey and Brown roam the streets.

Already there has been an outpouring of labor and black support for these union men and women particularly in their home areas. In Pontiac on March 25,600 residents including many from the UAW and the Communications Workers of America (CWA) turned out for a support rally at the Silver Dome stadium. Nine hundred attended a protest in Warren, Ohio the next day where 65 copies of *Workers Vanguard* containing an article on the Taylors were sold in a matter of minutes with the proceeds donated to the defense fund. Hundreds of additional supporters have turned out for other rallies in Warren and Cleveland. In Montgomery, weekly church meetings of 1,000 or more have demanded justice for the Taylors. What is needed now is to bring labor and blacks out onto the streets in the thousands.

Defend the Taylors! Finish the Civil War!

The Taylors can and must be saved. But it won't happen by relying on the capitalist state which is conducting their persecution and prosecution as a vendetta to "teach a lesson" to black people. Each day the lives of black people become cheaper in racist America. Those who rely on the state to save the Taylors must willfully refuse to recognize what is plainly before them.

Nevertheless, even the habits of failure and betrayal are hard to break. And the Taylor case, too, has inspired the usual calls for troops, even for FBI "investigations." But what could be more graphic evidence of the failure of reliance on the government than the Taylor case itself? Montgomery is where Martin Luther King began the liberal-led civil rights movement. Thousands marched and sat in, heroically stood up to the fire hoses and dogs in the hopes of gaining black equality. But after the bus boycotts and the march from Selma, the fact is, a black family is not safe even in their own home.

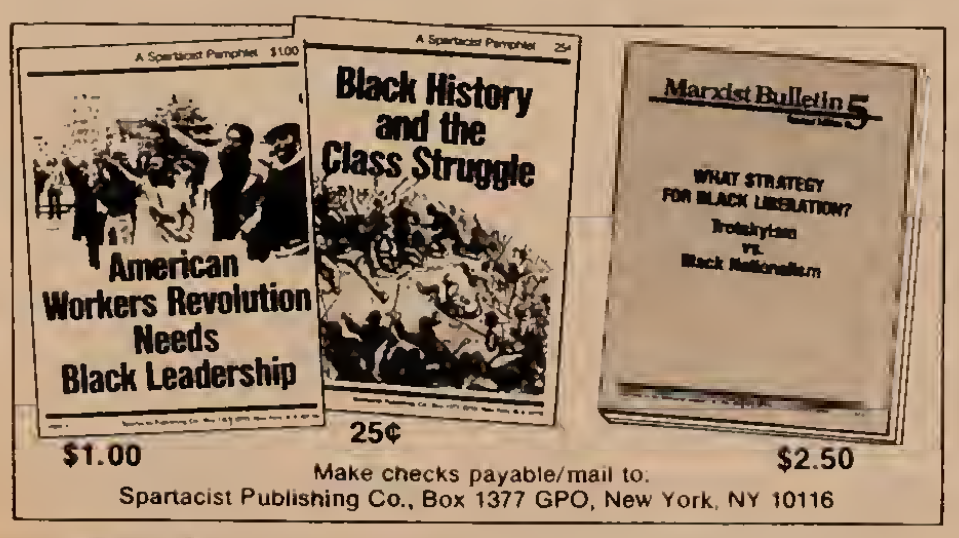
Call upon the FBI for an "investigation" of this racist atrocity? The infamous Gary Rowe who was responsible for bombing the Birmingham church which killed four black schoolgirls was working for the FBI. The "answer" for the Taylors, according to the reformist Socialist Workers Party, for instance, is to uncritically repeat Alabama state representative Alvin Holmes' call on Reagan "to declare martial law in Montgomery, suspend all local police agencies, and send federal troops to maintain order 'until local officials see fit to provide equal protection to all citizens'" (*Militant*, 25 March). When Reagan declares martial law it will be to put *blacks, unionists and socialists in jail*—calling on the KKK's choice for president to "maintain order" is worse than stupid; it's criminally dangerous.

The gun-toting Montgomery mayor Emory Folmar is such a notorious racist that Alabama blacks voted in large numbers for segregationist Democrat George Wallace to defeat Folmar in the last election for governor. The Confederate flag still flies above the capitol dome and a black family is facing a legal lynching.

It will take mass demonstrations to free the Taylors from the noose of Alabama "justice." If their case is to be an example for those who want to spill black blood to keep blacks "in their place" then it must become an example of working-class defense as well. Their defense must become a focus nationally of mass labor-centered demonstrations, North and South. Nothing less can win the fight.

Cop terror, from the unspeakable horror of the Orange County, California killer who blew away five-year-old Patrick Mason, to the incredible crimes against the Taylor family, must be met with the power of labor/black mobilizations which can save the lives of the Taylors and put Spivey and Brown away for good. Working-class justice, under a workers government, will have a long memory and a long arm—for what has been done to the Taylors. Racist crimes will not go unpunished.

Contributions to the Taylor family's legal defense may be sent to: Montgomery Defense Fund, P.O. Box 3273, Pontiac MI 48059. ■



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WORKERS VANGUARD

Black Midwest Auto Workers Victims of Southern Lynch Law

Labor/Black Defense of the Taylor Family!

A CALL TO ACTION

We must act now to save the lives of the Taylor family! After defending themselves and their children from two armed, unidentified plainclothes cops who invaded their home the Taylors and their friends were brutally beaten and tortured by Montgomery, Alabama police. The family, including five UAW brothers from GM Truck and Coach, were in Montgomery for the funeral of their mother, Annie Bell Taylor. And now in a racist frameup the state of Alabama is charging four of the Taylors with attempted murder! The Taylors should get a medal for their courageous defense against cop terror and $1 million in compensation for the horror they've been put through! It's the murderous nightriding cops who should be jailed. What happened to the Taylors is a violent attempt to keep blacks "in their place." Any black person who goes down South to visit his family could be next! Auto workers, unemployed, students, black and white, we must turn out by the thousands in Pontiac and Detroit. The defense of the Taylors is the defense of us all. Mass labor/black action is what is desperately needed to stop this racist frameup!

WV Photos

Defense rally in Warren, Ohio for members of Taylor family framed up for protecting themselves against racist Alabama police attack. Above: The Taylor family of Warren.

DETROIT, April 18—The state of Alabama has brought out the legal lynch rope for the Taylor family. But in Pontiac, Michigan where members of this courageous family are auto workers, in Warren, Ohio and now in Detroit, black and labor militants are organizing to bring out the powerful, integrated labor movement in their defense. The brothers and sisters of the Taylor family are victims of a nightriding attack by the Alabama cops and a racist lynch-law frameup. They must not be ripped away to face death in an Alabama jail.

Labor/black defense to save the Taylor family from the legal lynchers is rapidly gaining support in the Michigan and Ohio plants because what happened to the Taylors in Alabama is the story of what is really happening to black people in Reagan's America—particularly in the South where the racists are still fighting the Civil War with the benefit of state power. From Lordstown to Pontiac to Detroit, workers are outraged by Alabama's racist terror and they are moving to take action. Black workers, especially those with direct experience of "Dixie justice," know that what happened to the Taylors could happen to any one of them and their families.

You're black. You travel South to mourn the death of a relative. That's what the Taylors did in February when Annie Bell Taylor died in Montgomery, Alabama. After the funeral the entire family gathered at Mrs. Taylor's home: elderly relatives, friends, children, some still in their choir robes. Suddenly, at this moment of family bereavement, two unidentified white men screaming racist epithets break down the door. They burst into the room with guns drawn. The Taylors, thinking they were under KKK attack, disarmed the racist thugs and called the cops. But the racist thugs *were* the cops. The scene was described by ten-year-old David Taylor in the *Buckeye Review* (25 March): "I heard my parents say they might be the Ku Klan, whatever you call them, and that they kill black people... I was real scared because I didn't want them to kill me."

More cops arrived in waves as the door of the home was repeatedly kicked

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Patricia Ridge LA Times

Vengeance for Patrick Mason!

LOS ANGELES—Orange County, California, Reagan Country, U.S.A. The cops gunned down a five-year-old black child, Patrick Mason, in his bedroom and think they can get away with it. And now the racist killers with state power are trying to put away Patrick's mother, Patricia Ridge, on charges ranging from "child neglect" to Murder 2! Labor, blacks, Hispanics, all decent people: Stop this racist outrage! The Spartacist League is initiating a demonstration at 4:30 p.m. Tuesday, April 26 at the Federal Building in downtown L.A. to demand: "Vengeance for Patrick Mason! Jail killer cop Sperl! Stop the investigation—No charges against Patricia Ridge!"

At about 5:30 p.m. on March 3, Patrick Mason was quietly watching TV at his home in Stanton while his mother Patricia was away at work. Suddenly, a cop burst into the apartment, kicked in

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Patrick Mason LA Times

Protest Racist Killer Cop! L.A. Federal Bldg., 4:30 p.m., April 26

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 329 | 6 May 1983

U.S. Get Out!
Not a Dollar, Not a Bullet to Central American Butchers!

Defend Nicaragua, Complete the Revolution!

MAY 1—It is the hour of social revolution or bloody counterrevolution in Central America. In El Salvador, leftist guerrillas have dealt the U.S.-backed genocidal butchers a series of stunning blows. Meanwhile Sandinista Nicaragua, which arose out of the overthrow of the murderous Somoza dictatorship, is being subjected to an undeclared war controlled from Washington. With the apocalyptic vision of a global Cold Warrior, Ronald Reagan proclaims to a joint session of Congress and a nationwide TV audience that "The national security of all the Americas is at stake in Central America. If we cannot defend ourselves there, we cannot expect to prevail elsewhere." This has been the constant theme of an administration which vowed to "draw the line against Communism" in Central America and prevent the "proliferation of Cuba-model states in the region." That translates into a slow-motion Bay of Pigs II aimed at wiping out the radical-nationalist Nicaraguan regime by blood and fire. We say: Look who won at Bay of Pigs I! Kill the invaders—"roach motels" for the CIA!

From the moment he took office, the centerpiece of Reagan's foreign policy has been to undo the "Vietnam syndrome," the fear of suffering another humiliating defeat such as the one inflicted by the heroic Indochinese peoples on the world's most powerful imperialist state. This factor stood in Henry Kissinger's way in Angola in 1975-76, limiting U.S. intervention to supporting South Africa's invasion. When CIA plans to overthrow the Soviet-allied regime in Afghanistan were frustrated by the Red Army in 1980, it limited Jimmy Carter's response to impotent gestures like the Olympics boycott. The Republicans proposed to overcome this popular resistance to new imperialist adventures by getting a victory on the cheap in Central America, traditionally the U.S.' "back yard," where the Soviets have little leverage and where Reagan hoped to accomplish what he and his predecessors couldn't do in Angola, Afghanistan or Poland.

When he talks of "prevailing elsewhere," Reagan means "striking at the source" and rolling back the gains of social revolutions which have overthrown capitalist rule from Havana and Hanoi to Warsaw and Moscow. That is the axis of U.S. policy in the Caribbean basin, gearing up the anti-Soviet war drive, not cornering the market on coffee, bananas or nutmeg. So the administration took aim at a local insurgency in El Salvador and a radical-nationalist regime in Nicaragua, blowing totally out of proportion the minuscule amount of Soviet aid and turning Central America into the front line of the Cold War. But the plan backfired. The effects of the Vietnam defeat are still ever-present from the Capitol to the Pentagon. Not only liberal "doves" but the Joint Chiefs of Staff oppose plans by Reagan "hawks" for a military solution in Central America, judging that there is little support for a serious war. Now it's being shown on the battlefield in El Salvador that pumping in several hundred million dollars and a few score U.S. advisers can't even stave off defeat at the hands of leftist guerrillas enjoying wide popular support. And next door in Nicaragua the Sandinistas are whipping Reagan's dogs of war using only their militias while keeping their army in reserve.

Franken/Sygma

Kill the invaders! Sandinista army must crush CIA-backed invaders.

Staring another defeat in the face, sections of the American bourgeoisie are trying to rein in the Reaganites and their "formula for failure." But while Jeane Kirkpatrick is practically calling the liberals crypto-communists, the Democrats only have a different strategy to "oppose the establishment of Marxist states in Central America" and prevent the "creation of Soviet military bases." They want to take up the leftist insurgents' call for unconditional negotiations, hoping in this way to block the revolution which Reagan's policies only encourage. As usual, the reformist pseudo-socialists join hands with the imperialist liberals. Now they have called a social-patriotic demonstration for the July 4 weekend in Washington on the demand, "No Vietnam War in Central America." Revolutionaries oppose this treacherous attempt to pull the imperialists' chestnuts out of the "fire in our front yard." The Spartacist League calls for military victory to leftist rebels in El Salvador, to open the door for workers revolution throughout the region. We say: Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan revolution! Defense of USSR/Cuba begins in Central America! And to the reformist and liberal lament of "no more Vietnams," we answer: Vietnam was a victory! Two, three, many defeats for imperialism!

Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs, Nicaragua Needs MiGs!

When the guerrilla forces of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) marched triumphantly into Managua on 19 July 1979 it opened a revolutionary situation throughout the region. The Democrats sought to hold back the tide of revolution with offers of "aid." Ronald Reagan was elected the next year on a Republican platform virtually demanding that the Sandinistas be overthrown. And now, three years later, we are witnessing an escalating mercenary invasion of Nicaragua. The international duty of socialists everywhere is to fight for the *defeat* of this imperialist onslaught.

As Reagan has upped the voltage, social polarization has increased in Nicaragua. "There is no longer any middle ground in our revolution," said Letieia Herrera, national director of the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS), to a crowd of slum dwellers in one of Managua's poor barrios last month. The fighting on the borders has been felt in the capital and other Nicaraguan cities and towns as thousands of militiamen and army reservists have been mobilized. In every barrio there have been mass funeral marches to bury martyrs who fell defending their homeland against the U.S.-backed *contra* invasion. In addition to the military threat, economic pressure is mounting, producing shortages not only of luxury items but also of basic goods like soap, medicine, flour, cooking oil, toothpaste and toilet paper. The reactions are sharply class-divided. As the *New York Times* (9 April) put it, "Although some middle-class Nicaraguans expressed discouragement and even despair at their prospects here, many poor people pointed to positive changes they have seen since the Sandinists took power."

Yet the FSLN, instead of mobilizing the working class to carry out a social

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Sri Lankan Leader Picketed in England, France

Paris: Hundreds Protest Anti-Tamil Terror in Sri Lanka

In Paris April 21, some 200 militant demonstrators chanting "Stop anti-Tamil terror" filled the sidewalk outside the Air Lanka office, occupying most of a city block along the Rue du 4-Septembre. They were protesting the arrival of Sri Lankan prime minister Ranasinghe Premadasa who had come to beg favors from French imperialism for the brutal regime of President J.R. Jayewardene. The demonstration, calling international attention to the desperate plight of the oppressed Tamil minority in Sri Lanka, was initiated by the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF, section of the international Spartacist tendency) and supported by the People's Liberation Organization—Tamil Eelam and the Tamil Eelam Liberation Council. Over 150 Tamils attended and slogans in French, Tamil and English were vigorously chanted one after another for over an hour. Tamil activists' chants included "Stop the torture of Tamil youth!" and "The Tamil people must break the state of siege!"

Le Bolchévik

Paris, April 21: French Trotskyists, Tamil activists protest Sri Lanken hangman Premadase.

The Paris demonstration followed earlier protests in Washington, D.C. on April 13 and in London, April 18, as Spartacist comrades together with the Tamil activists denounced the Lankan ruler on each leg of his trip through the imperialist capitals. Premadasa is the representative of the Jayewardene regime which is moving even closer toward naked dictatorship. Taking its orders from the International Monetary Fund, J.R.'s United National Party enforces vicious austerity at home while lining up behind U.S. schemes to further its hegemony in the Indian Ocean. State repression against the Tamil people in the North has put hundreds in military custody, held incommunicado without charges and subjected to torture under the vicious Prevention of Terrorism Act. At the demonstration, LTF demands included: "Support the right of the Tamil people to self-determination!" "Immediately free all imprisoned Tamil liberation fighters!" and "Premadasa/UNP: anti-Tamil butchers, pro-imperialist flunkies!"

An LTF spokesman told the demonstrators, "Reagan has a loyal ally in Mitterrand for his imperialist war drive against the Soviet Union." As an LTF statement read:

> "The U.S. base at Diego Garcia and their attempt to gain access to the militarily key Trincomalee harbor are crucial to the counterrevolutionary designs of the imperialists to reconquer the workers states like the Soviet Union and Vietnam. Not one inch of Lanka to the imperialists! Stop imperialist arms deals with the J.R. government! France and U.S. out of the Indian Ocean! Independence for Reunion island! France out of Mayotte! Down with Reagan/Mitterrand's anti-Soviet war drive!"

The joint demonstration ended with Tamil activists singing their anthem, "Tamil Eelam," and the comrades of the LTF leading the "Internationale."

The next day, April 22, a protest called by Tamil rights groups drew 300 people outside the Sri Lankan embassy. There, in a bizarre incident, a police commissioner twice threatened to arrest an LTF militant on the pretext his sign, "Mitterrand, anti-Soviet warmonger!" attacked the "dignity" of the chief of state. The authority cited was Article 26 of the Law of 29 July 1881 on "freedom of the press"! The LTF refused to give in to this blatant attempt at police censorship and the commissioner retreated. In the semi-bonapartist regime installed by a military coup in 1958, De Gaulle frequently used this law to suppress protest by magazines and newspapers which criticized France's dirty colonial war in Algeria. Moreover, the "crime" of offending the president of the republic stems from the *ancien régime* laws of *lèse majesté*, in which the slightest criticism of the king could land you in the dungeons. In the interests of elementary democracy, the LTF demands, "Down with the Law of 29 July 1881!"

London

In London on April 18, despite a heavy downpour, the Spartacist League/Britain (SL/B) picketed outside No. 10 Downing Street as Premadasa arrived to take tea with British prime minister Margaret "Iron Lady" Thatcher, representative of the former colonial oppressors of the Lankan people and loyal ally of Reagan and his anti-Soviet war drive. As Premadasa's limousine sped through the gate, chants rang out of "Sinhala, Tamil, men, women—Workers bring down UNP!" Two days earlier a Spartacist contingent joined the Tamil Women's League in a protest outside the Ceylon Tea Center in London against the arrest of Tamil activists Nirmala Nithiyananthan and her husband and several others in Jaffna. The SL/B contingent also highlighted the struggle against the brutal exploitation of women in Sri Lanka. On the tea, rubber and coconut plantations, where the stateless male Tamil workers toil for less than $1/day, women are paid even below this pittance. And in the "Free Trade Zones," where to encourage foreign capital inflow the UNP government has set up virtual slave labor camps, young women workers live in barracks and unions are outlawed.

While the SL/B was organizing militant protest action in defense of Tamil rights and against UNP representative Premadasa, Upali Cooray of the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Marxist Party (RMP), Lankan supporters of the United Secretariat, was busily orchestrating a popular-front-style "International Conference on the Problems of Plantation Workers in Sri Lanka" over the weekend of April 23-24. For two days the RMP clung to the coattails of the Liberal/Labourite parliamentarians and Christian do-gooders who pontificated from the pulpit. Our comrades intervened with a hard revolutionary perspective highlighting the record of the Spartacist League/Lanka. The Spartacists call for full citizenship rights for the stateless "Indian Tamil" plantation workers who not only face grueling working conditions but pogromist raids and deportation. Cooray continually sought to suppress the SL's Trotskyist politics, even censoring the photo display of protests initiated by the iSt against anti-Tamil terror. Cooray finally rammed through our expulsion from the conference when we exposed the treacherous role of his former leader, CIA-tainted trade-union bureaucrat Bala Tampoe.

In Sri Lanka, the parliamentary opposition to the cringing pro-Western regime of "Yankee Dickie" Jayewardene has been led by the popular front headed by the Sinhala chauvinist Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) of Mrs. Bandaranaike. Like J.R., the SLFP has instigated pogroms against the Tamils and fought to make Sinhala the "official" language. The brutal regime of Mrs. B also bloodily suppressed the 1971 JVP uprising by Sinhala youth. Thus the struggle against the popular front is crucial to the fight against bonapartism and anti-Tamil terror in Sri Lanka.

The Spartacist League/Lanka has pursued the politics of revolutionary class independence on which it stood when, two years ago, it emerged from the now moribund Revolutionary Workers Party of Edmund Samarakkody after a bitter political fight. The SL/L has distinguished itself by its consistent fight against anti-Tamil terror even when the rest of the left has been silent. It publishes both *Lanka Spartacist* in Sinhala and *Illangai Spartacist* in Tamil. Our comrades have forged a crucial link between students of the mainly Sinhala Colombo University and Tamil students at Jaffna University, organizing militant protests against J.R.'s plans for total segregation of Sinhalese and Tamil students and the near-elimination of higher education for Tamil youth.

"The Tamil question is *the* question of internationalism in Sri Lanka," as stated in the "Agreement for Fusion" at the time of the formation of the Spartacist League/Lanka (*Spartacist*, No. 31-32, Summer 1981). It is "the acid test for revolutionaries in the struggle against Sinhala chauvinism." As Leninists we support the right of national self-determination for the Tamil people, that is, the right to a separate state in the Northern and Eastern Provinces of Ceylon. But the Tamil nationalist program for a mini-state of "Eelam" in this barren section of the island is both utopian and an obstacle to the struggle for power. These entrenched nationalists refuse to reach out to the stateless Tamil plantation workers of the crucial upland tea-growing region, the mainstay of the Sri Lankan capitalist

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Rajan Devadas

Prime Minister Premedese, Sri Lankan flunky for imperialism, meets his master.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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EDITOR Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Linda Jarreau

EDITORIAL BOARD: Charles Burroughs, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Mary Jo McAllister, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Marjorie Stamberg

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No. 329 **6 May 1983**

Hands Off Vietnam!

For U.S. imperialism, Vietnam was more than a humiliating defeat. It showed the world (not least the American people) that this mammoth military/economic power could be beaten by a small but heroic and determined people. The spectacle of the U.S. Marines in a desperate scramble to escape from the roof of the U.S. embassy in Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City) inspired the oppressed masses from Central America to southern Africa to struggle for their own liberation. Vietnam was ripped from the clutches of French and then American imperialism by nearly 40 years of armed struggle at a cost of a million Vietnamese lives. For the past decade, the American ruling class has been vengefully obsessed with overcoming the so-called "Vietnam syndrome" both at home and abroad.

Now, eight years after the fall of Saigon, U.S. imperialism remains irreconcilably committed to crushing the life out of the Vietnamese by all available means. The U.S. has welded together for this sinister purpose an unholy alliance of Thai militarists, Chinese Maoist/Stalinist bureaucrats and the Cambodian genocidal maniac Pol Pot. And now the U.S. is tightening the vise around Vietnam. The country is being starved by a Washington-orchestrated blockade of trade and credits. As Vietnamese forces in Cambodia (Kampuchea) are being attacked with *napalm* by Thai warplanes, the U.S. is rushing ultramodern weapons—including anti-aircraft missiles and long-range howitzers—to Thailand. Vietnam's northern border is being bombarded by Chinese artillery using U.S. satellite intelligence. In clashes on the China/Vietnam border on April 21, the Chinese claim to have killed 16 Vietnamese soldiers. And Washington's Cambodian front man, Prince Sihanouk, is openly threatening a Chinese invasion of Vietnam.

Today, on the eighth anniversary of the fall of Saigon (30 April 1975), we salute the courageous workers and peasants of Vietnam. Unlike the mainstream "peace movement" of pro-imperialist politicians, liberals and reformists—which dried up when the U.S. withdrew its massive troop presence from Vietnam—our internationalist solidarity with the Vietnamese Revolution demands implacable opposition to the renewed U.S./Chinese military pressure against Vietnam. As Trotskyists, as American revolutionists in the "belly of the monster," during the Vietnam War we raised the slogan, "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" Again today, it is urgent that the working people of the world stand against the crazed revanchist provocations of U.S. imperialism. *U.S./China: Hands Off Vietnam!*

We are not the only ones to remember 30 April 1975. So do the Vietnamese *gusanos*, the strutting colonels of the puppet Saigon regime, imported here at taxpayers' expense, now appropriately affiliated with the aging fascist war criminals of the "captive nations" Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. In Washington, D.C. on April 30, two thousand of these counterrevolutionary scum demonstrated for the overthrow of Communism in Vietnam. In New York a hundred of them including ARVN (South Vietnamese puppet army) officers attacked a Socialist Workers Party-sponsored "Evening in Solidarity with the People of Vietnam" and reportedly sent three SWP members to the hospital.

Sygma

Victorious Vietnamese parade after the fall of Saigon, Spring 1975. U.S. imperialism longs to crush Vietnamese Revolution after humiliating defeat.

In Sydney, Australia on April 20, our comrades of the Spartacist League/ANZ demonstrated outside a state banquet for Chinese premier Zhao Ziyang (see article, this page). Robert Hawke's Cold War Labor Party government recently took office and immediately reversed Labor's pledge of economic aid to Vietnam. The protesters demanded, "Down with Hawke, Reagan's Man in Southeast Asia!"

Even leaving aside the vast quantities of military hardware shipped to the semi-colonial countries to be used by imperialism's brutal local lackeys to repress their own citizenry, most imperialist "aid" goes straight into the Swiss bank accounts of the local junta chiefs, latifundists, oil sheiks, political pimps and the like. The famine-stricken populations of sub-Saharan Africa are unlikely to see a penny of the "humanitarian aid" which goes to their governments. The "Third World" is deep in debt to Chase Manhattan, Barclays, the Deutsche Bank, etc., and thus the international financial system is set up so that much of this money goes to fatten their profits. The intent of aid to "Third World" countries is precisely to prop up the class relations which guarantee mass misery for the people of Asia, Latin America and Africa. All the more bitter, then, is the Australian Labor Party's reneging on its promises to Vietnam, where a profound social transformation created the conditions to productively use vast sums of aid. *Break the Imperialist Economic Blockade!*

Since early 1979, when the Vietnamese toppled the genocidal Cambodian regime of Pol Pot, which had killed at least *two million* of its own people, the U.S. has armed the terrorist bands of the deposed dictator for murderous attacks inside Cambodia. Vietnamese and Cambodian troops have scored recent military victories in the area of the Thai border, wiping out several major nests of counterrevolutionaries. But once

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Australian Spartacists Denounce Chinese Attack on Vietnam

Shortly after reports of Chinese artillery bombardment against Vietnam our comrades of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand held a protest demonstration denouncing the attacks by Peking in collusion with U.S. imperialism. The newly elected Australian Labor Party (ALP) government of right-wing social-democratic prime minister Robert Hawke has made it clear that it will continue to run point for Washington's anti-Soviet war drive, pledging loyalty to the Australia/New Zealand/U.S. (ANZUS) military pact and promising to consult with the neo-colonial Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

* * * * *

SYDNEY, April 20: "US/China: Hands Off Vietnam! Down With Hawke, Reagan's Man in Southeast Asia!" read the banner at a Spartacist League (SL) demonstration here outside a State banquet for visiting Chinese premier Zhao Ziyang thrown by New South Wales Labor premier Neville Wran. The demonstration was called at short notice by the SL to sound the alarm to the labour movement in Australia and internationally against the dangerous escalation of U.S. imperialist-backed Chinese and Thai provocations against Vietnam.

Helmeted police along with Wran's special SWAT-type Tactical Response Group cops lined the pavement around the entrance to Sydney's State Office Block as 30 spirited demonstrators chanted "Zhao/Hawke/Reagan—Hands Off Vietnam!" and "Smash ANZUS, ASEAN! Defend the Soviet Union and Vietnam!" Spartacist signs read "Labor Fronts for Anti-Soviet U.S.-China-Japan Axis!" "Smash U.S. Imperialist-Backed Chinese/Thai Provocations Against Vietnam!" and "Stand Ready to Defend Vietnam Against Threat of Destruction!" For behind these provocations stands the anti-Soviet war plans of U.S. imperialism aided and abetted in every way by its Australian junior partner, led by Hawke's Australian Labor Party (ALP) government. A Spartacist spokesman at the rally set the anti-Vietnam provocations in the context of U.S. global anti-Soviet strategy:

> "The Thais' use of napalm epitomises the genocidal intent behind this most dangerous assault on the Vietnamese workers state and the people of Indochina. What is going on here is that Reagan is telling the Russians to get out and stay out of Central America or to lose Vietnam. A counterrevolutionary bloodbath in Central America and Cuba, or extinction of Vietnam."

If the U.S., using China as its instrument, goes all out to get Vietnam, continued the speaker, "then all people must rally to the defence of Vietnam in all ways."

Throughout Zhao's visit Chinese shelling continued against northern Vietnam. Following talks in Tokyo and Auckland the Chinese premier came to Australia to beat the war drums and pressure the Hawke government not to resume its token economic "aid" to Vietnam, cut off by Fraser's Liberals following the Vietnamese ouster of Cambodian butcher Pol Pot. Hawke, who had already shelved the ALP's "aid" policy until "consultations" with its U.S., China and ASEAN allies, was briefed before the Zhao talks by "close friend" U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. Meanwhile of course Australian aid continued to Thailand and anti-communist guerrillas in Cambodia. And just before Zhao's arrival Labor foreign minister Hayden sat in Jakarta with Suharto and his generals, the butcher of Indonesian workers and peasants and the Timorese people, and echoed the lies of the CIA's Cambodian flunky Son Sann about Vietnamese "massacres" in Thailand.

Behind the hoopla on "aid" the Laborites are fronting for Reagan in Southeast Asia, trying to line up an anti-Soviet "consensus" at home and throughout the region for bloody annihilation of the heroic Vietnamese. As Wran and Zhao toasted their

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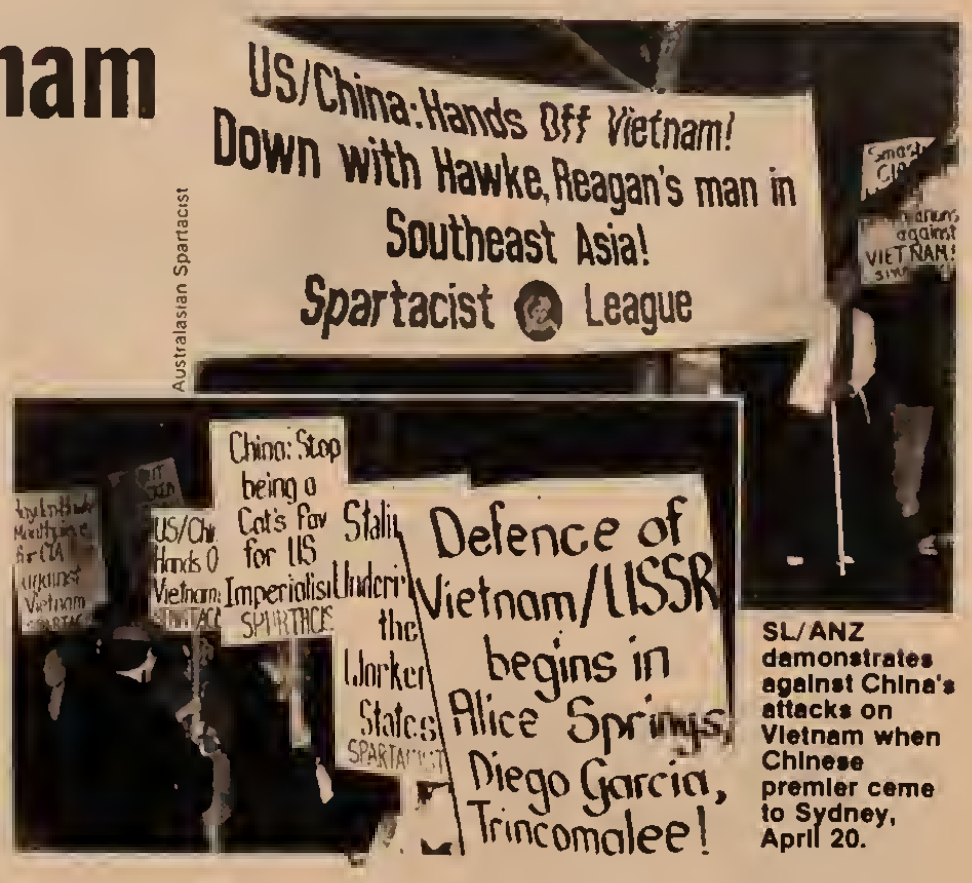

SL/ANZ demonstrates against China's attacks on Vietnam when Chinese premier ceme to Sydney, April 20.

"God's Banker" Sent Millions to Solidarność

Vatican Connection II

Where does Solidarność counter-revolution get its money? Social Democracy, Raagan, the church and the AFL-CIO buraaucracy.

A couple of months ago we reported the sinister ties linking the Holy See to a billion-dollar international banking scandal, Latin American death squads and Polish Solidarność (see "The Vatican Connection," *WV* No. 323, 11 February). Shortly afterwards, this story, which had been hushed up in the American press, was aired on the PBS television network's "Frontline" series in an hour-long documentary entitled "God's Banker." The program was panned as "the television equivalent of what was once called tabloid journalism" in a preview by the *New York Times* (14 February) TV critic, who complained of unidentified sources and a lack of hard evidence. This is quite a mouthful coming from the "free but responsible" *Times* which suppressed news of the impending Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961 and recently disappeared the secret Senate session on CIA activity against Nicaragua, yet has deemed "fit to print" every concoction dreamed up by *Readers Digest* and the James Jesus Angleton paranoids about a KGB/Bulgarian hand in the pope assassination plot.

Our article provided ample documentation for every major assertion in the "Frontline" program, citing chapter and verse from a broad range of sources. And after the show was broadcast, the *Times* reviewer made a partial retraction. However, he let stand his substantive charges, including those regarding Vatican financing of Polish Solidarity: "The evidence is provided by an unidentified author in Milano, who apparently read about it in a German newspaper." The Italian journalist, who was identified more than once, was Gianfranco Modolo, co-author of *Il banco paga* (1982), an in-depth investigation of Roberto Calvi and the collapse of the Banco Ambrosiano. *Workers Vanguard* had cited an article in the Italian paper *Il Giornale* based on an interview with Carlo Calvi, in which the banker's son "confirmed the story of the financing of the Polish trade union Solidarnośc by the Banco Ambrosiano"; and quoted a tape recording (first published in *L'Espresso* magazine) of Calvi Sr. screaming at Archbishop Paul Marcinkus, head of the Vatican bank (the IOR), about the church's underwriting of this company union for the CIA and Western bankers.

$olidarity with Solidarity...

In one area "God's Banker" did add to the *WV* article—the scope and means of the Vatican financing of Polish Solidarity. The PBS/BBC co-production included the following exchange with journalist Modolo:

> **Modolo:** "The channel of the financing by Banco Ambrosiano to Solidarnośc was the German Bank für Gemein-[wirt]schaft, which is the bank of the German trade unions."
> **PBS/BBC:** "But the money definitely went to Solidarity."
> **Modolo:** "I mean, that's what sources from the Vatican and other international financial circles told to the press."
> **PBS/BBC:** "How much money are we talking about?"
> **Modolo:** "They are talking about 40 million dollars."
> —"Frontline," 14 February

It was widely reported that the American labor union federation had sent several hundred thousand dollars to Solidarnośc as part of its infamous international operations which in Latin America have earned it the label "AFL-CIA." We had publicized Solidarity's invitation to known CIA labor operative Irving Brown to attend its founding congress, and Solidarnośc leader Lech Walesa's secret meeting with U.S. capitalists including Ford Motors president Caldwell. But $40 million is big bucks for the anti-Soviet "union" hailed by an unholy alliance stretching from the Vatican to the "far left."

Further investigation has produced more references to large-scale Vatican payoffs to Solidarnośc. The West German *Frankfurter Rundschau* of 15 July 1982 reports that "a check of the balance sheet of Banco Ambrosiano has brought out that its director Calvi had transferred about 25 million marks to the Polish unions." And the magazine *Die Neue* (6 August 1982) draws the financial link from Walesa to the Polish pope Wojtyla:

> "But Wojtyla's trust in Marcinkus also had a very material basis: for many years the U.S. bishop used his ties to right-wing political circles in the USA and Italy as well as to the financial world to mobilize millions in subscriptions to the Polish church. Auditing of the Ambrosiano bank has now additionally shown that via Calvi's establishment between autumn 1980 and autumn 1981 about 10 million dollars (roughly 25 million DM) flowed to Polish 'Solidarnośc'."

It's no surprise to Marxists. Walesa was U.S. imperialism's great Polish hope to spearhead an anti-Communist rollback in Eastern Europe—the long-cherished dream of "captive nations" refugees, the Catholic church and assorted Cold Warriors. Anti-Sovietism is the common denominator linking Reagan, the CIA, the Vatican and fake-left cheerleaders for Solidarnośc.

CIA D-Marks for Social-Democratic Counterrevolution

Not only the size of the imperialist subsidy of Solidarnośc is significant, which made possible its extensive propaganda apparatus, but also the conduit chosen to launder the dollars (for it certainly didn't run on Italian lire): the West German Bank für Gemeinwirtschaft, linked to the social-democratic-led unions. This is hardly the first time that West German Social Democrats have helped finance counterrevolution. During the pre-revolutionary upsurge in Portugal in 1975 they bankrolled Mário Soares' Socialists (PS) in their campaign to head off the restless Portuguese working class:

> "United States money for the Portuguese Socialist party and other parties is being funneled by the Central Intelligence Agency through West European Socialist parties and labor unions, the sources said. The C.I.A. involvement, the sources said, amounted to several million dollars a month over the last several months....
> "Until the spring, most of the Western aid to anti-Communist forces in Portugal was being given secretly by the West German Social Democratic party and the Belgian Socialist party....
> —*New York Times*, 25 September 1975

Throughout the summer of '75, Soares' PS staged anti-Communist rallies while clericalist and fascist-inspired mobs sacked and burned over 50 offices of the Communist Party and other left groups. Once again the Catholic church was closely involved. After a rally in Braga addressed by Msgr. Da Silva, a supporter of the ousted Salazar/Caetano military dictatorship, several hundred participants attacked CP headquarters screaming "Death to the Communists!"

From Portugal to Poland, the Vatican and Western social democrats have worked hand-in-hand for counterrevolution. And these are the same imperialist and pro-imperialist forces looked to by supposed "leftists" to broker a "political solution" in El Salvador. Today, the European social dems are at loggerheads over Central America with the Reagan administration, which sees in every "parlor pink" a flaming red. But from Warsaw to Managua the social traitors' aims are the same: to head off socialist revolution. Thus Second International spokesman on Latin America Pierre Schori warned two years ago, "the longer peace efforts are postponed [in El Salvador], the bloodier and more radical will be the ultimate solution" (*New York Times*, 28 February 1981). And the Polish pope who in El Salvador calls for "dialogue" in Costa Rica denounces "collectivist systems" while proclaiming a holy war against Sandinista Nicaragua.

Beware of $ocialists bearing D-marks and dollars, and of unionists in papal robes. ■

AP

Portugal 1975: CIA-aided social democrats and Catholic hierarchy led mobs in attacks on Communist Party offices.

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Spartacist Candidate Does Well in Black Oakland

Phillips Campaign Sparks Labor/Black League

We print below an interview with Martha Phillips, Spartacist Party candidate in the recent elections for city council in Oakland, California.

WV: How would you evaluate the overall response to your campaign?

Phillips: Our campaign was directed at the poor and working people of Oakland, who are in their majority black and Hispanic. I've been a Trotskyist for 13 years but I never before saw such openness to the breadth of our revolutionary Marxist program. When we said, "You can't fight Reagan with Democrats—Build a workers party"; when we said, "For mass strike action to bring down Reagan"; when we talked about the need for workers revolution here and internationally, hundreds of people listened and were interested. That has something to do with the massive social decay, the increasing desperation, the terrible unemployment in Oakland as in all the major U.S. cities.

But there was another factor, too. Featured in our posters, in the election brochure, in our speeches on television and radio was the victory of our Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the KKK from marching last November 27 in Reagan's Washington. The demonstration gave a concreteness and credibility to our program of integrated working-class struggle that was very important.

We showed the November 27 video a number of times at the homes of workers who would invite their friends over. The response was always overwhelming and enthusiastic. At one house, eight phone workers gave more than $200 to support the campaign. Auto workers, laid off from the Fremont GM plant and now facing Toyota and GM's union-busting plans, saw the strength of integrated class struggle. It was for that kind of action that we campaigned and signed people up for our new organization, the Labor/Black League for Social Defense.

WV: Could you tell us more about the Labor/Black League?

Phillips: Unlike the various reformists in this campaign, we said repeatedly that it's impossible to reshuffle the priorities of capitalism. What's needed is a workers revolution and that means organizing people for struggle, to defend themselves and fight for what they need. We made it very clear that victories like November 27, the fight against police terror, against racial and sexual discrimination, will not be won at the ballot box. They will be won by uniting the working people and unemployed, black, white and Latin, to rely on their own strength and fight.

WV Photo

Martha Phillips (right) campaigns in Oakland: "In all the heavily black cities in America the fight against racist terror is a life-and-death issue..."

The highlight of our party on election night was when I gave out 25 red membership cards to the new charter members of the Labor/Black League. On that card there's a quote from Karl Marx before the Civil War: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." It's going to take a third American revolution, a workers revolution, to finish the Civil War, to bring about real equality and justice in this country through socialism. We think the Labor/Black League can be an important action-oriented organization in helping to bring people into this struggle.

WV: Oakland is a heavily Democratic-registered town. What kind of response did you get to the call for a workers party?

Phillips: Oakland is run by Democrats and it's falling apart. When we said that Oakland is itself the best argument against the Democratic Party, that hit home. The mainly black Democratic majority on the school board is cutting education so far back that it is genuinely a question whether the next generation of working people's children will be able to read.

As a result of this election, the new city council is going to be a majority black and it's not going to mean a damn bit of difference in the lives of black and working people in Oakland. A lot of people know that and it's one of the reasons the voter turnout was less than 23 percent. Both wings of the Democrats in Oakland, the big business development machine around Mayor Wilson and the rad-lib "progressives" like Ron Dellums and Wilson Riles, tell people not to struggle but to get out there and vote Democrat to solve their problems. It's a lie and I think the 1,548 people who voted for our campaign know it.

The capitalist politicians of all stripes push the idea that the capitalist state can be reformed, can be pressured into meeting the needs of the exploited and oppressed. We know from all historical experience that this is not true. As Lenin wrote in *State and Revolution*, the working class cannot take hold of a capitalist state and make it meet our needs. The workers must lead all the oppressed in replacing the bourgeois state with our own state, a workers state, that can organize a planned collectivized economy. And it will take a revolutionary workers party to lead the fight for that state power. That revolutionary truth was at the heart of our campaign.

I'll tell you one story. Molders Local 164 is on strike out here against a number of foundries that are demanding a $2 an hour wage cut. The workforce is largely black, Hispanic and Portuguese. We spent a lot of hours on those picket lines. I would point to the plant and say to the strikers: "Look, very likely the guy who owns this company is a Democrat. How can that party represent both your interests? The Democratic Party regime sends its police in to harass your picket lines. If the strike heats up, the Democratic Party judges will issue injunctions against your strike. But a workers party would organize other workers in these surrounding plants to come out here, to build your picket lines, to help you win the strike."

Then I would talk about the history of the Oakland General Strike in 1946, the last general strike in this country. When 110,000 workers hit the bricks, nothing in Oakland moved. I'd explain that's how a workers party is going to be built, through massive class struggle. We found a lot of workers interested in that and almost none who would defend the Democrats.

WV: International working-class solidarity figured prominently in your campaign. How was this received?

Phillips: As internationalists, we campaign for the interests of the entire international working class. We call for defeating the CIA-backed invasion of Nicaragua and for completing the Nicaraguan revolution by expropriating the capitalists there who still control three-fifths of the economy and are backing the counterrevolution. We said that in El Salvador no less than in the U.S., the capitalist state must be replaced through workers revolution—it cannot be "negotiated" into serving the interests of the impoverished workers and peasants. We champion the call of militants in the ILWU for a 24-hour shutdown of the West Coast ports to oppose Reagan's stepped-up military aid and CIA operations.

Reagan's dirty wars in Central America, the front line today in the anti-Soviet war drive, are not popular with the working people we spoke with. Especially among black people, there is a very widespread recognition that their main enemy is that yahoo in the White House. They know it isn't the Russians who are throwing them on the unemployment lines, cutting back welfare and slashing all kinds of social services. They also know, a point we made with a lot of effectiveness, that the Klan doesn't ride in Moscow.

WV: The Labor/Black League just participated in a demonstration against police terror in Richmond. How did that relate to your campaign?

Phillips: We went to the Richmond demonstration demanding that the cops who strangled and killed Willie Lee Drumgoole be jailed. Afterwards we showed the November 27 video at a local black club where some of the defense committee activists are members. It was easy to link the rise of Klan/Nazi race-terror to the escalation of police violence under decaying capitalism. We got a very good response and enrolled a number of new members in the Labor/Black League.

In Richmond and throughout the campaign in Oakland, we called for vengeance for Patrick Mason, the five-year-old black child murdered in his bedroom by a cowardly white cop in Orange County. This racist atrocity is only the most recent sickening example of the war on black America being waged by the state's hired thugs in blue. In all the heavily black cities in America the fight against racist terror is a life-

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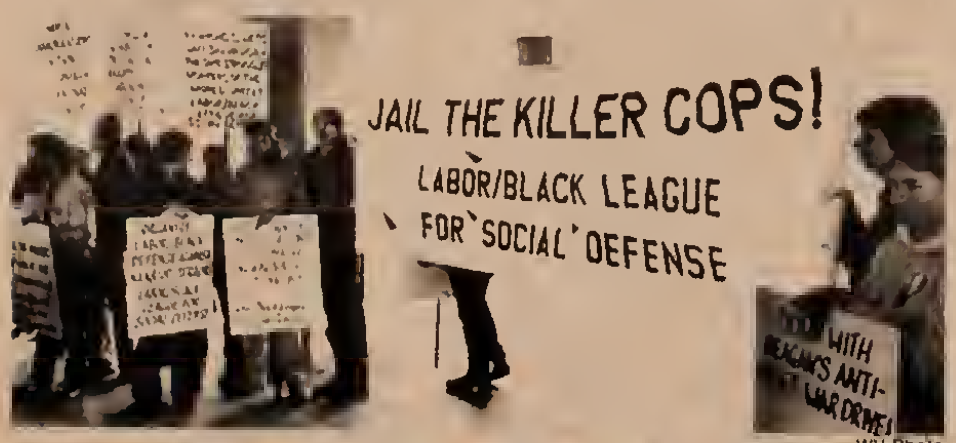

WV Photo

Protesting racist cop terror in Richmond, California.

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OAKLAND

Defend Nicaragua, Complete the Revolution!

(continued from page 1)

revolution to complete the political revolution which overthrew the blood-sucking Somoza dynasty, insists on maintaining "the strategic schema of non-alignment, a mixed economy and political pluralism" and call for the unity of "workers, peasants, students, intellectuals, professionals, businessmen" ("FSLN Calls for Defense of the Fatherland," *Barricada*, 9 April). The petty-bourgeois nationalists seek "peaceful coexistence" with the bourgeoisie at home and abroad, even at this late date when the imperialists and domestic capitalists are openly fomenting counterrevolution. Communists understand that the way to defeat a counterrevolutionary war is through socialist revolution. The *contras* must be crushed not only by guns on the battlefield, but also by unleashing the tremendous energy of the working masses, fighting to liberate themselves from the life of poverty and oppression to which they have been condemned by capitalism.

Shortly after the counterrevolutionary *bestias* (vermin) launched their recent onslaught against Sandinista Nicaragua, the two counterposed political lines were captured at a protest on March 25 in New York. The Spartacist League (SL) carried a banner proclaiming, "Defend Nicaragua—Complete the Revolution! Kill the Invaders!" and chanted "Contras *no*, workers *sí*—Overthrow the bourgeoisie!" Around the corner the reformists and Latin nationalists were chanting the old standby from Chile, "The people united will never be defeated." As Trotskyists we point out the fact, so tragically proven in Chile, that the popular front, the "people united"—namely the working masses "united" with their exploiters—is the *guarantee* of defeat. In the U.S. the popular-frontists look to the liberal Democrats to tie Reagan's hands with legislation against covert intervention. But there already *is* a law on the books making it illegal for the U.S. to aid anti-Sandinista mercenaries, passed 411-0 in the House of Representatives, and that hasn't stopped Washington.

In his March 10 speech to the assembled capitalists of the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), Reagan accused an "aggressive minority" in Central America of having "thrown in its lot with the Communists" and preaching a doctrine of "revolution without frontiers." Unfortunately this is far from the truth. Only the Trotskyists call for workers revolution throughout Central America, extending to the powerful Mexican proletariat and the United States as well. Yet the Yankee imperialists hardly recognize national borders in spreading their Cold War counterrevolution.

In his NAM speech the U.S. president also accused the Soviets of attempting to "tie down our forces on our own southern border and so limit our capacity to act in more distant places." Hardly. Jeane Kirkpatrick to the contrary, there have been no "boatloads, planeloads, truckloads" of Soviet weapons making their way to the Salvadoran guerrillas via Managua. But on the other side of the world, in the Far East, Reagan is following exactly the strategy he attributes to the Kremlin. Once again the U.S. is trying to close the ring on Soviet ally Vietnam. The Chinese, in collusion with Washington, bombard Vietnam's northern border while the Thais, using rush-delivered sophisticated American weapons, attack Vietnamese forces on the Cambodian frontier. Recently we wrote that the U.S. intends these anti-Vietnamese provocations as a message to Soviet leader Andropov: "Get out of Nicaragua and El Salvador and we will let you have 'Nam." But since the Russians don't have much going in Central America, for the Soviets to "give us Central America" would mean nothing less than tacit Soviet complicity with American counterinsurgency.

What will be Moscow's response to Reagan's blackmail over Vietnam, its threats to "strike at the source"? Communist Party leader Yuri Andropov, reflecting the narrow nationalist outlook of the Stalinist bureaucracy which sits atop the Soviet degenerated workers state, recently compared U.S. policy in Nicaragua with Russian policy in Afghanistan:

> "Would the United States not care what kind of government rules in Nicaragua? Nicaragua is an enormous distance from America. We have a common border with Afghanistan, and we are defending our national interests by helping Afghanistan."
>
> —*Der Spiegel*, 25 April

This sounds ominously like an offer to "exchange" Afghanistan for Nicaragua. The Kremlin's willingness to sacrifice Nicaragua was clearly spelled out by the director of the Soviets' Latin American Institute in Moscow (see box p. 7). This treacherous policy has nothing in common with the proletarian internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky. The international Spartacist tendency (iSt), which proclaimed "Hail Red Army!" in Afghanistan where they are fighting CIA-aided Islamic reactionaries, says in Central America: "Junta butchers on the run, leftist rebels need Russian guns!" and "Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs, Nicaragua needs MIGs!"

"Political Pluralism"... For the Counterrevolutionaries

For close to four years, the Sandinistas have governed Nicaragua along their schema of "nonalignment, mixed economy and political pluralism." This was the programmatic expression of the FSLN's strategy of alliance with the "floating sectors of the middle bourgeoisie" which brought them to power. But today the choice of social revolution or bloody counterrevolution in Central America is unavoidable. The Sandinistas' own experience is making this clearer day by day: yesterday's "anti-Somozaist bourgeoisie" has become today's "sellout bourgeoisie." As nationalists, the FSLN keeps fighting against that choice, and because they place themselves at cross-purposes to the march of history, they can prepare the way to defeat for the masses. At best, if under Reagan's guns the petty-bourgeois bonapartists turn around and decree the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, the result would be a bureaucratically deformed workers state on the Cuban model. Moreover, Nicaragua may well be denied the Soviet lifeline which, at a cost of more than $3 billion a year, has kept Castro afloat for the last two decades. The Trotskyists have a sharply counterposed program: to build a Leninist vanguard party to lead the worker-peasant masses on the path laid down by the Bolsheviks in October 1917. We make use of every opportunity to struggle for workers revolution, from Central America to the U.S. And that means above all breaking the political chains which bind the oppressed to their oppressors.

UPI

Popular militia can crush counterrevolutionaries, but Sandinista nationalists tolerate capitalist fifth column.

Shortly before their triumph of arms over the Somoza dynasty in July 1979, the Sandinistas reached an agreement with representatives of the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie which called for a coalition government that would respect private property and preserve elements of the existing army (the "honest, patriotic" elements, of course). However, Somoza's praetorian guard knew well that the Nicaraguan masses were crying for vengeance after a bloody war of extermination in which 50,000 people were killed, 90 percent of them youths from 8 to 20 years old. So the *guardias* fled, throwing down their guns, stripping off their uniforms, scrambling aboard helicopters and fishing boats in scenes reminiscent of the fall of Saigon.

Reininger/Contact

Sandinista/bourgeois junta, July 1979: (from right) Borge, Robelo, Chamorro, Ramirez, Ortega. Now Robelo and Chamorro are with the contras.

If the "agreement of San José" had held, if the existing capitalist state apparatus, centrally the army, had remained intact, Nicaragua would be a very different place today. Had there been such a "political solution" (such as is now proposed by the liberals and reformists to end the civil war in El Salvador), capitalists like cooking oil king Alfonso Robelo would be in power in Managua instead of cooling their heels in exile. And many of the *contras* would be in the Nicaraguan army instead of based across the border in CIA camps in Honduras. But the capitalist state apparatus collapsed, and instead a petty-bourgeois government was installed which "was not committed to the defense of either bourgeois private property or the collectivist property forms of proletarian class rule," as we wrote earlier of the first months of the Castro regime in Cuba, before the capitalists were expropriated in mid-late 1960.

Initially the "governing junta of national reconstruction" included two direct representatives of the bourgeoisie, Robelo and Violeta Chamorro, widow of the publisher of *La Prensa* who was murdered by the Somozas. In addition, many of the ministries were in the hands of pro-capitalist technocrats. We called this a Sandinista/bourgeois "government," in quotes, because the real power was in the hands of the FSLN which held the guns. By the end of the year the governing apparatus began to reflect social and political reality more accurately as Sandinista cadres took over key ministries. In May of 1980, Robelo and the widow Chamorro resigned from the junta when the Sandinistas restructured the Council of State so that it had a majority of FSLN-led organizations instead of a majority of bourgeois organizations (chambers of commerce, capitalist parties and so on) as originally announced. But two other bourgeois figures were then placed on the junta: Central Bank director Arturo Cruz, who has since resigned, and COSEP (the main businessmen's association) leader Fernando Chamorro, who is today mounting a CIA-financed anti-Sandinista guerrilla group from Costa Rica.

From the beginning the emphasis of Sandinista policy has been on "national unity" with the "patriotic/progressive" bourgeoisie under the "hegemony of the FSLN." They went out of their way to demonstrate the "generosity" of their revolution. Thus there were no executions of the former National Guardsmen, including the most notorious butchers. This caused considerable and justified discontent among the masses. Further, after the trials were completed, some of the *guardias* were released, whereupon they simply crossed the border and rejoined the *contras* in Honduras, from where they launch their terrorist attacks. Thus the Nicaraguan people are paying for this "generosity" with their lives. And just last month the Sandinistas were finally forced to introduce "people's tribunals" to try the counterrevolutionary killers—a measure the Trotskyists have called for from

the beginning. A leader of the rural workers union commented "it was about time," and "we've wasted more than three years trying for unity with many people wasted by Somozaism and imperialism" (*Barricada*, 12 April).

But while conciliating the bourgeoisie politically and above all economically, the FSLN has concentrated on mobilizing the masses. And this can provide openings for intervention by communists, the Trotskyists who put forward a program for victory, not conciliating the bourgeoisie but to defend, complete and extend the Nicaraguan revolution. The Sandinista mass organizations are definitely bureaucratically controlled, although with a good deal of "consultation" Cuban-style. They are pretty much a one-way transmission belt, from top to bottom. But they are more than hollow organizational shells. They all have traditions of struggle beginning before the overthrow of Somoza. Thus the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS), modeled on the Cuban Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, actually grew out of the Civil Defense Committees (CDC) which played a major role in the September 1978 uprising and in carrying out the mass insurrection of June-July 1979. This military action, far more than the fighting by FSLN guerrillas on northern and southern fronts, was what actually toppled the Somoza tyranny. In the first weeks after liberation, the CDCs administered most of the country. Today the CDSs are the instrument by which most mass demonstrations are organized; they administer the rationing in addition to vigilance against counterrevolutionary activity.

For the most part these organizations have been used for bureaucratic mobilizations, both against opposition (from the right *and* left) and to give the appearance of popular participation in major shifts of government policy. But they are not yet fully regimented Stalinist-style apparatuses, and on occasion they have gone further than some in the FSLN leadership wanted to. Thus in October 1981, after the press had reported statements by Robelo justifying armed counterrevolutionary action against the Sandinista regime, a demonstration marched on the rightist leader's house and stoned it, rejecting attempts by guards sent by the FSLN headquarters to protect the house. In January of 1982, when a leading Conservative Party politician protested to the French government its sale of arms to Nicaragua, the CDSs of the Managua market districts marched on *La Prensa* to protest and were met with a hail of bullets.

While the Sandinista mass organizations may "overstep limits" occasionally, open left-wing opposition to the FSLN is quite another matter. Here the bonapartist regime reacts sharply and immediately. Already in its first weeks of existence, the Sandinista regime suppressed the Simón Bolivar Brigade, followers of pseudo-Trotskyist Nahuel Moreno, and the pro-Albania Frente Obrero (FO—Workers Front). The most revealing case of Sandinista repression against the left came in the fall of 1981, when the government simultaneously arrested three leaders of the COSEP businessmen's association and two dozen leaders of the dissident pro-Moscow Stalinist Communist Party (PCN), on charges of "boycotting production" (i.e., leading strikes). There was an imperialist outcry on behalf of the COSEP tops, who could have been released upon payment of a $66 fine but preferred to stay in jail as "human rights" martyrs. In contrast, more than 100 members of the PCN were arrested and three of their leaders were sentenced to three-year jail terms for leading a factory occupation. The Spartacist League called for freeing all the leftist militants in the Sandinista jails.

While there is little "pluralism" for socialist oppositionists in Nicaragua, even today the bourgeoisie continues its counterrevolutionary activities. COSEP, which has received a publicly admitted *million-dollar* subsidy from the U.S. government, operates freely. *La Prensa* uses all the psi-war techniques perfected by CIA media "assets" in Chile during the U.S. campaign to "destabilize" the leftist Allende regime. And while Alfonso Robelo organizes anti-Sandinista guerrillas from Costa Rica, his Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN), which was behind the shootings in Masaya last August, continues to function as a legal political party. Even more egregious, the owner of the Nicaraguan subsidiary of Coca Cola, Adolfo Calero Portocarrero, continued to plot inside the country for more than a year after he was named as a member of the CIA's shadow junta and secret member of the Somozaist Nicaraguan Democratic Forces (FDN) high command. Indeed, the Sandinista revolution has been "too lenient"...with the bourgeoisie.

Barricada

Association of Rural Workers: "We aren't birds that live in the air, nor fish that live in the sea. We are men who live off the land." But Sandinista leadership has protected the landlords and kulaks who live off the peasants.

The Capitalist "Mixed Economy"

The sharpest expression of the Sandinistas' conciliation of the bourgeoisie has been in the economic sphere. Expropriations of the means of production have been largely limited to the properties of Somoza and his henchmen. An estimated 57 percent of the economy remains in the private sector. The agricultural reform announced on the second anniversary of the revolution that the Nicaraguan agrarian reform is *less extensive than even the phony reform legislated by the U.S. puppet junta in El Salvador*. Cotton production is still in the hands of large estate owners, many linked to Robelo's MDN. Coffee production is overwhelmingly a matter of kulak or rich peasant holdings, which employ large amounts of hired labor during the *recolecta*, the harvest season. Since, however, some of the landless peasants have received land or had their rents reduced under the land reform, there is now an acute labor shortage in the countryside. This has been made up by the FSLN mobilizing urban youth and government employees for volunteer or low-wage labor on *private farms*. Meanwhile, many of these kulaks in the provinces of Matagalpa and Nueva Segovia have shown sympathies for the mercenary *contras* operating there with the aid of the CIA.

According to one apologist for the Sandinistas, "The clamour for land from the dispossessed peasants and small proprietors...cannot be easily or rapidly satisfied. The inequalities of land ownership generated by Somozaist capitalism will take years to remove" (George Black, *Triumph of the People—The Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua* [1981]). Not so. It could be accomplished in a matter of weeks, as it was in Russia in 1917. But then there would be no more alliance with the "floating sectors of the middle bourgeoisie." What is required is an *agrarian revolution*, unleashing the peasantry and seizing all the latifundia. But every attempt to raise such a program has been repressed by the FSLN. When the Frente Obrero organized land takeovers on the morrow of the victory against Somoza, the peasants were repulsed by FSLN troops and FO's paper *El Pueblo* was seized. As one peasant in the Chinandega area commented, "I don't understand it at all. One minute seizing the land is revolutionary, then they tell you it's counterrevolutionary."

Maintaining the "mixed economy" has required above all repression of the left. This was particularly acute in early 1980 when the Managua construction industry, 18 textile factories and the largest sugar mill in the country were struck by unions following the lead of the pro-Moscow Socialist Party (PSN), the dissident Brezhnevite PCN and the pro-Albania FO respectively. The FSLN's response was adroitly implemented repression: arresting leftist leaders while mobilizing Sandinista union leaders to intervene with a "unity" offensive to try and bring the dissident union federations under their control. The most notable case was that of the largest textile plant in the country, FABRITEX, which repeatedly struck for higher wages, led by the PCN-affiliated CAUS union. The first time they struck, the Sandinistas forced the workers back and the CST government union mobilized a mob to sack the CAUS offices, accusing the leftist union of links with the CIA. The next time FABRITEX workers struck, the government was even more decisive: it simply closed up the state-owned factory.

Cheerleaders for the FSLN defend such moves with the usual "CIA"

continued on page 8

Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in Central America!

Stalinist Treachery!

The anti-Soviet Cold War is global, and so is the class war. But just as Castro counsels the Sandinistas to avoid his "mistake" of overthrowing the bourgeoisie, the Moscow Stalinists seek to avoid "another Cuba" in the Americas. A recent article in the London *Guardian* (27 April) gives a hair-raising account of the Kremlin's anti-revolutionary line in Latin America. Respected journalist and Latin American expert Richard Gott quotes Viktor Volsky, the director of the Latin American Institute in Moscow, saying, "It has cost us a lot to send oil to Cuba—two tankers a day for twenty years. We wouldn't like to have to repeat that on a larger scale." Gott notes that when FSLN leader Daniel Ortega met with Soviet party chief Yuri Andropov in March, the official communiqué emphasized that Nicaragua has "all the necessary resources to defend the homeland and rout the invaders," and the Soviet leader offered nothing more than "sincere solidarity." The article continues:

> "So what happens when solidarity is not enough? 'Well,' says Professor Volsky somewhat embarrassed, 'the struggle is a long one. There have been defeats before. Sandino himself was defeated.... I don't often quote from Mahatma Gandhi, nor do I believe in the pacifist road. But he once said, 'Each new defeat inspires me.' And that is what I believe. Did the defeat of the Chilean government of Salvador Allende hinder the victory of the Sandinistas? Of course not'."

But what about the Chilean masses? They certainly suffered a tragic defeat as the result of the treacherous policies of the popular front and the "peaceful road," pushed not only by Allende but also by the Kremlin.

Gott quotes another Soviet Latin American expert, Karen Katchaturov:

> "'For Nicaragua we have a feeling of solidarity, but for the countries of the world socialist system, which of course includes Cuba, there is no limit to the principle of internationalism.' Cuba, therefore, is inviolate, Nicaragua—and anywhere else in Central America and the Caribbean for whom the Soviet Union expresses solidarity—is vulnerable and lies outside the Soviet shield."

Particularly in light of Andropov's ominous comparison of Nicaragua with Afghanistan in his recent *Der Spiegel* interview, Gott's conclusion about Soviet intentions seems inescapable. So to Reagan's blackmailing offer of a "deal he can't refuse" over Vietnam, Andropov makes a counteroffer that is no less counterrevolutionary! Volsky concludes his interview with the *Guardian* complaining, incredibly, that Reagan's policy is contrary to American imperialist interests. "What seems unintelligent on the part of the United States is that they push countries toward socialism." Certainly that cannot be said of Soviet policy under Stalin and his heirs, who not only sell out other peoples' struggles but dangerously undermine the security of the Soviet state and the defense of the conquests of October by their policies of appeasing imperialism. The Trotskyists say: Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in Central America! Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs, Nicaragua Needs MIGs!

Defend Nicaragua...

(continued from page 7)

slanders, claims that the workers are "privileged," references to backward "economist" consciousness, and claims that Sandinista Nicaragua has broken out of the imperialist orbit and thus any strike is really an attack on "the people." They argue that while 75 percent of industry is still in private hands, the confiscation of Somoza's properties and nationalization of the banks has given the government control, turning the capitalist owners into little more than administrators. This is a dangerous illusion. The capitalist "fifth column" is a powerful aid to the *contras* inside the country, enabling the imperialists to create economic chaos in the cities that could seriously undermine the war effort against the invaders in the border regions. And that appears to be what is happening, as scenes reminiscent of Allende's Chile multiply. Numerous basic goods are now rationed and seldom available, sometimes not even for exorbitant prices in Managua's Eastern Market. Cases of hoarding by shopowners are discovered daily, and the government has uncovered a plot to manipulate gasoline supplies. The Sandinistas are facing an economic war which they cannot win so long as the economy remains in capitalist hands.

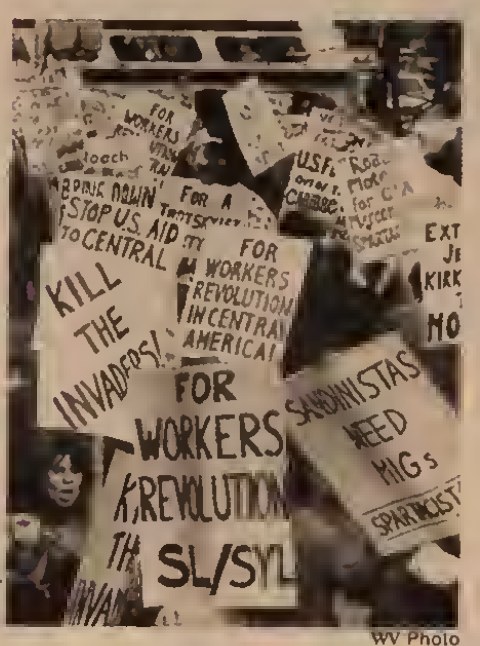
Cuban Castroites or Spanish Loyalists?

Reagan vows to stop the creation of further "Cuba-model states" in the Caribbean region. Yet, as the Democrats complain, he seems to be doing everything possible to push the Sandinistas down the Cuban road, because he intends to *smash* the FSLN regime in the course of obliterating leftist insurgencies throughout Central America. Nicaragua could, as we have said from the moment the Sandinistas toppled the Somoza family-state, become "another Cuba." The FSLN is officially for maintaining its present "mixed" capitalist economy, but there is not today a capitalist state in Nicaragua in the Marxist sense of armed bodies of men wedded irrevocably to the defense of private ownership of the means of production. With their backs to the wall, under imperialist pressure and facing a weak domestic bourgeoisie, the Sandinistas could expropriate the capitalists and institute a bureaucratically deformed workers state. Even then the working class would be deprived of political power, which would remain in the hands of the Sandinista comandantes and their rule by decree. But this would be an exceptional development. The usual outcome of petty-bourgeois guerrillas in power is the consolidation of a new capitalist state, as occurred in Algeria after independence, for instance. That requires acceptance by the metropolitan power, however. De Gaulle was willing to have a nationalist Algeria as a French neo-colony, while Reagan is fighting a global war.

Sandinista Nicaragua could become "another Cuba," but will it? There are plenty of parallels. The Sandinista/bourgeois junta closely corresponds to the formal Cuban government from January to June 1959, with Manuel Urrutia as president and José Miró Cardona as prime minister. Miró Cardona was later the president of the CIA-engineered "government-in-exile" which was supposed to be installed by the Bay of Pigs invasion. Will Robelo play a similar role today? The pro-imperialist wing of Castro's July 26 Movement included air force chief Diaz Lanz and provincial army commander Huber Matos. Edén Pastora is the Nicaraguan Huber Matos, except that Pastora was the *head* of the Sandinista Peoples' Militias. And the Sandinista army today still has many Pastora sympathizers. As for the rest of the government bureaucracy, the head of the national bank left to join the "democratic" counterrevolutionaries, as have *two* succeeding Nicaraguan ambassadors to Washington.

Initially all the actors in the Nicaraguan drama wanted to avoid another "Cuba-model state." Jimmy Carter tried to tie the Sandinista regime down with imperialist aid. The Sandinistas pledged to defend private property, blocked land invasions, etc. Even Castro himself joined the effort. When FSLN leaders came to Cuba shortly after their victory in 1979, Castro proclaimed at the annual July 26th celebration, "To those who have said that Nicaragua will become a new Cuba, we respond to them...that Nicaragua will become a new Nicaragua." When Castro later visited Nicaragua his advice was summarized as "Avoid the early mistakes we made in Cuba, the political rejection by the West, premature frontal attacks on the bourgeoisie, economic isolation." And the FSLN has followed his advice. But with what reward? Reagan could care less, and the Robelos, *La Prensa*, COSEP, the entire domestic capitalist class appears to be lined up against the regime. Only a few isolated bourgeois figureheads are still allied with the Sandinistas, such as Cruz and a couple of priests like foreign minister D'Escoto. The FSLN could be forced to carry out a social revolution simply for reasons of self-preservation.

But the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie is still intact: it did not immediately flee as their Cuban counterparts did in 1959-60. The question in Nicaragua today is whether the Sandinistas will react to Reagan's Bay of Pigs II as Castroites or as Spanish Loyalists. During the Spanish Civil War of the 1930s, the workers valiantly defended the Republic, arms in hand. (There was no talk of a "peaceful road" as there was in Allende's Chile.) The Stalinists' slogan in defending Madrid was "*No pasarán*—They shall not pass," which is also one of the Sandinistas' main slogans today. But the Francoists did pass. The reason was that the Loyalist popular front—the alliance of the workers parties with the supposed "anti-Francoist bourgeoisie"—prevented the proletariat from undertaking socialist revolution. "We must not frighten the democratic bourgeoisie," Stalin wrote to Spanish prime minister Largo Caballero. The Republic depended on the imperialist "non-intervention pact," as the Sandinistas and their supporters today look toward empty Congressional resolutions or to the "Nonaligned" bloc in the United Nations.



WV Photo

NYC, March 25: Spartacist League protests at Honduran mission.

"They shall not pass; the people united will never be defeated"—these are the lies of the reformists, who deny the lessons of October 1917, that workers revolution is the only way to sweep away the legacy of feudal reaction and break the chains of imperialism. If Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks had followed Stalin's program of the popular front *there would have been no October Revolution*. The Russian workers would have been told to support an alliance with Kerensky on the grounds that it was necessary to forge the broadest unity with the "anti-tsarist bourgeoisie." The Bolsheviks fought for "all power to the Soviets." Today in Nicaragua, the Trotskyists call for the expropriation of the bourgeoisie—the revolutionary measures not taken by the Spanish Loyalists—for the formation of a soviet-style body, independent of control by the FSLN bureaucrats, based on the mass organizations (unions, defense committees, militias), as the framework for mobilizing the working class against their exploiters and establishing a workers and peasants government.

This requires the leadership of a Trotskyist party which fights not for narrow Nicaraguan nationalism but for proletarian internationalism. Which defends the just struggles of the workers of FABRITEX and elsewhere against the domestic and imperialist bourgeoisies and the state capitalist sectors of the FSLN's "mixed economy." But the Trotskyists seek to raise the struggle beyond the level of simple wage demands and transform it into a fight for workers revolution. With the program of permanent revolution, the Trotskyists understand that even bourgeois-democratic tasks such as land to the peasants (expropriation of the latifundists) cannot be secured short of the dictatorship of the proletariat. So we raise a series of transitional demands leading in the direction of workers revolution—such as workers control against the sabotage of the capitalist "fifth column" and the pro-capitalist elements of the FSLN governing apparatus. And for armed workers militias: militiamen train with sticks instead of rifles not because Nicaragua lacks guns, but because the FSLN took them away from the masses during 1979-80 and locked up leftist militia leaders.

A Leninist-Trotskyist party must fight as a tribune of the people, on behalf of the oppressed sectors of society. It must be the vanguard in struggle for the liberation of women, for example. The Sandinistas, in contrast, refuse the right of abortion explicitly in order to conciliate the Catholic church, as part of its attempt to coexist with the capitalists. Or on the question of the Miskito Indians: the FSLN is clearly not guilty of the massacres which Reagan and Kirkpatrick have accused it of, but there have been abuses in the treatment of the English-speaking Atlantic Coast region where the FSLN victory was seen as a "Spanish revolution." Such abuses grew out of the fact that the Sandinistas are *nationalists* not communists. Thus the FSLN has not raised the obvious solution of regional autonomy.

Workers Revolution from Central America to the U.S.

Above all a proletarian leadership would be internationalist. In the first instance this would mean providing effective aid to Salvadoran leftists, so they could achieve a military victory against the U.S.-backed butchers. The FSLN has an internationalist debt to pay while it is paying off Somoza's loans from Wall Street. Several million dollars of the Salvadoran guerrillas' $150 million war chest, accumulated through bank "expropriations" and kidnappings during the late '70s, went to buy arms for the Sandinistas. And in the final stages of the anti-Somoza struggle a Salvadoran "Farabundo Martí Brigade" fought on the northwestern front. Yet Borge and other Sandinista leaders have repeatedly denied providing arms to the guerrillas of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) in El Salvador, challenging Washington to provide any evidence at all. (And with daily U.S. spy plane flights over Nicaragua, a spy ship in the Gulf of Fonseca, surveillance so intense that "we can hear a toilet flush in Managua," you can be sure that if there was any arms traffic the Americans would have come up with some proof by now.) Stalin's dogma of "socialism in one country" was a counterrevolutionary rejection of the Leninist program of world socialist revolution, but the idea of socialism in one banana republic is patently absurd.

The key to workers revolution in the Central American isthmus lies not in any of the five tiny countries that comprise it, which are primarily agricultural, but in Mexico with its many-millioned proletariat. The land of the Aztecs is where the heavy battalions of the working class are to be found. Not just in light industry (textiles, electronic assembly) but in strategic sectors such as petroleum, auto, steel. There have been periodic "solidarity" demonstrations in Mexico for El Salvador and Nicaragua, but there is a great deal more that the workers movement there can do: military aid to the Salvadoran rebels, formation of international brigades, and above all socialist revolution at home. This is the spectre which the American imperialists, Democrats and Republicans, fear above all. And now with the combination of the oil crisis, the international financial crisis, a general economic and political crisis in Mexico, talk of workers revolution in Mexico is more than a Reaganite nightmare. Yet virtually the entire Mexican left, including ostensible Trotskyists, seeks not to bring down the "institutional revolutionary" capitalist regime but to push it to the left. The governments of López Portillo and De la Madrid are for a "political solution" in Central America out of bourgeois self-interest: they wish to take the heat off Mexico by damping the fires of social revolution on its southern border. And Mexican pseudo-socialists aid them in this counterrevolutionary enterprise.

Support for the foreign policy of the ruling PRI is the Mexican equivalent of the popular front. In El Salvador it is the alliance of the FMLN with the phantom-like bourgeois liberal politi-

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cians of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) and their call for a "negotiated solution" to end the civil war. In Nicaragua it is the Sandinistas' desperate attempt to preserve "national unity" with the bourgeoisie. And in the U.S. it is support for Democratic Party "doves" who agree with Reagan strategically but feel his tactics are counterproductive—"picking a loser," as Democrat Dodd said in response to Reagan. Communists seek to inflict just such a defeat on American imperialism, the scourge of the Latin American masses whether under Republican reactionaries like Reagan or Democratic hypocrites like Carter with his "human rights" façade (FDR's "good neighbor" policy, JFK's "Alliance for Progress," etc.).

The Trotskyists seek to mobilize the North American proletariat in sharp class struggle against its "own" bourgeoisie. The Spartacist League has taken the lead in fighting for a labor boycott of military goods to El Salvador and other Central American rightist butchers. Recently we have supported calls by class-conscious militants in the West Coast dock workers union for a one-day port strike against Reagan's Central American war. And we raise such demands as part of our struggle for workers revolution against the main enemy at home: for sitdowns against mass layoffs, for labor/black mobilizations against racist terror, for class war not race war.

The Nicaraguan revolution must not stand alone! In the days of Teddy Roosevelt, the Yankee imperialists saw Central America as their "back yard." Today the Reaganites refer to the Caribbean basin as the U.S.' "fourth border." The Monroe Doctrine is proclaimed an eternal principle; the Western hemisphere is to be cleansed of Communism in the name of "national security." Three times already Nicaragua has been occupied by American forces—by freebooters in 1855-57, by the Marines in 1912-26 and 1927-33—and now it is facing a fourth invasion. We say, crush the *contras*! Defense of the democratic conquests of the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship urgently requires the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, junior partners with the imperialists in the exploitation of the Central American masses, who grew fat off four decades of Somoza rule. It means smashing all the *contras*, not just the Somozaists but also the Pastoras and Robelos, who gained fame in the anti-Somoza struggle because of the FSLN's alliance with the opposition bourgeoisie, and who are today being used by the CIA in the cause of capitalist counterrevolution. Following the path of October and of Lenin's Comintern, we fight for workers revolution throughout the region and a Socialist United States of Latin America, led by Trotskyist parties built in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■

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Vietnam...

(continued from page 3)

again American imperialism finds China, with her ambitions for regional hegemonism in Indochina, a ready instrument to harass Vietnam. It was the Vietnamese intervention into Cambodia which prompted China's 1979 attempt to "teach Vietnam a bloody lesson," with the avid connivance of U.S. imperialism. Then, the attempt to invade Vietnam with Chinese troops was smashed by the Vietnamese army, perhaps the best fighting force man-for-man in the world. On that occasion, we wrote:

> "We call on the workers and peasants of the Chinese deformed workers state to demand an end to the obscene, sinister anti-Soviet Peking-Washington alliance now aimed at bloodying the working people of Vietnam."
>
> —"China Get Out!" *WV* No. 226, 2 March 1979

Now again, the Chinese heirs to "socialism in one country," maneuvering for imperialist favor at the expense of other peoples' revolutions, endanger the gains of the Vietnamese Revolution (and of the Chinese Revolution itself) by colluding with the U.S. in an aggressive anti-Soviet military crusade which ultimately poses the nuclear extinction of humanity. *China: Don't Be Cat's Paw of U.S. Imperialism!*

China's 1979 military adventure against Vietnam was convincingly crushed. But Vietnam is a small country; the population of China is about 20 times that of Vietnam. And even if the U.S./China alliance pulls back from another full-scale invasion now, the U.S.-orchestrated stepped-up military pressure against Vietnam via the Thais, the Chinese and the Pol Pot/CIA terrorists is forcing the Vietnamese to expend massive military resources. U.S. imperialism wants to starve the Vietnamese people and prevent the government from rebuilding the economy ravaged by four decades of war. At a press conference in New York on April 27, Vietnamese officials announced they will withdraw the equivalent of three army divisions from Cambodia by the end of May. Citing the recent military successes, the Vietnamese say Cambodian troops will be able to take greater military responsibility in safeguarding the country from the sinister forces of Pol Pot, Son Sann and Sihanouk. They invited foreign journalists in to witness the troop withdrawals.

Indeed, the many-sided attacks on Vietnam are mainly being justified in the name of "self-determination" for Cambodia. What hypocrisy from the people who invent lying stories of Communist "yellow rain" to cover their own decades of real, wholesale chemical devastation of Southeast Asia. In fact, Pol Pot's Kampuchea by comparison made Stalin's Gulag look like a country club. And the first people to be wiped out by Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge mass murderers were the Cambodian Communists associated with the the Vietnamese. The Khmer Rouge themselves were a bunch of college boys who sat out the war against French colonialism studying in Paris, then returned to take over the Cambodian party by murder and whipping up Khmer chauvinism. In the years immediately following the Vietnam War, imperialist propagandists seized on Kampuchea as the ultimate horrible example of "Communist totalitarianism." Henry Kissinger and the like pointed to the Khmer Rouge's unbelievable atrocities to claim retrospectively that the U.S. war against Indochina was a "human rights" crusade. But that didn't stop the imperialist outcry when the Vietnamese occupied Cambodia. The U.S. war criminals embraced the deposed mass killer Pol Pot as a fellow member of the "free world." "To those who lived through the years of his rule, Pol Pot has become the personification of every evil," reported a *Los Angeles Times* journalist after a recent visit to Cambodia. But Pol Pot retains his UN seat thanks to his patrons in Washington.

WV Photo

New York, April 30: Vietnemese "gusenos" storm meeting commemoreting liberation of Saigon. Send back Vietnemese wer criminels!

Shortly after the Vietnamese intervention we wrote: "Given a choice, would the Cambodians rather have national independence or schools, marriage of their own choice, food, children, medicine and wages?" Well, the verdict is now in. Even some U.S. diplomats admit that the Vietnamese have brought economic progress and an incalculably more humane social order. Former U.S. diplomat Emory Swank, who served as ambassador in Phnom Penh to the U.S. puppet regime of Lon Nol in the early 1970s, stated in a recent interview:

> "The Vietnamese, who occupied a totally disorganised, almost destitute land, have provided assistance of all sorts.... Practically starting from scratch, Cambodia has made an astonishing and remarkable recovery."
>
> —*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 17 March

The pro-imperialist campaign against Vietnam's presence in Cambodia is part of a bloodthirsty vendetta by the most irreconcilable enemies of the Vietnamese Revolution. The Chinese are demanding Cambodia—and ultimately Vietnam—as the price for rapprochement with the Soviet Union. And we do not find reassuring the Kremlin's apparent willingness to dump any pretense of internationalism in pursuit of détente with imperialist madmen, as signaled by Andropov's recent pronouncements on Nicaragua (see article, page 1). We only wish the lie of Reagan/Kirkpatrick were true, that the vast military and technological resources of the Soviet collectivized economy were put fully at the disposal of the leftist insurgents in Central America and the resolute, courageous Vietnamese. Truly the need for proletarian political revolution in the deformed workers states has never been more urgent. *Vietnam Was a Victory!—Two, Three, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism!* ■

Australian Spartacists...

(continued from page 3)

common struggle against Soviet and Vietnamese "hegemonism" demonstrators outside chanted "Vietnam was a Victory! 2,3, Many Defeats for Imperialism!" "Son Sann/Sihanouk/Pol Pot—Wipe Them Out!" and "1,2,3,4, Hawke is fighting Reagan's war! 5,6,7,8, Defend the Vietnamese workers state!" and carried placards reading "China: Stop Being a Cat's Paw for U.S. Imperialism!" "Unconditional Military Defence of Vietnam/USSR Against Imperialist Attack!" "Stalinism Undermines the Workers States" and "For Workers Political Revolution from Peking to Moscow to Hanoi!"

Revolutionary opposition to the imperialist war drive means standing against one's "own" ruling class. In Australia the touchstone is the U.S. bases like Pine Gap near Alice Springs, which the anti-Soviet "peace" movement, obedient to the ALP's loyalty to ANZUS, dare not oppose. SL placards at the demonstration demanded, "U.S. Bases Out of Australia and the Indian Ocean!" and "Defence of Vietnam/USSR Begins in Alice Springs, Diego Garcia and Trincomalee!"

This Cold War Hawke Labor government is the enemy of workers and minorities at home and the enemy of the Asian masses abroad. The Australian imperialists and their U.S. patrons suffered a humiliating defeat on the battlefields of Indochina and long to reverse what the Vietnamese workers and peasants won at the cost of decades of struggle and over a million lives. To these threats the Trotskyists reply with the call for revolutionary class struggle at home. As the SL speaker noted:

> "Vietnam means something in this country. The organised labour movement in Australia, especially the maritime unions, have in the past used their power in militant solidarity with the Vietnamese workers and peasants. Seamen blocked supply ships in 1968. Maritime unions blacked [boycotted] U.S. shipping in protest against the Christmas bombing in 1972. Wharfies [dock workers] struck against the war. In 1979 Sydney wharfies blacked Chinese ships in a week-long protest against China's invasion of Vietnam. We say: Australian workers: don't let Hawke get away with it! Not one Australian bullet or plane to the ASEAN butchers! Nothing heading for the Thai generals or Son Sann's butchers should get out of Australian ports! Chinese shipping should be blacked in protest!"

The bourgeois press blacked what was the first protest thus far against the recent U.S./China anti-Vietnam provocations. As for the Laborite left they took a big dive, and no wonder. They support Hawke and across the board greeted Labor's election as a great victory. The Spartacist League said "No Vote to Labor!" and told the Australian working class the truth: that Hawke's Labor government, no less than the Fraser government, would be a Cold War government of capitalist austerity.

As a Spartacist spokesman summed up:

> "From Indochina to west Beirut to San Salvador Reagan's drive to anti-Soviet holocaust is bloodying the toiling masses. And the task of Marxists is to tell the simple truth: only workers revolution will prevent nuclear annihilation. Australia's future lies with the working masses of Asia. The struggle for an Australian workers republic must go hand in hand with the perspective of social revolution throughout Southeast Asia. Above all this means building internationalist, Trotskyist parties in Australia and across Asia, the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. For a workers Australia, part of socialist Asia!" ■

First Willie Turks Killed, Now Black Hospital Workers Assaulted

Lynch Mob Terror in Brooklyn

It happened again, only a mile from Gravesend where NYC black transit worker Willie Turks was beaten to death by a racist lynch mob last June! Shortly after midnight on Tuesday, May 3, a gang of white racists viciously attacked three black men—employees of the Veterans Administration Hospital—after they stopped off at the Cropsey Newsstand in the Bath Beach section of Brooklyn. The gang of seven racist youths hurled bottles and bricks at the black workers as they left the shop. A bottle struck Marion Manigault, 48, and split his head open. Now he's lying in the Coney Island Hospital. The two other workers, Charles Graves, 39, and Sylvester Smith, 30, were cut by flying pieces of glass and brick. Never was it more urgent for a mass mobilization of the unions and black community to put an end to the lynch mob terror on the streets of Brooklyn.

Gino Bova, the ringleader of the racist mob that murdered Willie Turks, got off easy. The racists got the real message: it's open season on black people. How many more? The race-terror that stalks the streets of Brooklyn can be stopped, but only by integrated working-class action. We reprint below a leaflet by militants in the Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 who have been fighting for effective union action to stop these racist atrocities. A show of force—integrated workers defense guards patrolling the streets in Brooklyn organized by the TWU, the hospital workers unions and the black community—would stop the racists in their tracks.

Militants Demand TWU Action to Smash Racist Mobs

"This Wasn't Justice!"

William Turks is dead. Gino Bova, the racist murderer who killed him, is alive and can walk the streets to kill again in five years. That's how cheap a black man's life is. William Turks was murdered by a lynch mob just outside of the Coney Island shop. Those of us who attended the trial witnessed this so-called justice system in action. We, not Gino Bova, were put on trial. The Brooklyn District Attorney—Liz Holtzman—allowed a jury to be selected which excluded blacks. Gino Bova's lawyer made arguments that could have been made by a Klansman: "What was William Turks doing in that neighborhood late at night?" This so-called trial was a disgusting racist outrage!

The Democratic Party liberals ran this trial! District Attorney Holtzman—an ex-big time Watergate liberal—proclaimed the verdict in the Gino Bova trial as a victory: "The significance of this verdict cannot be underestimated. It means a racially motivated homicide will not be tolerated in Brooklyn." Who are these arrogant people? What right do they have to spit on us by proclaiming that Gino Bova's sentencing was a blow against racism?

Those who call on us to rely on these Democratic Party politicians to stop the lynch mobs have to take responsibility for this! The Gino Bova trial shows that the Democrats can't and won't deal out justice to racist murderers.

Willie Turks was lynched and Dennis Dixon and Donald Cooper were beaten bloody on the streets of Gravesend. We want this union to mobilize a defense squad! We want a defense guard of flatbed trucks filled with union militants on the streets of Gravesend *now!* We raised this demand immediately after brother Turks' death. The mobilizing of union force—as we have said before—is the only way this race-hating scum is going to be stopped! Those low-life racist losers in Gravesend can't withstand a mobilization of TWU power on the streets! We can force these rats back into the sewers! We also need a militant presence of TWU forces at the Mormondo trial which will start on May 17th. He's the scum that started the lynch mob violence by being the first to spew his race-hating filth and leading the attack. We need to be in the courtroom—not to beg the courts—but to *demand* that this filth be locked up and the jail keys thrown into the Harlem River!

Put the Racist Murderers from Gravesend into the General Prison Population at Attica!

No Reliance on the Cops, the Courts and the Democratic Party Politicians to Stop the Lynch Mobs!

For an Immediate Mobilization of TWU Forces to Smash the Gravesend Lynch Mobs!

Come to the Mormondo Trial at the N.Y. State Supreme Court in Brooklyn!

NOTE: Pay your back union dues!

E. Kartsen (S/M), D. Brewer (MMC), K. Anwar (S/M), J. Smith (M/M)
28 April 1983

Paris Protest...

(continued from page 2)

economy. These workers are key to the united struggle for a workers and peasants government in Sri Lanka.

And those who dream of "Eelam" must make no mistake: it will take a struggle for power, not least because the harbor of Trincomalee, situated in the Eastern Province, is of strategic interest to U.S. imperialism. The internationalist character of the Tamil question is made strikingly clear by the fact that across the Palk Straits—only 25 miles away—live millions of Tamils in the south of the Indian subcontinent. Instead of a program for a small, indefensible, isolated "Eelam," the Tamils could be the basis to forge the revolutionary link with southern India, to the social revolution of all South Asia.

In Lanka, where the term Trotskyism has been sullied through decades of betrayal by centrists and reformists falsely claiming the Trotskyist mantle, the SL seeks to again bring honor to the name of Trotskyism. Forging a revolutionary party to fight in the interests of the stateless "Indian" Tamil plantation workers, the viciously exploited women of the "Free Trade Zone," the Sinhala workers, the peasant masses, the "Ceylon" Tamils of the Northern and Eastern Provinces and all the oppressed, the SL seeks to open the road to revolution in all of South Asia. Forward to a South Asian Soviet Federation! ■

Phillips...

(continued from page 5)

and-death issue for black people and it will be a central concern of the Labor/Black League.

WV: The Socialist Workers Party also ran a candidate for councilmember at large. How would you contrast your campaign?

Phillips: The SWP's Jan Gangel ran a fairly typical social-democratic campaign. It was basically indistinguishable from that of Cassie Lopez, who ran as a "progressive" Democrat and was heavily backed by the Communist Party, the Democratic Socialists of America and the local Dellums machine.

Both Gangel and I were interviewed by the League of Women Voters on Channel 2 television. Unless you already knew Gangel was some kind of socialist, you sure couldn't tell it from what she said—she didn't once mention the word socialist, socialism or even capitalist! Where I called for workers revolution, she called for "putting people before profits." When asked about housing problems in Oakland, I said, "Expropriate the landlords." Gangel called for "affirmative action for small businesses." Where I called for military victory to the Salvadoran leftists and unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism, Gangel called for "making Oakland an antiwar city."

The SWP was catering to the liberals, tailing the Cassie Lopez/Ron Dellums types, and this was reflected in the votes. The SWP got about 400 more votes than we did and these came overwhelmingly from the white, petty-bourgeois areas of north Oakland near the Berkeley line and the affluent Oakland hills. The Spartacist campaign, however, beat the SWP's solidly in the heavily black and working-class areas of West and East Oakland. We were very gratified by that. Now our task is to organize those people, into the Labor/Black League and into the Spartacist League. ■

Supreme Court License for Racist LAPD Choke Hold

The next time one of L.A.'s killer cops puts the choke hold on his victim, he might want to thank the United States Supreme Court. On April 21 the "highest court in the land" gave the murderous choke hold a green light, overturning a lower court injunction which according to the *New York Times* (21 April) had "limited the Los Angeles police to using choke holds only when needed to avoid serious injury...."

The choke-hold injunction was obtained by Adolph Lyons, a black man who was nearly killed by the Los Angeles cops after they pulled him over for a routine traffic infraction. The treatment he received at the hands of the cops was also "routine." He was choked into unconsciousness. Fortunately he survived, and he sued.

But the Supreme Court says that Lyons has no basis to stop the LAPD from choking him or anyone else, because he can't prove that they will definitely do it to him *again*. In a five-to-four decision, the court stated outrageously: "Absent a sufficient likelihood that he will again be wronged in a similar way, Lyons is no more entitled to an injunction than any other citizen of Los Angeles." But any citizen of Los Angeles *should* be plenty worried about the choke-holding cops, particularly black citizens. Since 1975 L.A. cops have killed 16 people with their choke hold, 12 of them black. Racist police chief Daryl Gates said that so many blacks had died from the "super hold" because there is something wrong with black people: "[Their] veins and arteries do not open as fast as they do on normal [!] people" (*Los Angeles Times*, 8 May 1982).

With this ruling the high court also sets an ominous precedent which can be used against any of the state's victims who try to prevent clearly intended potential cop violence or official harassment. It proclaims that the cops can do whatever they want, and no one can use the courts to stop it. Even Thurgood Marshall, the token black on the Supreme Court, called the decision "unprecedented and unwarranted" noting in his dissent: "Since no one can show that he will be choked in the future, no one—not even a person who, like Lyons, has almost been choked to death—has standing to challenge the continuation of the policy."

This Supreme Court decision is part of the Reagan campaign to gear up the state's machinery of violence for the increased repression, race-terror and domestic witchhunting of Cold War II. As capitalism sinks deeper into economic depression and social crisis, its hired guns maintain lawless "order" on the streets of desperately poor ghettos. The Supreme Court says anything goes in this war on blacks and poor and labor. It stands with the most murderous tactics of this country's most deadly police force.

Reagan Democrats Attack Social Security

Norfolk Shipyard Workers Demand: Save Our Pensions!

PORTSMOUTH, Virginia—On April 1 more than 3,000 angry federal workers packed into the Woodrow Wilson High School auditorium here to protest the Social Security "reform" bill. The workers were especially furious about a provision in the bill, since signed into law by Reagan, that will force all new U.S. government employees to be covered by Social Security instead of the much superior Civil Service Retirement System. This law was overwhelmingly supported by Reaganite Republican and liberal Democratic Congressmen alike. It means newly hired federal worker have *only* the pitiful payments provided under Social Security to look forward to when they retire. But that's not all. The rest of the federal workforce faces old-age destitution as well: their pension fund, deprived of the millions of dollars the new-hires would have contributed, may well collapse.

When every seat in the large auditorium was taken, the workers filled the aisles and spilled out onto the entranceway steps. Most were production workers at the Norfolk Naval Shipyard. These federal employees were summoned by Ron Ault and other craft union leaders of the Tidewater Metal Trades Council (MTC) to listen in mute silence while a panel of notables questioned "our Congressmen and Senators" as to why they were flushing hard-earned pensions down the toilet. The panel was composed primarily of bosses—federal supervisors, managers and a Chamber of Commerce spokesman—but Ault himself participated in order to lend the event a spirit of labor-management-government cooperation.

The crowd was in no mood for alihis. Over and over, tumultuous jeering drowned out the capitalist politicians as the workers turned the session into a show of mass indignation. At one point phony "friend of labor" Democrat Norman Sisisky was silenced by cries of "bullshit!" Ault came to the defense of Sisisky and his Republican Congressional colleague William Whitehurst (no senators saw fit to appear) by insulting the enraged workers: "please act like good federal employees and not like rabble." The workers began filing out, disgusted that the MTC bureaucrats had brought them there, as one worker told *WV*, only "to listen to a bunch of lies."

These workers have every reason to be outraged. Federal employees have been under attack from the White House for years, going back to Democrat Jimmy Carter. It was the Carter administration that drew up the plans for breaking an air controllers strike, plans Reagan implemented when he smashed PATCO in 1980. Then came the benefit cuts, wage freezes, lie detector tests, etc. The threat of work being contracted out in particular hangs over the heads of the Shipyard workers. The first jobs slated to be contracted out are those of the fire fighters, who presently get specialized training to handle nuclear fires, chlorine leaks and other life-and-death situations. At the meeting workers told *WV* about rumors that crane repair, elevator service and calibration jobs are also immediately threatened.

Now, as Reagan considers upping the federal retirement age, the Civil Service pension plan, long considered one of the most attractive benefits of federal employment, is about to topple. Most federal retirees have in the past been able to go on pension before the age of 60, at about 56 percent of their working income. Their future has been smashed, not simply by "Reaganomics" but by the combined efforts of the Republicans, the liberal Democrats and even the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. Top labor traitor Lane Kirkland, who sat on the Reagan-appointed commission that drew up the "rescue" scheme, didn't let his mealy-mouthed objections to the federal pension swindle stand in the way of endorsing the overall plan.

Far from "rescuing" the security of any portion of the aged population, the Social Security act is an attack on all working people. By increasing Social Security taxes, deferring crucial cost-of-living adjustments, instituting a tax on Social Security benefits, etc., the plan will raise *169 billion dollars*, most of it squeezed out of the working people of this country. While the bosses' politicians—the Democrats and Republicans—and their AFL-CIO bootlickers work to save mega-bucks for the government, the working people must demand the socialization of medicine and the merging of Social Security, unemployment insurance, SUB funds and welfare into the general federal budget, with guaranteed payments equalized at the highest level and covered by full cost-of-living protection. However, even this minimal though genuine reform can only be won through class struggle, since it runs head-on into the bipartisan program of pumping *trillions* into the Pentagon to finance a war drive against the USSR.

When asked how he planned to turn back these attacks, MTC head Ault told *WV*, "We have subscribed to the *Congressional Register*" to help build more intensive lobbying! Far from winning "friends" in Congress or anywhere else, this strategy of relying on the bosses' Democrats has contributed to labor's status in the South as a persecuted minority. It has meant bowing down before Virginia's "right to work" laws as well as the federal government's ban on the right to strike. This no-fight program has left the Norfolk Naval Shipyard—a potential bastion of labor and black power—only 48 percent organized, divided into 17 different craft unions. Blacks in the shipyard face on-the-job discrimination, like getting assigned to the most dangerous and unhealthy work (requiring, for example, exposure to radiation) while being denied promotions. Meanwhile the forces of segregation are on the march across the Elizabeth River in the city of Norfolk, where the school board is dismantling a decade-old busing plan. And at the Newport News Shipyard to the north, a heavily black workforce is threatened by a union-busting drive directed at the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), the largest industrial union in the Tidewater area.

The "open shop" South cannot be organized by the tactics of business unionists accustomed to collaboration with the companies and the capitalist government. As the bitter struggle by USWA Local 8888 in Newport News demonstrates, it will be an explosive struggle fully comparable to the organization of the CIO, centered in the industrial Midwest, in the 1930s. This means a campaign to organize the unorganized, with mass picketing in defiance of state "right-to-work" laws, throughout the region. It must be a nationwide campaign, mobilizing the full strength of the American labor movement and confronting the Taft-Hartley ban on labor boycotts of scab products. It requires breaking with the racist Democratic Party and building a revolutionary workers party, dedicated to bringing down the murderous profit system with a workers government. And that means forging a leadership and program that will make organized labor a bulwark of decency defending all the victims of capitalist oppression.

The unionization of the South will mean massive battles against all aspects of Jim Crow, far sharper than the liberal-led civil rights movement of the late 1950s and early '60s. The oppression of blacks is the single greatest obstacle to a powerful and independent workers movement in this country, nowhere more so than in the South. It will require mobilizing the unions to defend busing, and organizing labor/black defense against racist terror. Last November 27 the Spartacist League initiated and organized such a Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the KKK from marching in Washington, D.C. Five thousand protesters—blacks, socialists, unionists, including a busload from the Tidewater area—took over the streets chanting "Finish the Civil War—Forward to a workers state!" This must become the rallying call for every militant union and black activist. Unionization of the South will be a decisive step toward black liberation, toward finishing the Civil War, finally establishing genuine racial equality and social justice. ■

Patrick Mason...

(continued from page 12)

in the rise of fascist groups from the KKK to the Nazis. Signs at the demonstration included, "Stop Deportations to El Salvador" and "Labor/Black Defense Against Racist Terror."

The Spartacist-initiated rally was important for its orientation to winning the labor movement to the fight against cop terror which breeds precisely in such low-wage, open-shop, anti-union areas. The rally was endorsed by officials from the Teamsters, oil workers, letter carriers unions and phone workers stewards. Also endorsing was Geronimo Pratt, former leader of the Los Angeles Black Panther Party. (Pratt was framed up for murder under Nixon's COINTEL program and is still jailed in San Quentin prison with his request for a new trial denied.)

Significantly, several black militants previously affiliated with other organizations contacted the SL to help this urgently needed protest against racist cop brutality. Refusing invitations to participate and speak at the rally were the Socialist Workers Party, the Morenoite Internationalist Workers Party and the Communist Party. While organizing a protest meeting in Watts at the time of Patrick Mason's murder, the CP has pushed its reformist "community control" of police scheme and did not even call for jailing killer cop Sperl.

The SL spokesman at the rally concluded: "We desperately need a multiracial workers party that will fight for a workers government and create a socialized planned economy that can end once and for all the material roots of racism and economic exploitation. Justice for Patrick Mason, Ron Settles, Eulia Love and the endless list of victims of racist murder means the working class must take power. Black liberation means socialist revolution." ■

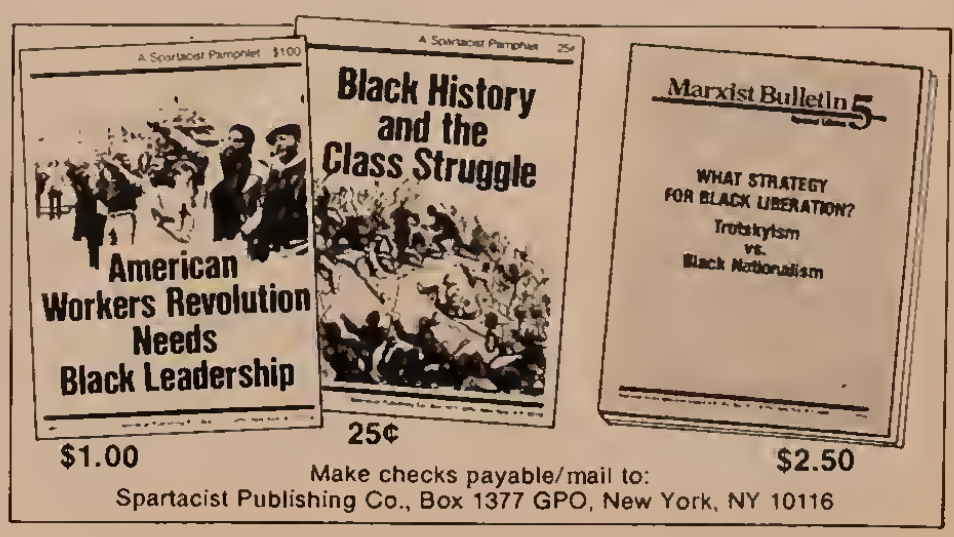
Killer Cops...

(continued from page 12)

population and black community. Unlike one of the other rally speakers, a supporter of the Communist Labor Party (CLP) who played up the election of black Democratic hack Harold Washington as the answer, we know that so long as the capitalists hold power, they'll maintain their brutal, racist police system. Ritchie Bradley of the SL and the Labor/Black League spoke at the rally, explaining the way to victory:

> "The Spartacist League says: Jail the killer cops of Willie Lee Drumgoole and Johnny Roman and Michael Guillory and the others! Disarm the cops! No to gun control! Vengeance for Patrick Mason—the five-year-old black kid who was killed in Los Angeles! We have to organize the labor movement. The Labor/Black League for Social Defense is an organization that was initiated by the Spartacist League to fight against the rise of the Klan. We call for mass mobilizations of the labor movement to stop fascist terror in this country. You can't fight Reagan with Democrats. So what we need to do is to build a workers party in this country—a workers party that will defend the interests of the working class and not of the Reagans and the Democrats."

That evening a showing of the videotape of the November 27 victory over the Ku Klux Klan in Washington, D.C., sponsored by the Labor/Black League for Social Defense, was announced at the rally and drew 30 people; of those who attended, four joined the Labor/Black League. If you want to put a stop to racist attacks and cop atrocities and help lead the struggle for a socialist future, join the Labor/Black League for Social Defense! Join the Spartacist League! ■



WORKERS VANGUARD

Racist Killer Cop Walks

L.A. Protest Demands: "Vengeance for Patrick Mason!"

WV Photo

Los Angeles, April 26: Spartacist League protests the racist killing of Patrick Mason.

LOS ANGELES, April 26—Fifty demonstrators marched today in downtown L.A. to protest the obscene decision of an all-white Orange County grand jury to let off scot-free the racist killer cop who murdered five-year-old black child Patrick Mason in his own home. On the spirited march from the Federal Building to Governor George Deukmejian's office in the State Building, demonstrators demanded, "Vengeance for Patrick Mason!" "Jail killer cop Sperl!" and "Protest grand jury whitewash of child-killing cop!" Signs called "For Labor/Black Mobilization Against Racist Terror" and "Stop Reagan Racism—Build a Workers Party!" while demonstrators chanted, "1, 2, 3, 4. Time to finish the Civil War—5, 6, 7, 8, Forward to a workers state!" At the State Building there were speakers from the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL), the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) of Communications Workers of America Local 11502 and the Feminist Women's Health Center. Local KABC-TV covered the rally on the evening news.

On April 21 the grand jury announced no indictments would be handed down in their so-called "even-handed" probe of both Stanton killer cop Anthony Sperl and Patrick's grieving mother Patricia Ridge. "The city of Stanton is very pleased with the results of the grand jury investigation," said Stanton Police Chief Ronald Johnson (*Long Beach Press Telegram*, 22 April). You bet they are! Black kindergartener Patrick Mason was home watching TV when racist terrorist-in-blue Sperl broke into the apartment, kicked in the bedroom door and blew the little boy away from three-foot range! To get the cops off the hook, the Orange County D.A. moved on the black mother who had been away at work at the time, incredibly threatening to send her up on charges ranging from child neglect to a second-degree murder rap. As expected, the racists with state power left killer cop Sperl free to kill again. There is no "justice" for blacks in racist, capitalist America, particularly here in the heart of Reagan Country.

This vile crime demanded a mass outpouring of labor and minorities to smash racist violence. As MAC speaker Manuel Delgadillo said at today's rally:

> "Every decent unionist in this city should be here today protesting the brutal killing of Patrick Mason and the fact that his murderer, the cop, was set free. When news of this shooting came out, the immediate reaction of every union president in the area should have been to have their members drop their tools and stop work."

The Feminist Women's Health Center speaker Toni Alamea said in outrage: "Last week the courts 'graciously' decreed that they would not bring charges against his mother, Patricia Ridge. Was the death of her child deemed sufficient punishment for her 'crime' of being black, poor and a woman? Anthony Sperl, the policeman who killed Patrick was suspended with pay, which is in essence a paid vacation."

From police terror in the Watts black ghetto to the raids on the undocumented Mexican workers, Los Angeles-area cops run roughshod over the minority populations, choke-holding, terrorizing, gunning down in cold blood. Black Democratic ex-cop L.A. mayor Tom Bradley presides over the daily murder of blacks in collaboration with LAPD chief Daryl "Choke Hold" Gates. The SL pointed out that the upsurge of racist terror is the domestic reflection of the anti-Soviet war drive, particularly seen

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Stop the Racist Rampage!

Jail Richmond Killer Cops!

RICHMOND, California—On April 23 over 100 demonstrators rallied and picketed next to the Richmond police station, protesting the systematic murder and continuing brutal attacks on blacks carried out by the racist cops. The Spartacist League and the newly-formed Labor/Black League for Social Defense, which carried a banner demanding "Jail the Killer Cops!" brought almost 40 people to the protest, initiated by People For Justice.

In Richmond, cop terror against blacks is still escalating—there've been six police murders of blacks since 1980 alone, including the shooting of parolee Donald Kizart in his own bedroom in January. A federal lawsuit begun last fall against the city cops for gunning down Johnny Roman and Michael Guillory, two black men shot in their own homes in 1980 and 1982, respectively, is still dragging on. Last November, Willie Lee Drumgoole was choked to death in the city jail, and his killers went scot-free. Linda Simon, the mother of Drumgoole's oldest daughter, Sabrina, spoke at the rally:

WV Photo

Richmond, California, April 23: Labor/Black League contingent demands "Jail the killers of Willie Lee Drumgoole!"

> "I can understand what's happening to that mother in Los Angeles, because I have a daughter who day and night looks for her father. The day he got killed—was arrested—he was supposed to have been picking the children up for the weekend.... Me and Willie knew Johnny Roman real good. He was raised up in Parchester [an all-black Richmond neighborhood] where I lived and Michael Guillory did too. When Johnny got killed me and Willie sat up and talked and he said, 'Linda, I never knew this would happen.' Then he said, 'I hope nothing like this ever happens to me.' But it did. And my daughter, one day I was cooking and she was outside playing with her friends. She broke into the house—the police had come next door—and she started hollering and screaming and crying, saying 'Mama, they're gonna shoot you next!' Night before last she got up. She was looking for her father. I've got to tell her every day. She goes to school and she just lays her head on her desk and cries.... I just see all these people that I knew, went to school with—like Johnny Roman. They used to come play in the yard. And then I look back and it's everybody that I know."

Calvin King, chairman of People For Justice, said he knew of at least two candidates for Richmond City Council running on a program of vindication for the killer cops accused in the federal case. In this economically depressed, half-black industrial city, the capitalist bosses and their politicians need their murderous thugs to terrorize the increasingly unemployed

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 330

20 May 1983

Reagan's Butchers Shaking

Salvador Leftists: On to Victory!

Meiselas/Magnum

No Negotiated Sellout!

MAY 17—A leftist guerrilla in central El Salvador recently declared, "We are moving the war along as fast as possible now, so the people don't have to suffer so much. We are coming to the final stage. We now have the capacity to launch a definite insurrection" (*Washington Post*, 1 May). In recent weeks the insurgent forces of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) have kept the U.S.-backed army reeling. The much-touted "new" military strategy (nothing but Vietnam-era counterinsurgency) has gotten nowhere as each army sweep is met by fierce resistance and devastating counterattacks by the rebels. The FMLN forces have maintained and accelerated the military momentum which they seized last October, striking targets at will across the country. Six months ago, the opposition Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) declared that the rebels were entering "a more offensive and defining phase of the revolutionary war" with the "creation of conditions for the general insurrection of the masses" (FDR/FMLN, *Boletin El Salvador Libre*, October 1982). This has certainly been accomplished. What now?

In the United States, all sectors of the ruling class are worried about the "fire in America's front yard," vividly recalling the Vietnam debacle. Reagan wants to escalate, the liberals want to negotiate. Now various reformists are joining with the Democrats to call an "emergency" demonstration (on July 2!) for "No Vietnam War in Central America." The Spartacist League (SL) says: Vietnam was a victory—Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism! And the bourgeoisie has good reason to be worried. With Central America already aflame, there is now rumbling in the Southern Cone of South America. One thousand arrested for demonstrating against the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile, general strikes against the generals in Argentina, workers confront the IMF austerity policies of the popular front in Bolivia. And to the north Mexico is in deep crisis. Now is the time to strike for victory on the battlefield in El Salvador. A leftist military victory could open the door to workers revolution that could spread throughout the continent.

Yet as we have noted before, the more successful the guerrillas are against the army, the more insistent their leaders are in offering to sell out what has been won on the battlefield in exchange for some cabinet seats and promises of reform (the so-called "political solution"). This pattern has again been dramatically confirmed. A week after Reagan's war on Communism in Central America speech to Congress, FDR leader Guillermo Ungo came to Washington to hold a press conference in which he announced: "The United States has the right to stop the spread of communism. That's true. We agree on that" (*Baltimore Sun*, 3 May). Indeed, while the workers and peasants defy blood and fire in a struggle to rid themselves of a rapacious oligarchy and its kill-crazed death squads, Ungo and the rest of the phantom bourgeois politicians in the FDR ply the cocktail circuits hoping to rally liberal support and thus stave off social revolution. The SL says: No negotiated sellout! Military victory to leftist insurgents! Take San Salvador!

Reagan's Butchers On the Run

After the "Heroic January 1983" FMLN offensive, which resulted in the rebel occupation of the town of Berlin and attacks inside the capital itself, the guerrillas have kept up the pressure, preventing the army from taking back the initiative or even regaining equilibrium. The rebels responded to Reagan's threats by occupying the key border town of Santa Rosa de Lima in eastern La Unión province on April 29. They also destroyed five bridges along the Pan American highway, including cutting the link to Honduras and southern Central America at the border. And while the sizable FMLN "areas of control" are expanding, the government army is crumbling as a result of mass surrenders to the guerrillas:

- March 27—Capture of 114 soldiers in a rebel attack on San Esteban Catarina, 29 miles from the capital.
- April 17—Capture of 71 soldiers and their commander, overrunning an army post near Chichontepec volcano (La Paz province).
- April 18—Capture of 80 government soldiers on the San Vicente volcano.

In addition, in what was described as one of the biggest FMLN victories of the war, on March 31 guerrillas ambushed and destroyed two companies of the crack U.S.-trained Ramón Belloso battalion in the northeastern Morazán province. And in mid-April the government made its 14th attempt to dislodge rebels from Guazapa volcano just

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UAW: From Sitdowns to the Chrysler Board Room

Doug Fraser: Company Cop...3

La Migra's Racist Roundups in Chicago

Stop the Deportations!

Carter/Chicago Tribune

Immigration cops raid factories in Chicago, April 1982.

CHICAGO—With the push on to pass the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration "reform" bill, they're trying to whip up a chauvinist frenzy against foreign workers. During the month of March alone, some 1,000 "illegal aliens" were rounded up here by the racist squads of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), known by its victims as *la migra*. The crackdown is part of a nationwide pattern—the Border Patrol announced it picked up an unprecedented 107,997 people along the Mexican border in March, more than any month in history and an increase of 43 percent over last year (*Chicago Tribune*, 24 April).

And while *la migra* spread its dragnet, the *Tribune* spewed out a racist propaganda barrage in a six-part series entitled "The Illegals." The press accounts did bring to light the desperate conditions faced by Chicago's countless thousands of undocumented workers: from their perilous entry into this country, creeping through holes in the chain link fences of the "Tortilla Curtain," hiding in the brush from the Border Patrol who stalk their quarry with an arsenal ranging from helicopters to infrared nightscopes. At the mercy of the "coyotes" (smugglers), they pay hundreds of dollars to be packed into vans and car trunks, arriving in Chicago to wash dishes, sew garments or work in grimy metal shops.

The latest sweep was called "Operation Repeater," a follow-up on last year's "Operation Jobs," Reagan's vicious attempt to make foreign workers scapegoats for skyrocketing U.S. unemployment. In last year's ten-city sweep, Chicago was a particular focus of the INS: 1,295 out of a total of 5,000 arrests nationwide took place here. We reported how INS local chief H.A. Palmer raided factories and warehouses, swept through the *barrios* separating families and slamming terrified people into holding pens at O'Hare Airport. The racist anti-Communist nature of these terror raids was clear: some 50 Polish immigrants picked up in the sweep were granted special refugee status by the State Department because of "martial law" conditions in Poland. No such luck for Salvadorans or Haitians, of course.

The vast majority of the estimated 500,000 undocumented workers in the Chicago area are Mexicans. In February, many of them became particularly vulnerable as more than 100,000 predominantly Mexican immigrants, who held "Silva letters" giving them temporary immunity from deportation, had their status canceled by the INS. They were those affected by a federal court ruling in the case of Mexican immigrant Refugio Silva which held that the government had illegally awarded thousands of immigrant visas to anti-Communist Cuban refugees at the expense of other Western Hemisphere applicants. Now the "Silva letter" people are in a dangerous situation, since they have already put their names and addresses on file, and could be deported at any moment.

The Reagan-backed Simpson-Mazzoli bill now pending in Congress, if fully enforced, would lead to a South African-style internal passport system, strengthening the police powers of the INS and expanding the Labor Department's role as a labor contractor. Under the vaguely worded "amnesty provisions" of the Senate bill, applicants must show they entered the country before 1977 and that they won't become "public charges"—impossible to prove in depression-ravaged USA. Job-trusting union misleaders, who were among the earliest pushers of Simpson-Mazzoli, are now complaining that the "penalties" against employers for hiring "illegals" have been watered down. Meanwhile the Reagan administration has taken up the issue as part of its campaign to "secure our borders," supposedly against a "Communist threat" from the south.

To generate support for Simpson-Mazzoli, they're screaming about how the foreign workers are allegedly stealing American jobs, spinning horror tales about "illegals" swelling the welfare rolls, packing the schools. This is a pack of lies: undocumented workers living under the threat of deportation are not about to voluntarily undergo welfare investigation. As for schools, foreign workers pay taxes like everybody else—withheld from their paychecks. The undocumented workers come here in the first place because the American capitalists want low-wage labor for backbreaking stoop-labor jobs in the fields of California and the "Sunbelt," for the garment sweatshops of the Northeast and the foundries in Chicago. Now with the financial and economic crisis in Mexico, in addition to the normal attraction of making a better life for themselves, hundreds of thousands more are being driven across the border looking for any kind of work.

Moreover, many Mexicans and Central Americans meet death in their attempt to make it to the "land of the free." There are accounts of "wetbacks" murdered by Ku Klux Klan mobs waiting for them to cross the Rio Grande, of bodies of teenage boys found floating in the river in Juárez, shot by border policemen. From the KKK "border patrols" to their failed march against "illegal aliens" in Washington last November 27 (which was stopped by the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League), this is the fascistic fringe of the anti-Soviet war drive supported by both capitalist parties. Democrats and Republicans also join hands in pushing the racist Simpson-Mazzoli bill, along with sellout labor bureaucrats whose answer to unemployment is the chauvinist poison of protectionism and anti-immigration legislation.

In Chicago, leaders of the Mexican community have traditionally tied the working people to the ethnic patronage system of the Democratic Machine. In the recent mayoral elections, marked by a racist hysteria campaign, the Mexican district of Pilsen went heavily for Mayor Jane Byrne in the primary, then, faced with the choice of black Democrat Washington or racist Republican Epton, many opted for Washington. Since the Hispanic vote became a decisive factor, the Latino wheeler-dealers are now declaring that Washington's victory "marks the beginning of a new era for Hispanics," as Chicano reformist leader Rudy Lozano said (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 15 April). But a token deputy mayor and a "commission on Hispanic affairs" will not do much for Latin Americans in this city—all they will get from Washington & Co. is a big dose of the austerity that he's already begun to announce.

Last year's May Day march in Pilsen came at the height of *la migra*'s "Operation Jobs" dragnet. Yet while Casa Aztlán, a group of nationalists and fellow-travelers around the reformist Communist Party (CP), were chanting "*Raza si, Migra no*," they refused to call for full citizenship rights for our foreign class brothers! After all, what would all the "community" petty merchants—who fatten themselves off the blood and sweat of poor immigrants—do without "illegal aliens"? (CP fellow traveler Ray Romero remarked: "Employers look at things in terms of profits, what happens when you eliminate the undocumented workers and reduce the margin?") At the 1982 May Day march, the Spartacist League (SL) contingent had the only signs demanding "Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign Born Workers and Their Families! Stop the Deportations!" "Asylum for Refugees of Salvadoran Junta Terror!" and "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador!" For this we were jumped by a gang squad of these nationalists and Stalinists seeking to keep out opposition to their popular front with the Democrats.

These popular frontists, whose call for a "negotiated solution" in Central America would lead to new massacres of Salvadoran leftists, and who in Mexico have for decades sought to tame all opposition to the ruling PRI, now seek to tie Hispanics in Chicago to the Democrats' "reform" mayor. Yet this same Democratic Party and the same liberals are some of the biggest pushers of anti-immigrant legislation. The Stalinists along with the class-collaborationist labor tops call for protectionist legislation against runaway shops (run away to Juárez, for example) and support protectionist demonstrations against buying foreign-made steel (such as from Monterrey). In contrast to this reformist racist poison, the Spartacist League calls for international class struggle. The SL points out that everyone in this country came from somewhere else (except the Indians and look how they were slaughtered). We say that anyone who is here has a right to stay with full citizenship rights.

More than a century ago Karl Marx pointed out that capitalism maintains an "industrial reserve army" of the unemployed to hold down wages. In the imperialist epoch this reservoir of cheap labor has been transferred in part to the countryside of the "Third World" which supplies millions of workers to the advanced capitalist economies, only to be expelled during the inevitable depressions: Turkish and Yugoslav workers in West Germany, Africans in France and an estimated six million Mexicans in the United States. Under capitalism the backward regions of Latin America, Africa and Asia will never be transformed into modern industrial countries. The possibility of eradicating hunger from the face of the earth can be realized only through the collectivization of the means of production and an international planned economy. Under socialism, in a classless society, national borders will disappear and no one will call you "illegal alien." ■

WV Photo

Stalinists/nationalists attack SL contingent protesting INS roundup in Chicago's Mexican Pilsen district, May Day 1982.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Linda Jarreau

EDITORIAL BOARD: Charles Burroughs, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Mary Jo McAllister, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Marjorie Stamberg

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No. 330 **20 May 1983**

UAW: From Sitdowns to the Chrysler Board Room

Doug Fraser: Company Cop

AP

Fraser breaks wildcat at Chrysler's Lynch Road plant in Detroit, 1973.

DETROIT—United Auto Workers (UAW) president Doug Fraser is retiring and to crown his "achievements" he has declared that the attempt by General Motors/Toyota to smash seniority and reopen the Fremont, California GM plant without a union contract is not a strikable issue! Four years earlier, Chrysler's announcement of the closing of the historic Dodge Main plant signaled an assault by the Big Three on several decades of industrial unionism in auto. Since 1979, with the active collaboration of Solidarity House, auto workers have lost *$5 billion* in wages and benefits, the industrywide contract has been smashed, and close to half a million auto workers have been permanently unemployed. From Dodge Main to Fremont, Fraser has hacked away at the achievements of the UAW to the point where the future of this once proud union is at stake.

Indeed 1979 will go down in UAW history as an infamous year. That was the year Doug Fraser purchased a seat on the Chrysler board of directors at the price of hundreds of thousands of auto workers' jobs. As Chrysler workers repeatedly said during the wildcats against the company and the UAW traitors last fall, the UAW was being led by a "double agent." The Fraser gang represented the company board of directors in the union. Having retired as UAW chief, Fraser plans to stay on as a Chrysler boss for at least another year.

The UAW is one of the main unions in this country which has been led by social democrats. One can compare Fraser's joining the Chrysler board with the German Social Democrats' voting for war credits on August 4, 1914. At that point the Social Democrats became not just sellouts but direct agents of the Kaiser who sent their workers to kill their brother workers in the imperialist slaughter of World War I. In the same way, Fraser (and his leadership clique) has been a loyal member of the Chrysler board of directors, directly destroying the most basic gains of the union and slaughtering the livelihoods and lives of the workers.

Fraser sworn in as Detroit police commissioner, 1974.

The UAW's complete prostration before the auto companies is a direct result of the social-democratic Walter Reuther tradition which Fraser continued. Reuther and his henchmen throttled the class-struggle tactics which enabled the UAW to organize the open shop bastions of the Midwest. He used red-baiting and anti-communist purges, support for the imperialists' Second World War and slavish subordination to the Democratic Party to weld the UAW to the government. Reuther's goal, drawn from the program of the reformist Second International, was to integrate the labor movement into the capitalist state, wiping out *any* remnant of union independence. In a polemic against such reformist misleaders in the 1930s, Leon Trotsky wrote:

> "The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."
>
> —"Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay"

Now Reuther's disciple Fraser has carried the tradition to its treacherous conclusion: a labor/capitalist "partnership" to dismantle fundamental gains in order to prop up the U.S. profit system.

With Fraser on the board and the UAW in a straitjacket, Dodge Main and other historic centers of union militancy going back to the 1930s sit-down strikes were liquidated *without a fight*. A membership imbued with decades of union consciousness was thrown to the winds: most pathetic and symbolic of Fraser's defeatism was the whimper of the Dodge Main local bureaucrats at the 1980 convention, displaying a banner which read, "With a Book Full of Memories and a Heavy Heart, Dodge Local 3 Says Good-bye to the UAW."

Over and over again Fraser rammed giveback contracts down the throats of the UAW ranks, working in tandem with company threats to close plants, and all in the name of "saving jobs." The only job "saved" was Fraser's seat on the Chrysler Board: two-thirds of Chrysler workers and almost half a million UAW members in all have been written off by the Big Three and Solidarity House.

In 1979 the Spartacist League (SL) and our supporters in auto agitated for sit-down strikes against layoffs, while the fake-left trailed after Fraser, calling for "nationalization" (a disguised form of subsidy to the bosses) to "save jobs," and denounced the SL's "utopian" class-struggle tactics. Well, the balance sheet is in on the surrender strategy of Fraser & Co.: the total Chrysler/Ford/GM profit for the *first quarter* of 1983 was *$1 billion*—stolen out of the pockets of thousands of UAW members. Today every single Chrysler plant is on overtime, with the one-third of the workforce left working under substandard contract to give Chrysler its largest quarterly profit in history!

Fraser: Once a Cop, Always a Cop

Fraser trained long and hard for his union-busting. After starting in the old DeSoto plant in the 1930s he became president of Local 277 in 1943 as part of the Reuther wing of the UAW bureaucracy. He was appointed to the International staff in 1947, as Reuther's purge of the Communist Party in the service of the Cold War entered high gear. After 25 years as assistant to Reuther and an International Executive Board member, and finally as head of the UAW's Chrysler Department, Fraser became infamous as an open strikebreaker. As head of the UAW's Chrysler Department, he helped the company beat back the black rebellion of 1968-69, embodied by the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. In 1973 he gained national infamy by leading 1,000 bureaucrats wielding baseball bats in breaking a wildcat strike at Chrysler's Mack Avenue Stamping plant. When militants at the Jefferson Avenue plant successfully occupied an electrical cage and drove out a racist foreman, Fraser came out against the company's promise of amnesty: "If you surrender to this type of blackmail, there is no end to it."

Fraser had become a cop for the companies. And in 1974 he literally became one of Detroit's five top cops, accepting newly elected mayor Coleman Young's appointment to the new police commission, which was responsible for overall control of the police department. Fraser served on the "reform" police commission, helping Young and the Democratic Party machine in Detroit reestablish the authority of Detroit police in the face of the widespread hatred of the cops among the city's black population. And the killer cops of the infamous STRESS unit, who gunned down black workers and youth at will in the early 1970s, were set loose.

Fraser has been the fireman for the Detroit bosses, denouncing busing for integration because it "is a losing issue politically" (*Detroit Free Press*, 30 November 1975) and whipping up a protectionist frenzy, blaming Japanese workers for the massive job losses *he* has rammed through. This has resulted in racist terror and even murder of Asian-American workers (see "Jail the Killers of Vincent Chin!" on page 12).

Now, with most auto workers in Detroit unable to get any job, Fraser has lined up *three* in addition to his union pension. As an outside director for Chrysler, he'll be entitled to $15,000 a year with another $12,000 in special fees (for committee and board meetings), plus two cars a year. (And this year's Chrysler proxy report doesn't contain Fraser's pious 1982 declaration that he plans on donating his Judas money to scholarship funds.) There's another $12,000 or so for a part-time Labor Studies professorship at Wayne State University, and he'll also be the Helen DeRoy Visiting Professor in Honors at the University of Michigan, teaching "the organization of work in the coming decades" (or, "how to wreck a union in four years or less").

The UAW isn't even saying how much dues money auto workers will have to give this traitor for a pension. Like his predecessor Leonard Woodcock (who became Jimmy Carter's ambassador to China), the real payoff might come from Washington from his friends in the Democratic Party. At one of the series of "thank you Doug" benefits organized for this traitor, former vice president Mondale "hinted he has plans to put Fraser in high office if elected president in 1984" (*Detroit Free Press*, 4 February).

As Doug Fraser leaves the UAW even the strike fund is being raked to pay the salaries of the International and local henchmen who aided him in ripping up the gains of more than 40 years of industrial unionism. The social-democratic, bureaucratic machine that has translated UAW into "U Ain't Working" smoothly passes the top job to Owen Bieber, while auto workers from Fremont to Detroit face crucial class battles to defend their livelihoods. The housebroken "oppositionists" who constantly appeal to the "Reuther tradition" will never be able to fight the stranglehold of Solidarity House. In February, *57 out of 58* local presidents and shop chairmen at Chrysler appealed to Fraser to stay on the board! It will take a class-struggle leadership to win the coming battles. Sitdowns, not soup-lines! Break from the Democrats, build a workers party to fight for a workers government! Oust the traitorous UAW bureaucracy! ■

El Salvador...

(continued from page 1)

outside San Salvador, a major operation involving 3,000 troops and air force bombing, but without success.

Recently the Salvadoran government, prodded by the Reagan administration, has launched a rural "pacification" campaign, combining large-scale military operations with stepped-up economic aid. The plan calls for setting up fortified "strategic hamlets" in the lowlands provinces, a strategy reminiscent of the CORDS (Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development) program in Vietnam. Coupled with Operation Phoenix, a campaign of assassination of suspected Viet Cong sympathizers, CORDS was an attempt to isolate the guerrillas from the general populace. So far it has been no more successful in El Salvador. When FMLN troops attacked San Miguel, the country's third-largest city, 2,000 government security force troops were ordered to stay in their barracks rather than risk defeat by the rebels, who sabotaged machinery intended for that province's pacification program.

The country is literally falling apart. The gross national product is down by 25 percent since 1979. According to the U.S. embassy, damages to the infrastructure have passed a billion dollars, while another billion have been sent out by local capitalists hedging against a guerrilla victory. In the middle of the war, after a second military rebellion against General García (this time by the air force), the ineffectual defense minister was removed and the entire top command reshuffled. The phony constituent assembly is split down the middle between right-center and ultra-rightist forces. Ex-junta president José Napoleón Duarte, a Christian Democrat, is calling for "dialogue" with the rebels while fascistic assembly president Roberto D'Aubuisson is calling for a war to the death—200,000 dead to be specific. And now the death squads are running full blast again, massacring peasants on land reform settlements, assassinating the chairman of the Salvadoran Human Rights Commission, Mariancla García.

The FDR/FMLN leaders claim that if "our people achieve victory by the armed road" it will be with "greater social costs" than if there is a "negotiated solution" with the Yankee imperialists and their Salvadoran flunkies (*Venceremos*, March 1983). On the contrary, the guerrilla coalition and its popular-front allies are now *holding back* the armed struggle, giving the government forces a chance to recuperate, in order to have something left to negotiate. In the long run this will cost far *more* lives than an all-out drive to *win the war*, as the example of Vietnam shows, where it took 20 years and one million dead after the "negotiated solution" of 1954 before the heroic workers and peasants finally drove out the imperialists and their puppets.

The conditions for leftist military victory in El Salvador are ripe. But this victory clearly poses the need for an urban insurrection of the working class. The proletariat must place itself at the head of the insurgent masses if the smashing of the old regime is to open the road to socialist revolution. And this requires above all the building of revolutionary Trotskyist parties in El Salvador and throughout Central America, sections of a reforged Fourth International.

FMLN

Salvadoran guerrillas turn over captured soldiers to Red Cross. Government troops are surrendering en masse.

Two, Three, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism

As Reagan seeks to escalate military intervention in Central America, a section of the U.S. ruling class fears that a "new Vietnam" is in the making. Appealing to the "lesson of the painful past," liberal Democratic Congressman Dodd warned that the U.S. is "once again on the losing side." Even Reagan must pay homage to the "Vietnam syndrome." In his April 27 speech to Congress, he declared: "Let me say to those who invoke the memory of Vietnam: There is no thought of sending American combat troops to Central America." But in 1964, we recall, Lyndon Johnson ran as the "peace candidate" against Barry Goldwater, declaring: "We seek no wider war." Under Democrats Kennedy and Johnson, and Republican Nixon, Vietnam became the longest, dirtiest, and only losing war in the history of American imperialism. From Central America to southern Africa, the oppressed masses were inspired by the Vietnamese victory, while in the U.S. fear of "another Vietnam" was a major barrier to new imperialist military adventures.

The American bourgeoisie has tried to overcome the "Vietnam syndrome," beginning with Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign. Reagan came to power vowing to "draw the line against Communism" in Central America, hoping for a victory on the cheap, in the U.S.' "front yard," to fuel the war drive against the USSR. But these imperialist dreams are shattering on the determined resistance of the Central American masses. Sandinista Nicaragua is grinding up the counter-revolutionary mercenary invaders. Salvadoran leftists are making mincemeat of the 9-to-5 U.S.-backed army. The Democratic "doves" believe that imperialist interests would be better served by negotiations with the pro-capitalist leaders of the Salvadoran popular front and a *modus vivendi* with the Sandinistas. But they, like Ungo, agree with Reagan on his strategic goals. ("We will oppose the establishment of Marxist states in Central America," said Dodd.) While boasting of slashing Reagan's request for military aid to his Salvadoran butchers, the Democratic-controlled House of Representatives votes almost unanimously to *triple* arms aid over the authorized 1982 levels.

A negotiated sellout of the Salvadoran civil war would be a defeat for the workers and peasants of Central America, and a signal for a massive new bloodbath. If the U.S. succeeds in crushing leftist insurgency in the isthmus, its next target will be Cuba and the imperialists will be enormously emboldened in their program of reconquering the Soviet Union for capitalism. It is in the urgent interests of the world working class for the USSR to send guns to the Salvadoran leftists and MIGs to Nicaragua. Reagan's claim that this is already happening is, unfortunately, a lie. The shameful appeasement of U.S. imperialism by the Kremlin over Central America constitutes a grave danger to the Soviet Union itself. And the treacherous reformists who call for "no more Vietnams" are spitting on the blood of the Vietnamese people in order to make a bloc with the Democrats. We say: Vietnam was a victory! Smash U.S. imperialism in Central America! For workers revolution! ■

Spartacist Campaign Draws Well in Black Oakland

OAKLAND—For *WV* readers familiar with the reformist, ultra-electoralist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the accompanying map should be interesting and satisfying. It shows (in black) the areas in which Spartacist candidate Martha Phillips outpolled SWPer Jan Gangel in the recent Oakland City Council elections. While the SWP received 1,906 votes to our 1,548, over 600 of their votes (more than they beat us by citywide) came from the predominantly white, petty-bourgeois Rockridge area of north Oakland and precincts bordering Berkeley with large student and aging New Leftist populations. In contrast, in overwhelmingly black and working-class East Oakland, we outpolled the SWP nearly three to one. Similarly in the 90 percent black areas of West Oakland we solidly beat the SWP.

The latest *Militant*'s only mention of their campaign is a report of Jan Gangel's "ground-breaking" sale at the power plant where she works, which netted five (!) *Militants* sold. In the last two weeks of the Spartacist campaign alone, 499 *Workers Vanguards* were sold and nearly 15,000 of our election brochures were distributed by comrades and supporters of our campaign. Many of those who worked on the campaign also joined the newly formed Labor/Black League for Social Defense. Our Bolshevik campaign centered on militant labor and black struggle clearly struck a chord in the black and working-class districts of Oakland. And just as clearly the tepid pale-pink reformism of the SWP found its response among petty-bourgeois liberals. For us, the Phillips campaign was a solid success.

WV Photo

Black areas in map of Oakland show where SL's Martha Phillips (above) outpolled SWP.

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NEW YORK

Workers Fight Austerity

Italy: Battle Over the Scala Mobile

Since the following article was written, a one-day general strike of Italian industry was called for April 21 to back union demands in key contract negotiations. However, fearing workers' militancy the labor bureaucrats on April 20 rushed through an agreement covering metal workers in state-owned companies, thereby undermining the national strike. Meanwhile, the continuing parliamentary instability of Italian politics was signalled by the fall last month of the Fanfani government, the 43rd cabinet since the end of World War II. General elections have been called for June 19, highlighted by the Eurocommunists' call for a "democratic alternative," that is, to refurbish the bourgeois regime with an anti-working-class, anti-Soviet popular front.

Report from the Lega Trotskista d'Italia

Interstampa

Italian metal workers fight for sliding scale of wages.

MILANO—During the month of January, the Italian working class mobilized to defeat the Confindustria [employers' federation] over the *scala mobile* ["sliding scale," a cost-of-living adjustment] and the government's economic decrees. Facing a deadly inflation rate that has raised the prices of staple items almost 500 percent over the last 12 years, the government led by the old Christian Democratic warhorse and aspiring bonapartist Amintore Fanfani is trying to push the whole burden of capitalist irrationality onto the workers' backs.

The workers' rage exploded in militant demonstrations from one end of the country to the other, from the industrial triangle of Milano-Torino-Genova in the north to Bologna, Rome, Naples and Palermo. In Genova in particular on January 13 a general strike occurred when the FLM [Federation of Metal Workers, strongest union in the country] and other unions called sectoral strikes against the explicit wishes of the CGIL/CISL/UIL trade-union federations *not* to have a general strike. Over 100,000 workers took to the streets in one of the largest demonstrations seen in the postwar period.

On January 18 there was a virtual nationwide general strike, involving 8 million workers. In Milano, more than 300,000 workers from all over the region of Lombardy filed by for several hours in the largest union demonstration ever held in this city. Elsewhere in the country estimates indicate no less than half a million workers came out in dozens of demonstrations. But in order to avoid incidents between the Socialist (pro-government) and Communist (opposition) labor leaders it was decreed that this would be a "silent" demonstration with no rally at the end. Union militants ironically mocked this bureaucratic measure by wearing a gag over their mouths.

The union leaders, truly the "labor lieutenants of the bourgeoisie," rushed to sell out the workers by signing a rotten agreement on January 22. Henceforth the *scala mobile* would only cover 80 percent of inflation. This betrayal is all the more excruciating in that the forces mobilized by the workers were able to defeat the bosses and the government, thereby opening the road to a proletarian counteroffensive. In several large plants the sellout was rejected, while in other plants a high percentage of votes went against the agreement.

In Italy the forging of a revolutionary Trotskyist leadership is a burning necessity. A strong, organized, combative proletariat has been on battle footing almost continuously for the last 15 years. Today the only way the capitalists can pull themselves out of the economic crisis is through wholesale dismantling of the gains of the workers movement won in the "*autunno caldo*" (hot autumn) of 1969. To counter the economic chaos and destruction produced by capitalism in its death agony requires a planned economy based on collectivized property. Yet the workers movement remains imprisoned in a syndicalist version of militant reformism, held back from a struggle for state power by bureaucratic misleaders in "communist" and "socialist" colors.

Constantly demanding simply "more" means declaring a permanent strike, with the petty bourgeoisie growing increasingly desperate. Prolonging this impossible situation will only generate a sizable fascist movement, with the capitalists asserting an imperative need to break out of the bourgeois-democratic restraints in order to stabilize profits. This situation today poses urgently the need to forge an authentic Bolshevik party to fight for a revolutionary workers government based on workers councils (soviets). All the attempts to bring the Eurocommunist traitors of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) into the bourgeois government, whether advertised as a "historic compromise," the "democratic alternative" or a "left government" will only serve to prop up the faltering capitalist system. What Leon Trotsky wrote in the 1930s is still true today: "'People's Fronts' on the one hand—fascism on the other; these are the last political resources of imperialism in the struggle against the proletarian revolution."

AFP

January 18: During one-day general strike militants waar gags to protest buraaucrats' order for silence.

Social Democracy and Stalinism: A History of Betrayal

In 1948, in 1960, in 1969—every time the Italian proletariat has showed its willingness to carry the fight against the capitalists through to the end, the Stalinist and social-democratic leaders have proven in action to be in the service of the Agnellis, the Pirellis, the Costas [leading Italian industrialists], of the Christian Democrats, the Vatican and NATO. These betrayals have a history. Even at the time of the "glorious" anti-fascist Resistance and in the immediate postwar period, the reformists demonstrated by their deeds their usefulness to Italian imperialism. In 1945-47 the PCI and PSI aided the bourgeoisie in disarming the partisans, evicting the peasants from occupied lands in the South and persuading the workers to work harder with promises of pie in the sky, *doing what no bourgeois party could have accomplished.*

Proletarian revolution was aborted, thus providing the basis for the subsequent so-called "economic miracle," a phase of expanding production and a broadening internal market (the infamous "consumer society" which according to some two-bit "Marxists" should have "bourgeoisified" the workers) based on intensified exploitation of a workforce made powerless by their leaders' betrayals. This cleared the way for the anti-Communist witchhunts of the sharpest period of the Cold War—the "internment" plants at FIAT and dozens of other factories where militants were kept isolated from other workers as the prelude to getting fired; the splitting of the labor movement and the founding of "free" trade unions, etc., etc.

In the latter part of the '60s the working class recovered and turned the tables. In 1968-69, it seriously undermined the bureaucratic apparatuses' grip on the working class, forming elected, recallable factory councils in place of the corrupt and ossified *commissioni interne*. At the same time the workers' struggle rallied sectors of more backward workers to its side and won over petty-bourgeois students who in previous years were dominated by the liberal and fascist right wing.

In 1969 the prerevolutionary situation did not produce a revolutionary movement because the reformist leaders succeeded in derailing the immense potential for struggle in an exhausting and sterile "fight for reforms" in housing, education, health as well as progressive measures in the South. The results are plain to see: the government is imposing a charge (the so-called "ticket") on drugs and medical services, the educational system continues to lack schools and teachers (and those who do teach are badly underpaid), the housing crisis is chronic. And as far as the South is concerned, after two earthquakes and a cholera epidemic, the masses in the South remain under the heel of the mafia (Sicily), *camorra* (Naples) and *'ndrangheta* (Calabria), gangs who rule unhindered thanks to their connections with the local and government powers-that-be.

But the 1968-69 struggle was also derailed by the illusion assiduously fostered by the PCI that everything depended on the Christian Democrats' refusal to allow the "party of the working class" into the government. While the PCI upped its votes in every election from 1968 to 1976, attaining a significant 34 percent of the total vote, the main bourgeois party, the Christian Democracy (DC), lost votes, dropping to a low of 38 percent. This led to the formation of various "left governments" in the principal Italian cities and widened the so-called "red belt" to a full six regions.

Nevertheless the DC did *not* allow the PCI into the central administration, instead merely accepting its parliamentary support from outside, with the so-called "national unity" governments under Andreotti. From 1976 to 1979 the PCI was used to put across the anti-working-class policy of "sacrifices" and "austerity," and to launch an anti-communist/"anti-terrorist" witchhunt that led thousands of left-wing militants into "democratic" jails (and torture). With the sharpening of the new Cold War stirred up by Washington, the bourgeoisie realized that the PCI had done its job and once again dismissed its "Communist" servants.

From the Defeat at FIAT to the Bosses' General Offensive

When the politics of "national unity" were at their height, [PCI head] Enrico Berlinguer proclaimed that "austerity is an opportunity to renew and transform Italy." With this criminal attack on workers' gains, the PCI showed it was ready to pay whatever price was necessary to encourage the DC to allow it a share of the ministerial portfolios and government posts. In 1979, at the

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For Workers' Soviets to Smash the Gangster Military!

Bolivian Labor Shakes Popular Front

After seven months of popular-front government, a social explosion is building in Bolivia. The powerful Central Obrera Boliviana (COB—Bolivian Workers Federation), dominated by the highly combative and historically class-conscious tin miners, has entered into open conflict with the coalition government of President Hernán Siles Zuazo. On April 19 the mine workers union, backed by the COB, seized the offices of the Bolivian Mining Corporation (COMIBOL—the government-owned tin trust) in the nation's capital, La Paz. Already in March the government of Siles' Unidad Democrática Popular (UDP) was facing a strike wave. Now the peasant unions offered to supply the mining centers with food, bank and government workers unions offered to help administer COMIBOL (whose white collar workers opposed the takeover), engineering and medical students formed brigades to come to the aid of the miners.

The dramatic union action soon had a snowball effect as workers of the state oil company struck demanding the resignation of top management. Meanwhile, peasant unions blocked the roads leading to three cities, cutting off the capital, in support of the miners and demanding higher prices for their produce; and peasants of the Cochabamba region seized government-owned lands. Siles responded by denouncing the miners as "anarchists" and "ultras," warning that their occupation is "illegal" and threatening to restore order by force. On May Day, 60,000 workers—a huge number in this predominantly peasant country—marched in La Paz in support of the COB's demand for "majority workers co-management" of the mines nationalized after the 1952 "National Revolution." A week later police attacked hundreds of government employees demonstrating in the capital for the right to unionize. As we go to press, *WV* has learned that the miners of the key Huanuni camp have declared themselves against *any* participation by the capitalist state in the management of COMIBOL.

Bolivia is in the throes of a pre-revolutionary situation rapidly approaching the flash point. While the uniformed gangsters are plotting as always in "*golpilandia*" (coup-land), and the UDP is doing its best to keep the working people "united" with their exploiters, what is remarkable about this crisis is the depth of the miners' distrust of the "democratic" regime from the moment it was installed in office. Siles' not-very-popular popular front today finds itself confronted with a rebellion by the very workers movement it was supposed to be taming. The extremely unstable situation could lead to a revolutionary situation of dual power with the overthrow of the bourgeois Siles government by workers' mobilizations; to an even more right-wing "democratic" regime; or to another coup by the constantly conspiring officer caste. The urgent need is for a genuinely Trotskyist vanguard party to raise an action program of transitional demands mobilizing the Bolivian proletariat for the conquest of power before the popular front leads to a new bloodbath for the toilers. Only a workers and peasants government based on soviet power can put an end to the cycle of coups and popular fronts.

Armed tin miners oppose military coup, August 1971.

And for once Bolivia is not alone. Throughout the Southern Cone of South America the dictators are tottering. The Argentine generals, discredited by the failure of their Falklands/Malvinas adventure and haunted by the "disappeared" victims of their dirty war at home, are on the brink of collapse. Chile's Pinochet has brought on the worst depression in the country's history, lining up not only the workers but most of the petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie against him as even pro-government unions go into action. The Uruguayan military has been repudiated in its own rigged elections; in Brazil a powerful industrial proletariat is gaining political consciousness. And to the north, Central America is aflame with revolt against decades of bloody rule by a rapacious oligarchy and its death squads, while Mexico with its many-millioned working class is near bankruptcy. Never have the possibilities for revolutionary upheaval throughout Latin America been so favorable, and the dangers of betrayal by the nationalist and reformist popular frontists so great. What is lacking is the key element of all, a reborn Fourth International forged on the program of *permanent revolution* that could lead the working masses to victory throughout the continent and take the battle to the imperialist heartland itself. This is the task which the international Spartacist tendency (iSt), and it alone, proclaims on its banner.

From the "Cocagolpe" to the Popular Front

Siles, the 190th president in the 158 years since Bolivia won its independence from Spain, took office last October after 18 years of virtually uninterrupted military rule. Siles' UDP coalition won a plurality in the 1980 elections, as it had twice before, in 1977 and 1978, only to be prevented from taking office by the

Bolivia: Even the Government Is Underground

We print below an eyewitness report on the situation in Bolivia early this year.

* * * * *

"Since the fall of the military regime last year, the governing coalition... has been trying to deal with the mess in which the Bolivian economy was left. This has proven to be intractable while at the same time the working class has not given it a blank check. In fact [the working class] is not controlled by any of the parties in the popular front. The COB...has in fact adopted an attitude of critical expectancy, i.e., maybe if you deliver on some of the things we want we won't make trouble for you.

"So the popular front...faces an economic situation that they cannot solve short of mass pauperization, unemployment and brutal attacks on the standard of living of the working class and middle class.... The regime gives the impression of a rather unstable walk on needles.

"The popular front is extremely unstable. The army, while faction-ridden and somewhat burnt out from the experience, is still intact. The major sources of financial capital, the U.S., Argentina, Brazil and Peru, are hardly in a situation to go in shooting. The working class is in a state of cockiness that is left over from the strikes that brought down the government. The population is far from being a spectator, they are actually involved, as seen in the people huddled on the street corners to read the latest newspaper reports on the MIR-MNRI governmental crisis, the painted walls with slogans which only appeared after September. The campuses, I am told, are highly politicized. And inflation is shot to hell. It's hard not to see the possibility of a highly explosive confrontation looming on the horizon.

"Furthermore, this is the first country I have been in where the government is underground, literally. After I had been there two days and had not been able to...even find the government newspapers, I...tried to get the number in the phone book or from the operators for the government parties. There is none. The government parties do not have a phone number. Then I found a newspaper stand which hidden away had a number of newspapers of the government coalition. I saw them by chance and bought the lot. None of them had an address at which they could be contacted. At which point I began to wonder if they knew something I didn't."

extraordinarily brutal *cocagolpe* (cocaine coup) of General Luis Garcia Meza organized with the aid of the Argentine junta. The Garcia Meza dictatorship pushed Bolivia's economy over the brink of collapse. Even by Latin American standards, the regime set a record for corruption, with the top army brass openly trafficking in cocaine and semi-precious stones, and an elaborate system of kickbacks from phony "development" projects. Bolivia was already the second most impoverished country in Latin America, Haiti being the first. Underpopulated, with only 5.5 million inhabitants—most of whom are Quechua (Inca-descended) or Aymara Indians—in an area the size of Texas and California combined, the country has a 65 percent illiteracy rate, an average life expectancy of 37 for miners, a per capita income of $510 a year as of 1978, and an inflation rate of almost 300 percent.

Garcia Meza's corruption was matched only by his brutality. At least 500 were killed and 2,500 wounded in the July 1980 coup, as tanks demolished United Mine Workers Federation (FSTMB) headquarters in La Paz and paramilitary gangs in plainclothes, set up with the aid of the Argentine secret police and European Nazis, assassinated leftists and workers' leaders *en masse*. Death squads with names like the "Black Eagles" and "Fiancés of Death" announced themselves in newspaper ads. Carter's Secretary of State Vance wagged his finger in disapproval, and the regime proved a bit much even for Reagan, who had trouble portraying the gangster Garcia Meza, his drug kingpin interior minister Arce Gómez and their thugs as "moderate authoritarians."

The final straw for the junta came last September when the workers of the traditionally militant Huanuni mining camp forced the COB leaders to call a nationwide general strike for a return of the elected government and against the dictatorship's International Monetary Fund-inspired austerity plan. Meanwhile, the regime missed a $10 million interest payment on the $4 billion foreign debt. The country was bankrupt; military rule was utterly discredited and decayed, increasingly unable to control the masses. Rather than see the unrest turn into an insurrection, the international bankers and key sections of the weak Bolivian bourgeoisie were ready to play the card of popular frontism. So in desperation they brought in the civilians.

Siles Zuazo took office on October 10 as "compañero presidente." Defining itself grandiloquently as a "popular, national, anti-imperialist and revolutionary front," the UDP is a classical popular front: a bloc of workers parties and bourgeois parties constructed to make the workers' leaders share responsibility in the oppression of the masses and to tie the proletariat directly to its exploiters. (Even the name evokes Allende's Unidad Popular which held office in Chile during 1970-1973.) The UDP consists primarily of Siles' bourgeois Revolutionary Nationalist Movement-Left (MNRI), the pro-Moscow Communist Party (PCB) and the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR), a rightward-moving middle-class group derived from the Christian Democracy (not to be confused with the leftist Chilean MIR). Siles' cabinet also includes an air force general and members of the Christian Democratic Party.

Siles, whose regime's "moderation" is lauded by the bourgeois press, took pains to emphasize his loyalty to the bourgeois state. While various officers were retired or transferred in a highly publicized "cleanup" of the armed forces, Siles' commander of the armed forces is none other than General Alfredo Villarroel, defense minister under the butcher Vildoso, while the chief of the army was Vildoso's chief of staff. Vice president Jaime Paz Zamora of the MIR emphasized that the government "does not accept socialism and our program will not contain anything that is foreign to our country" (*Washington Post*, 11 October 1982). "We can control the Communists," he vowed while Siles explained to *Newsweek* that PCB participation in the government was necessary to rein in the unions. UDP spokesmen stressed their commitment to "respect the structures" of the armed forces, and Siles forswore "vengeance against the military." For its part, the PCB pledged that it would not seek to "redden" the government and that it would support negotiations with the IMF (*La Opinión* [Los Angeles], 4 and 5 October 1982).

Siles promptly announced an economic package for a "war economy" of austerity and sacrifice for the workers and peasants: cutting subsidies of sugar, rice, cooking oil and other staples; raising the price of bread and gasoline 150 percent while freezing wages after a paltry 30 percent raise (in the face of 300 percent inflation!); drastic currency devaluation plus budget cuts and layoffs. This "*paquetazo*" (package coup) provoked widespread indignation among trade unionists. The transport union shut down the main cities with a two-day strike, while the miners union of southern Bolivia decreed an indefinite general strike on November 9 against Siles' measures and for a "minimum living wage" with full cost-of-living adjustment. The COB bureaucracy, with the Stalinists in the lead, desperately sought to put the lid on, agreeing to impose a 100-day "social truce" from November to February with Siles.

International Viewpoint

Bolivian trade-union federation COB demonstrates its power. Workers must break with popular frontism.

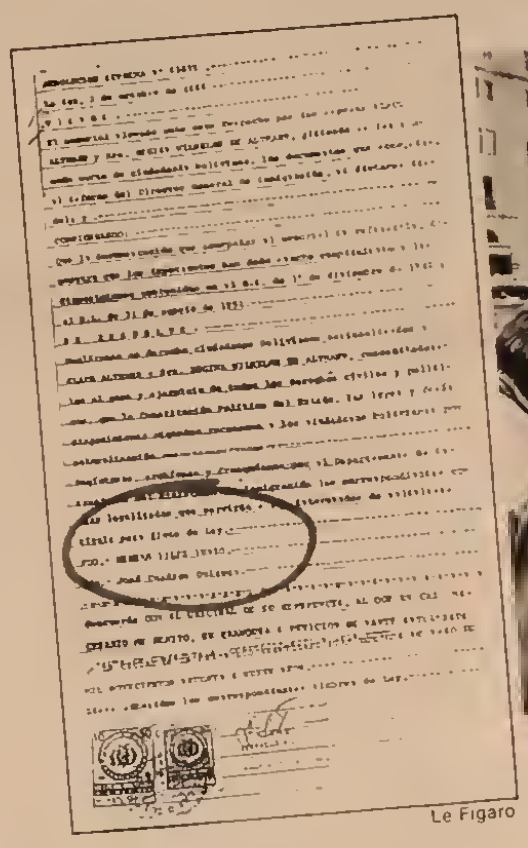
Klaus Barbie and the Bolivian Navy

Who Protected Nazi Butcher in Bolivia?

Klaus Barbie, the Nazi Butcher of Lyons directly responsible for the murder of more than 4,000 French Jews, and later mentor of Bolivian death squads, was once entrusted with a special mission by the Bolivian military: launching a navy. Bolivia lost its seacoast in the War of the Pacific (1879-1884) and has been landlocked since. The Bolivian bourgeoisie, tailed by the entire left, cherishes the revanchist dream of reconquering "the sea." Periodic orgies of national chauvinism over the "maritime question" are useful to both *gorila* generals and "democratizing" bourgeois politicians to distract the masses from the bankruptcy of the alternating military dictatorships and popular fronts.

In 1966 the regime of right-wing populist general Barrientos began a campaign for "a ship for Bolivia." Where would the warship go? On Lake Titicaca, of course (elevation: 12,507 feet above sea level). And who would be better suited to handle the arrangements than Klaus Barbie, alias Altmann, the CIA-protected SS mass murderer who had arrived in La Paz in 1951, received citizenship from Siles Zuazo in 1957, and had already begun to make himself useful to Bolivia's rulers. With plenty of international connections, adept at every type of scam (the arrest which led to his recent expulsion to France was ostensibly for defrauding the Bolivian Mining Corporation), but specializing in the provision of arms for Bolivia's rightist killers both in and out of uniform, Barbie was the perfect choice.

So the "Maritime Action" civic association was launched and an intensive government-sponsored campaign for "donations" from all sectors of the populace begun with maximum fanfare. Patriotic marches, meetings and all the effluvia of chauvinism ensued. In 1968 Barbie created the "Bolivian Transmaritime" company—in a country with no maritime coast. Fifty-one percent of the capital was invested by the Bolivian "naval forces," the rest by private citizens, and Barbie was director-general (*Le Figaro* magazine, April 23). $350,000 was collected from the citizenry for "a ship for Bolivia" and turned over to Barbie & Co. Needless to say, every penny vanished into the pockets of Barbie and his jackbooted friends and Bolivian *gorila* patrons.



Le Figaro

Sygma

Klaus Barbie (above) got his citizenship papers from popular front head Siles.

The issue of a Bolivian corridor to the sea did not die with Barrientos. A decade later, the Banzer dictatorship tried to whip up patriotic fervor and proposed an exchange of territory between Chile and Bolivia. The response of Guillermo Lora's POR was the most disgusting nationalism, accusing Banzer of violating "the territorial integrity of Bolivia." "The great national task of the access to the sea passes into the hands of the proletariat," proclaimed *Masas* (30 September 1977) in stentorian tones. It added, incredibly, "The sea is transformed into a revolutionary and anti-bourgeois slogan," and, in short, "Struggling for the sea is to struggle against *gorila*ism and imperialism"!! The "ship for Bolivia" swindle has become legendary in Bolivia—without, unfortunately, inoculating the Bolivian left against chauvinist agitation for "the sea."

Popular Front Means Workers Blood

In 1970 the Spartacist tendency wrote of the election of Allende's UP in Chile:

> "It is the most elementary duty for revolutionary Marxists to irreconcilably oppose the Popular Front in the election and to place absolutely no confidence in it in power. Any 'critical support' to the Allende coalition is class treason, paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism, is ready."
>
> —"Chilean Popular Front," *Spartacist* No. 19 (November-December 1970)

This warning, which was tragically borne out by the bloody Santiago coup of 11 September 1973, is no less true of the Bolivian UDP today. Trotskyists warn the masses against *any* confidence in this bourgeois government; we seek to break the powerful workers organizations from the popular front and mobilize them in struggle for soviets, democratic organs of revolutionary struggle not only against the military mafia but against the capitalist system of misery and oppression; for soviets which can be the basis of a workers and peasants government, a dictatorship of the proletariat supported by the poor peasantry, which for the first time will bring real democracy to the masses of the exploited in Bolivia.

In fact this is an *especially dirty*

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Bolivia...

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popular front. Hernán Siles Zuazo is one of the two historic leaders of the bourgeois Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR), which came to power in the popular uprising of April 1952. Siles—at that time the leader of the *right* wing of the MNR—was vice president from 1952 to 1956 and president from 1956 to 1960. Siles rebuilt, with Yankee advisers and dollars, the bourgeois army all but destroyed in 1952—an army which has since carried out some of the bloodiest massacres in all Latin America. Then-president Siles was also the principal author of the infamous Huanuni massacre of January 1960, when at least 12 miners were machine-gunned to death and 32 wounded when they protested the MNR's attempt to take over their union.

Last October Siles had offered the COB "co-management" of state enterprises—in other words, labor representatives on managing boards—also inviting the union federation to join the cabinet. Perennial COB leader Juan Lechin Oquendo replied that he would only agree to enter the government if it had a majority of labor ministers and an "anti-imperialist" program. Siles promptly refused, whereupon Lechin adopted a posture of critical toleration toward the government. Later, in supporting the miners' seizure of the COMIBOL offices, Lechin reiterated that he was only seeking "majority workers co-management." But through their militant takeover the miners have already imposed full workers management, under a union administrative council that has expanded production and swept out the inflated parasitic supervisory apparatus. Class-conscious militants must demand: no giving back of the COMIBOL to the capitalist state!

The Communist Party, meanwhile, is carrying out an open strikebreaking policy. Anxious to demonstrate its reliability and "fitness to govern" to the bourgeoisie and imperialism by a hard-line stand against labor "excesses," the PCB has launched a battle against the Miners Federation of the COB over the occupations. They have only succeeded in further discrediting themselves, both with the bourgeoisie and the workers. On April 25 the Communist ministers of mines and labor, the ones directly affected by the takeover, were called on the carpet by the rightist-dominated Congress. And the same day PCB delegates in an expanded national council meeting of the miners union were unanimously condemned for supporting the government proposal of "parity co-management" of COMIBOL. Militant Bolivian workers remember that the PCB, while today lauding the fall of the military dictatorship as "a result of the people's struggle," actually *opposed* calling the unlimited general strike that toppled the junta.

Every class-conscious Bolivian worker must understand that the crux of the current conflict is state power. If the confrontation drags on, the military guard dogs of capitalism will certainly intervene again, either against the UDP *or at Siles' invitation*. But there are tremendous opportunities for revolutionary action in this situation. Although Siles & Co. have tried to get the unions to agree to draconian "sacrifices" with the classic popular-front argument that this is the "government of the workers," from Day 1 of the UDP regime the workers have been skeptical. According to one observer, "the miners, who remain the social vanguard of the country, freely remark that 'they don't recognize themselves in the present government'" ("Front populaire sur l'Altiplano," *Le Monde*, 2 February). Particularly in Bolivia, where generations of miners have identified Trotskyism as the most radical expression of working-class struggle, there is a crucial opening today to lead the proletariat in action guided by a transitional program for socialist revolution.

While Lechin speaks of 51 percent workers co-management of COMIBOL in cooperation with the capitalist state, Trotskyists must fight for a tooth-and-nail defense of the *workers management* which has been established by the miners' bold action, and for seizure of the privately owned mines. The combative miners cannot win by just holding out, turning Siglo XX, Catavi and Huanuni into revolutionary citadels. The struggle must spread throughout the country. In the urban industrial sectors it is necessary to impose *workers control* of production, through the formation of *factory committees*. These conquests must be defended by the formation of *armed workers militias* everywhere. And the masses must be mobilized in revolutionary struggle through the formation of *soviets*, not a replay of the "People's Assembly" of 1971, set up by Lechin et al. as a sounding board for nationalist general Juan José Torres, but genuine organs of workers power.

For an Authentic Trotskyist Party in Bolivia

These class-struggle policies, the policies of Lenin's Bolsheviks in 1917, are decidedly *not* the program being carried out by those who falsely proclaim themselves Trotskyists in Bolivia today. The Partido Obrero Revolucionario-Combate (POR-C, Bolivian section of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat [USec]) are busily tailing Lechin *and* Siles. These former arch-guerrillaists, creatures of the USec leaders who in years long past dreamed of their "own" guerrilla war in Bolivia, now call for "a majority for the workers in the comanagement boards," denouncing as "ultraleftist notions" the demand for workers control (*International Viewpoint*, 18 April)! The Mandelites call for "mass pressure on the UDP government," stating that the "strategic objective" of the POR-C "does not involve all-out opposition to the government, but a strategy of pressuring it and exposing the capitulationist leadership" (*International Viewpoint*, 1 November 1982). Calling the UDP government "part of the democratic process that we are determined to deepen" through "a broader policy of alliances" with "authentically democratic sectors" (*International Viewpoint*, 21 March), these anti-Trotskyists would align themselves against the miners occupying COMIBOL who are clashing head-on with the bourgeois starvation government of mass murderer Siles!

While the betrayals of the Mandelites are noteworthy mainly for exposing the USec's ever-dwindling Trotskyist pretensions, it is Guillermo Lora's POR (also referred to as POR-*Masas*, after the name of its paper) that has the mantle of ostensible Trotskyism in Bolivia. Like the POUM in the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39, Lora's POR is the key obstacle to the construction of a Leninist vanguard. This classically centrist outfit, which has periodically been influential among the militant tin miners, wrecked a promising opportunity for proletarian revolution in 1952 by subordinating the working class to the bourgeois MNR, through the instrument of *movimientista* union bureaucrat Lechin. Again in 1970-71, through the same instrument and using the same device of "critical support" to bourgeois nationalism, Lora capitulated before left-bonapartist General Torres—and Bolivian workers were defenseless, militarily and politically, against the brutal repression by right-bonapartist General Banzer (see "Centrist Debacle in Bolivia," *WV* No. 3, December 1971). Lora's lame "excuse" is a self-indictment: "There was a common view, which we Marxists shared, that the ruling military group would hand out arms...."

After Banzer's victorious coup, the POR-*Masas* formed a so-called Anti-Imperialist Revolutionary Front (FRA) to support General Torres. The FRA included the "Revolutionary Armed Forces" of bourgeois nationalist officers, the Stalinists and assorted petty-bourgeois forces, plus Lechin of course, on a program of "fighting unity of all the revolutionary democratic and progressive forces... for a popular and national government" (*Masas* No. 403, November 1971). Lora hardly bothers to disguise his call for a popular front with the "progressive" officers, writing in his book on the 1971 events: "At a certain point the nationalists with epaulets become allies of the working class and not its sworn enemies" (*Bolivia: de la Asamblea Popular al golpe fascista*). In contrast, Leon Trotsky wrote on the Spanish POUM's illusions of purging the army: "The officers' corps, in which is concentrated the centuries-old tradition of enslaving the people, must be dissolved, broken, crushed in its entirety, root and branch" ("The Lesson of Spain," 30 July 1936).

Today, Lora's POR affects a left-sounding posture toward the UDP regime, no doubt reflecting Lechin's hostility toward his old MNR rival Siles. *Masas* proclaims from its masthead: "Proletarian revolution and dictatorship (workers and peasants government)." Two days before Siles took office, it listed under the front-page headline "Tasks of the Moment": "Preserve class and union independence from the UDP government," and "The working class cannot join the bourgeois government of Siles." However, Lora's alternative is his own (so far only fictitious) popular front, the FRA: "Against bourgeois unity counterpose the unity of the oppressed nation under the leadership of the proletariat (FRA)" (*Masas*, 8 October 1982). The reference to proletarian leadership serves about the same function as Lechin's talk of an anti-imperialist program. With Siles barely tolerating the wretchedly reformist PCB, there are no current popular-front openings for centrists like the Trotskyoid POR. But should there be a slight shift to the left, should some "progressive" bourgeois politician or "patriotic" officer be willing to sign an empty statement recognizing the "hegemony of the proletariat," Lora is willing to play ball.

Even Lora's references to preserving "class independence" and refusing to join the bourgeois government have more to do with Menshevism than with Bolshevism. Behind the posture of passive "independence" lies the policy of liberal tailism. In the Russian Revolution of 1905 the Mensheviks adopted a resolution on tactics warning against "losing its identity in bourgeois democracy," and rather than "seizing or sharing power in a provisional government" (as Lenin's Bolsheviks advocated) the Social Democrats should "remain a party of the extreme revolutionary opposition" (*The Mensheviks in the Russian Revolution*). What this meant concretely was to let the bourgeois liberals, the Cadets, govern in peace. In the same spirit, the neo-Menshevik POR said *not one word* about struggle against the UDP regime or for a workers and peasants government in the crucial moments when Siles & Co. were being installed with the consent of the butchers in uniform.

Lora's POR bombastically proclaims "proletarian revolution and dictatorship" and even discusses "What Will the Insurrection Be," but what is striking about *Masas*' propaganda is the complete absence of *any* transitional demands leading to the struggle for power. The *only* concrete demands raised by the POR as "tasks of the moment" at a time when the miners were on strike against the military regime were those raised by the Lechinista bureaucrats of the COB/FSTMB: "minimum living wage with a sliding scale," "withdrawal of the army troops from the mines," "unemployment insurance," etc. What about workers management of COMIBOL, workers control of industry, workers militias, and above all soviets? Nothing. As for Lechin's class-collaborationist scheme of "majority workers co-management," back in 1971 Lora praised "the struggle to impose co-participation" as "the real channel of mobilization towards power" (*Bolivia: de la Asamblea Popular al golpe fascista*).

Only proletarian revolution will put an end to the cycle of coups and popular fronts in Bolivia. This is also the only way the miners' current struggle to wrest control from a parasitic capitalist state bureaucracy can obtain victory. Such a revolution, if it is to survive and open the way to a socialist future for the impoverished workers and peasants of Bolivia, must be extended far beyond the borders of this landlocked Andean country. But at bottom, Lora & Co. are nationalists, not very different from their more unscrupulous counterpart to the south, Argentine adventurer Nahuel Moreno. Twice already the POR's support for bourgeois nationalism has helped wreck potential workers revolutions. Moreover, Lora's "international" is almost exclusively South American and the POR's maximum slogan is for a Socialist United States of Latin America. In contrast, the Trotskyists of the iSt seek to forge an authentic Leninist vanguard party to lead the working class in struggle for socialist revolution from

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Ann Arbor
c/o SYL
P.O. Box 8364
Ann Arbor, MI 48107
(313) 662-2339

Berkeley/Oakland
P.O. Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 835-1535

Boston
Box 840, Central Station
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Chicago
Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 427-0003

Cleveland
Box 91954
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 621-5138

Detroit
Box 32717
Detroit, MI 48232
(313) 961-1680

Houston
Box 26474
Houston, TX 77207

Los Angeles
Box 29574
Los Feliz Station
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 663-1216

Madison
c/o SYL
Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701
(608) 251-3398

New York
Box 444
Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk
P.O. Box 1972
Main P.O.
Norfolk, VA 23501
(804) 543-4300

San Francisco
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.
P.O. Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 636-3537

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Vancouver
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C. V6C 2L8
(604) 681-2422

Jail Killers of Vincent Chin...

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with three years probation and a $3,800 fine for "manslaughter." Vincent Chin's brutal death wasn't manslaughter—it was cold-blooded racist murder. Chin was set up to be killed by the poisonous racist campaign of anti-Japanese protectionism. The auto bosses, the Democrats and especially their flunkies in the United Auto Workers (UAW) leadership are scapegoating foreign workers for the massive layoffs. As the club owner described the scene:

> "We got 16 percent unemployment in town. There's lots of hard feelings. In my opinion, these people come in, they see a man, supposedly Japanese. They look at this guy and see Japan—'the reason all my buddies are out of work'."

Ebens swung the bat, and it was the traitorous UAW bureaucrats in Solidarity House who told him where to aim it! Fraser & Co.—the blood is on your hands!

Judge Kaufman's "sentence" of Ebens and Nitz is an invitation to more racist murder. Kaufman accepted a plea bargaining agreement with the Wayne County prosecutor's office and set the killers back on the street because they "weren't the kind of people you send to jail." Not under racist American "justice"! Kaufman, who is trying to parade his liberal credentials and complain of "vilification" to counter the outrage at his decision, thinks that a white Chrysler foreman is not "the kind" to be sent up to Jackson. Trade unionists in Detroit remember who Kaufman does think should go to jail—he imprisoned striking suburban Garden City teachers in 1974.

Over 500 people demonstrated in Detroit's Kennedy Square on May 9, organized by the American Citizens for Justice (ACJ) to demand that Kaufman's sentence be overturned and the racist killers Ebens and Nitz be jailed. ACJ spokesman Kim Yee told the crowd that Ebens was consumed with race-hatred for all Asians, blaming them for the ills of the American auto industry. "They just wanted to get an Asian, any Asian." The rally and march, largely Asian, drew some black workers who were outraged at the judge and prosecutor's deal to let the killers go free. The racist hysteria whipped up by protectionism and hatred of "foreigners" is part of the crisis of American imperialism which sees its way out through a nuclear war drive against the Soviet Union. It is aimed squarely at blacks and Latins as well.

While labor/black Detroit has been gutted by plant closings and multi-billion-dollar givebacks to the auto bosses, for nine years the pro-company UAW bureaucrats have pounded away with their racist poison: "Love U.S. auto bosses, hate Japanese workers," they say. They plaster the union halls with "Buy American" banners, and their Cadillacs and Continentals with bumper stickers that read "Datsun, Toyota... Pearl Harbor." The sign on the guard shack at Solidarity House reads

WV Photo

AP

Protectionist poison: Sign on Solidarity House, smashing a Toyota. UAW tops incite anti-Asian violence.

"300,000 laid-off UAW members don't like your import. Please park it in Tokyo." Last year in Milwaukee UAW members slashed and stomped on a Japanese flag, and there have been obscene publicity stunts where auto dealers in Detroit take sledgehammers to Japanese cars. The UAW tops' favorite Democrat, Walter Mondale, practically called for war on Japan:

> "We've been running up the white flag, when we should be running up the American flag!... if you try to sell an American car in Japan, you better have the United States Army with you when they land on the docks!"

After weeks of silence Solidarity House finally issued its first statement—UAW Director of Fair Employment Practices Joe Davis denied there was an anti-Asian backlash! The union officials did not even support the call for a civil rights investigation. The social-democratic labor traitors have whipped up the "yellow peril" racism and warmongering to defend their "own" bourgeoisie and escape the wrath of the hundreds of thousands of auto workers thrown on the scrapheap of capitalist depression. And when it goes from sledgehammers smashing cars to baseball hats murdering an Asian brother, the Fraser gang says its hands are clean!

The demonstration was dominated by the popular front which lords it over the desperate masses of Detroit: speakers from the city council, Mayor Coleman Young's office, the big business cabal of New Detroit, Inc., Robert Blackwell, mayor of Highland Park, and the NAACP. The Democratic Party politicians gave lip service to the ACJ's demand "Justice for Vincent Chin" in order to make sure the outrage at this racist murder stays in "the channels of the law" (Detroit city council resolution). But it is the same capitalist politicians, largely inhabiting the Mondale wing of the Democratic Party, who have been the most rabid anti-Japanese protectionists. Justice will not come through reliance on the capitalist courts, or faith in the "investigation" the FBI has launched into violation of Chin's "civil rights." The courts and cops are instruments of capitalist class rule, and exist to defend the bosses who whip up this protectionist poison.

Black and white auto workers in Detroit must demand that the racist killers Ebens and Nitz be jailed! Send them to Jackson prison and throw away the key! Ebens, however, a foreman for 17 years at Dodge Truck in Warren, says he will file suit to get his job back (Chrysler fired him for committing a felony). If this racist killer tries to crawl back into Truck or any other plant, or tries to pick up his pension, auto workers must organize to run him out! Chrysler workers remember back in 1973 when two militants, protected by 200 other workers, shut down the electrical power at Jefferson Assembly and ran out a notoriously racist foreman. And in 1979 class-struggle militants at Ford's River Rouge plant drove out two foremen who dared to put on KKK hoods in the Dearborn Assembly Plant. There are a lot of workers in UAW Local 140 who have a score to settle with Ebens, who is known at Truck for firing black workers.

Vincent Chin's father immigrated to America when Vincent was six years old, and worked his whole life in laundries and restaurants. Chin worked two jobs and was the sole support of his widowed mother. He was murdered four days before his wedding. His fiancée cried out in anguish, "They ruined my life, my future. How can you commit murder and get away with nothing? It's not fair. All I can do is scream to myself, for him and for me." Vengeance for Vincent Chin will not come at the hands of the capitalist politicians and their labor lackeys, who whipped up the racist protectionism that murdered him.

Unfortunately, many workers, white and black, buy the chauvinist poison that imports rather than the profit system cause unemployment. The working class must be broken from protectionism and won to a program of intransigent proletarian class struggle and internationalism! It's the KKK and Nazis who feed off the "Buy American" poison, as when they tried to march in Washington, D.C. last November 27 against so-called amnesty provisions for undocumented foreign workers. It was in defense of all the oppressed that the Spartacist League mobilized 5,000 workers and blacks to stop the KKK in the streets of Washington, D.C. It's that power in Detroit which must be organized to break the stranglehold of the labor bureaucrats and to fight on behalf of all the oppressed!

Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers! Jail the racist killers Ebens and Nitz! ■

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the Southern Cone to the heart of North America.

The struggle to forge genuinely bolshevist parties in Latin America is an arduous task, requiring a clear political break from nationalism and from the social values of a nationalist left that imitates its own rulers, embracing the values that have led to every mass-murdering bourgeois *caudillo*. Nahuel Moreno, the Argentine pseudo-Trotskyist political bandit, is an archetypical Latin American "revolutionary." This would-be *líder máximo* hails as a kindred spirit every blood-drenched Third World strongman from General Perón to the Iranian feudalist Khomeini. Lora, who wants to be the labor wing of a Latin American Kuomintang, curiously mistranslates Trotsky as saying the proletariat must be the *caudillo* (German: *Führer*) of the oppressed nation. Both Lora and Moreno naturally defend the "national sovereignty" of their respective mini-fatherlands against neighboring Chile. (Bolivar failed to unify the ex-Spanish colonies on a bourgeois basis, as the imperialists, especially the British, set regional leaders against each other. But the international proletariat will succeed where Bolivar failed.) For the imitative macho pigs of the petty-bourgeois nationalist "left," what goes for a programmatic split is to say, "*Cabrón*, I screw your wife. And you steal party funds." And of course they blame everything on *yanqui* CIA agents, to amnesty their own rulers.

Lenin's Bolsheviks were able to build an internationalist communist party in tsarist Russia. Behind them lay a century of profound alienation of the entire intelligentsia from the social values and morals of the tsarist autocracy and the landed aristocracy. (Lenin admired Chernyshevsky and took the title of his novel, *What Is To Be Done?*) Under the conditions of Russia's tumultuous political history, out of all this—the intelligentsia's pervasive asceticism and rejection of Great Russian chauvinism (Russia was itself an imperialist oppressor power), together with the political struggle of the Marxists against the populists over the proletariat vs. the peasantry as the driving revolutionary force, and the struggle within the proletariat over reform vs. revolution—the Bolsheviks were able to crystallize as a mass party, linking a small fraction of this purified intelligentsia with a great, raw, yearning, militant working class half a generation away from serfdom.

These subjective preconditions do not obtain in a mass way anywhere in Latin America today, although in the Andean altiplano, because of the unionization and politicalization of a very isolated, concentrated proletariat, the harsh realities of the class struggle work against the pseudo-socialist swindlers. Throughout the continent the "leftist" intelligentsia partakes deeply of the values that extend throughout the upper reaches of Latin American societies. Sharp revolutionary struggles internationally will be necessary to build mass communist parties in Latin America. We must now create revolutionary internationalist Trotskyist propaganda groups fighting for the program of permanent revolution against the popular front, nationalism and the cynicism and corruption which accompany them. Under the acute social and economic conditions of Latin America, an authentic proletarian socialist movement could mature very rapidly. From the roof of the Andes to the tropical jungles of Central America, the road to liberation is the struggle to reforge Leon Trotsky's Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution. ■

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Italy...

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time when scores of combative workers from FIAT were fired as a prelude to the 1980 attack, the PCI's Giorgio Amendola expressed the depths of PCI hostility toward the working class:

> "...demands have grown out of control ...wages (of employed sectors) have risen faster than the cost of living.... Salary levels have been maintained at a high level...yet no substantial modifications have been made in the *scala mobile*.... The increase in the number of strikes...makes self-regulation of the right to strike necessary.... *Remember it was the frequency of strikes that opened the road to fascism.*" [our emphasis]
>
> —*Rinascita*, 9 November 1979

But the betrayal didn't yield the expected results, especially given heightened international tensions, and the PCI tops' attempts to offer themselves up for NATO's anti-Soviet warmongering campaign were all for naught. The PCI's response was to further reinforce its anti-Soviet alignment, trying to gain the sympathies of the White House—highly improbable given Reagan's visceral anti-communism—and embraced counterrevolutionary Solidarność, this bosses' "union" in the service of the CIA and the Western bankers. This did not sit well with Italian workers, who are rightly suspicious of any enterprise endorsed by the anti-Communist pope (see "'We Won't Strike for the Madonna of Czestochowa!'" *WV* No. 296, 8 January 1982).

Simultaneously the PCI tried to sell itself nationally as a party that sides with the workers. At the time of the 1980 FIAT strike, it even placed itself at the head of the workers' protest. Speaking at FIAT's Mirafiore plant, Eurocommunist leader Berlinguer threatened: "If negotiations fail, we'll have to resort to harsher methods of struggle, including occupation." But both before and after Berlinguer's demagogic speech, the PCI tops did everything possible to prevent the occupation of FIAT. Agnelli and the entire Italian bourgeoisie won a victory by throwing 23,000 workers out of the plants. The trade unions and working-class parties called it a "success" at the time, but now two and a half years later when the terms of the accord say they should be rehired, the workers still have not been called back to work!

The bosses pursued their offensive throughout 1981 and 1982 at the Alfa Romeo state-owned auto company, at Italsider [the state-owned steel concern] and then with Confindustria's unilateral rescinding of the 1975 agreement on the *scala mobile*. It must be clearly stated that the bosses' aim was not and is not primarily an immediate reduction of workers' wages with a corresponding increase in profits. The capitalists' goal is much more far-reaching. They want to reestablish the conditions of the 1950s in the plants, with workers toiling in silence and whoever dares protest is "Out!" Then they can raise their profits outlandishly without running any risks.

Beginning last spring, therefore, the need was posed for a real general strike of the whole working class to defeat the bosses' offensive and toss out the government of the day, opening the road to the overthrow of the rotting capitalist system. With unemployment running above the two million mark, or ten percent of the entire workforce, it's clear that the fight against attacks on the *scala mobile* had to put the full strength of the working class—employed and unemployed—onto the battlefield, with a program capable of mobilizing all the layers of the proletariat and the exploited to launch a counteroffensive. The January 22 sellout agreement was a cold shower for the workers' mobilizations, but did not change the main conclusion: the situation in Italy is serious and demands drastic solutions.

The struggle didn't come to an end on January 22. In the first place, Confindustria did not succeed in beating the working class, in spite of all the efforts of its labor lieutenants. Also, contract struggles involving several million workers are still going on (metal workers, construction workers, school workers and teachers, state and local government employees, etc.), strikes and demonstrations continue unabated. Contrary to the defeatism of the New Left and the fake-Trotskyists, who are already holding funeral services for the workers movement, the final whistle in this round of the class struggle has not yet been blown. A national contract strike by one of the affected sectors could spark a movement to restore the full *scala mobile*. With the bourgeoisie attempting to throw the working class back 30 years, this would require a mobilization of the labor movement in a general strike for a sliding scale of wages and hours, to bring down the Fanfani government and its Cold War austerity plans.

A general strike of this kind would begin with a mainly defensive character, but action on such a scale would inevitably pose the question: who's in charge here, the bosses or the workers? A working-class victory—a real possibility, given the divisions in the Italian bourgeoisie—would open up a wide-ranging political and social crisis, directly posing the question of state power. Obviously, the reformists would try their best to send the strikers back home, probably calling for new parliamentary elections. But the workers, encouraged by their success, could take the offensive, creating workers councils all over the country, imposing workers control in the plants and extending dual power throughout society, winning to their side in the heat of struggle the unemployed, students, peasants, housewives and all the exploited and oppressed. This is the only perspective the Italian proletariat has for fighting and winning, and it is in the course of this struggle that it will forge the cadre and the party capable of leading the socialist revolution.

No to the Popular Front!

For decades the PCI has betrayed the working class' interests, both historic and immediate, seeking to conciliate the bourgeoisie. In the '70s *Botteghe Oscure* [PCI headquarters in Rome] came to the conclusion that short of a stamp of approval from the Vatican and the White House, the PCI's entry into the government was unthinkable. Its formula for betrayal was then dubbed "the historic compromise." Now, with the 16th PCI National Congress, the Eurocommunists have come out with a new version of a class-collaborationist capitalist government, the so-called "democratic alternative." This is the latest attempt to revive the authority of corroded bourgeois-democratic institutions with the "clean hands" of the popular front.

In a lead article by Berlinguer, *l'Unità* (26 January) commented on the sellout accord of the 22nd, clearly revealing what is at stake for the PCI:

> "As far as we are concerned, the fights we will be engaged in and the initiatives we will take...will be aimed at solving the question...of changing the political framework, of finally giving the country the orientation, the revitalizing and innovative leadership necessary for it not to go to pieces."

This proposal addressed by the PCI to the Socialists (PSI) and the "enlightened" sectors of the bourgeoisie is directly counterposed to the workers' needs, and can only help the capitalists buy some time until they have the strength to deal the workers a severe defeat.

The Italian bourgeoisie has considered many times since 1945 the possibility of putting in the saddle a "strong" government capable of imposing the will of finance capital upon the workers. In the 1960s and '70s there were several reported coup plots with the active participation of generals, ministers and presidents of the republic. The so-called "strategy of tension" by fascist terrorists connected to the secret services led to a number of killings. The last and bloodiest was the August 1980 massacre at the Bologna railway station when 84 people were killed by a fascist bomb. And certainly a lot still remains in the dark regarding the aims of the Masonic Lodge P2 headed by Licio Gelli, among whose almost 1,000 members are many of the most prominent Italian politicians, high military officers in active service and personalities of the industrial and financial world. The PSI of Betino Craxi (dubbed by many PCI members "Benito" in an obvious reference to Mussolini) has indicated its availability to undertake steps in the direction of bonapartism, on the condition of being its main beneficiary.

However there is a big problem for a would-be Italian de Gaulle: the organized proletariat, which has not been crushed since World War II and which over the last 15 years has waged many militant struggles. From June-July of 1960—when hundreds of thousands of workers and left-wing militants fought against the police of the short-lived DC/neo-fascist coalition led by Tambroni, leaving a dozen comrades on the ground—to the powerful show of working-class strength in January 1983, it's been made clear to the bosses that they won't have an easy time imposing a bonaparte. So in the meantime they rely on the reformists and their popular-front projects to do their dirty work for them.

A current example of a popular-front government of reformist workers parties (allied with token bourgeois personalities as guarantors of capitalist stability) is that of Mitterrand's France. Mitterrand's Union of the Left offers the workers austerity, repression, anti-Soviet war hysteria—and includes the French Communist Party that the "Cossuttiani" [Kremlin-loyal elements in the PCI] take for a model. The Eurocommunists' new collaborationist proposal has already helped them cut the ground from under their left critics. At the recent PCI Congress, the "Cossuttiani" were effectively isolated, the inevitable result of their inability to offer any real alternative program and perspectives.

Build a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

To the left of the Eurocommunist PCI, aside from its reformist hangers-on in the PDUP/*Il Manifesto* there is also the Democrazia Proletaria, which has made itself the standard-bearer for a "government of the left parties"—the PCI's "democratic alternative" with a little rouge makeup to entice combative workers. As for the pseudo-Trotskyist groups, whose highest aspiration is to be recognized by the reformists as useful advisers, they have nothing valid to offer to class-conscious militants—who have no use for people who go around repeating from dawn to dusk "PCI-PSI Unity!" "PCI-PSI Government!" "Unity Against the DC!" etc.

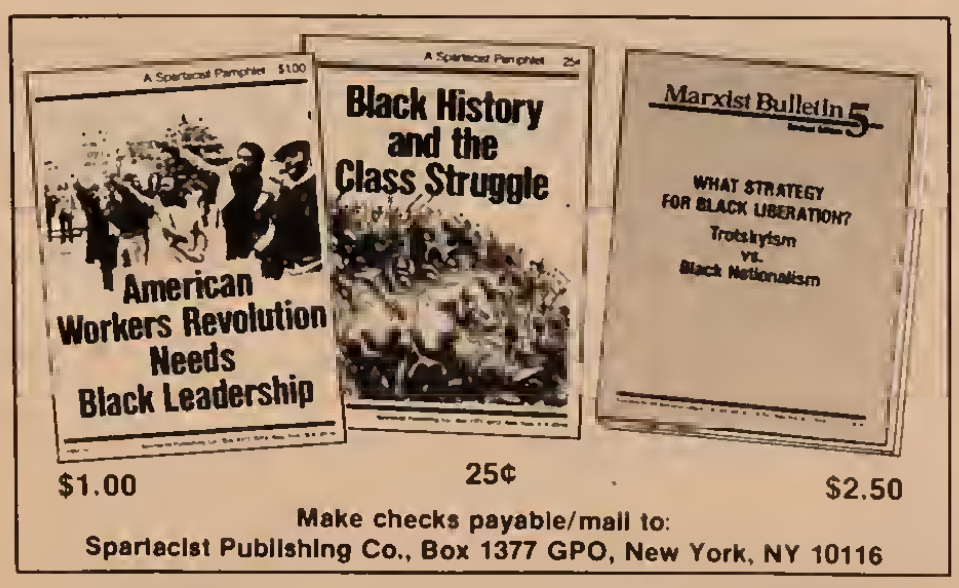
From the Lega Comunista Rivoluzionaria (LCR), Italian section of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat which fraudulently claims to be the "Fourth International"; to the reformist Lega Socialista Rivoluzionaria (LSR), which has now abandoned its mentor, the Argentine adventurer Nahuel Moreno; to the smaller Lega Operaia Rivoluzionaria (LOR, formerly GBL), linked to the scab "international" of Alan Thornett, that is seeking fusion with the LCR, the various formulas these people concoct at each turn only wind up calling on the reformists to do something. They have nothing in common with the revolutionary program and struggle of Trotsky's Fourth International.

The LCR, which offers itself up as a doormat for the "trade-union left wing" and as a tail for the Democrazia Proletaria, is now banking everything on the "left alternative," calling for a "government of workers parties" (*Bandiera Rossa*, 27 February). These pseudo-Trotskyists refuse to call for a real *workers government*. Yet the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat will not emerge from some electoral combination or any bourgeois parliament. The workers government slogan can be concretized in moments like the Hot Autumn of 1969, when embryonic forms of dual power appeared in the factories. At that time it would have been possible for revolutionaries to call for a PCI/PSI/PSIUP/trade-union government based on the factory councils and responsible to them, to carry out the expropriation of the bourgeoisie.

This call would have shown clearly how the workers government slogan means breaking with parliamentarism and governing on the basis of organs of soviet power. In a situation of sharpened class conflict, such a slogan can be a fundamental tactical instrument by which Trotskyists aim to split the bourgeois workers parties along class lines—the proletarian ranks that want socialist revolution on the one side, the pro-capitalist tops on the other. But raising the slogan of a "PCI-PSI government" or a vague "left-wing alternative" under conditions of the normal functioning of a bourgeois parliamentary regime simply means capitulating to illusions in the Stalinists and social democrats. And at a time when the reformists themselves are projecting a "left-wing" government, this slogan by the LCR and its buddies, if it were to be realized, would simply be a waiting room for the popular front.

Counterposing itself to these opportunistic maneuvers and conciliationist, reformist lines, the Lega Trotskista d'Italia (LTd'I), sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, seeks to construct an authentic Bolshevik vanguard, a Leninist-Trotskyist communist party, to lead the workers' struggles forward to the taking of power, "arming the proletariat to win, to expropriate and disarm the bourgeoisie." The task for Trotskyists is to win over the most advanced workers through intransigent political struggle against the PCI's class-collaborationist politics, including refusing electoral support to the reformists engaged in this betrayal.

Enough of popular-front collaboration! For a Trotskyist party to fight for a workers government! ■



Norfolk...

(continued from page 12)

pass federal desegregation orders. Signs reading "Don't Turn Back the Hands of Time" showed that Southern blacks know it is not too far from the death of busing to the back of the bus. That is why one out of every ten black people in Norfolk took to the streets.

The largest and most impressive contingent, a 200-strong group from the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) carried a union banner, and signs reading "ILA All the Way Against Segregated Schools." This shows the potential in the Tidewater area for massive labor struggle in defense of black rights. Hundreds of high school students joined the march defying the threat of one school to prevent students who took off school that day from going to their prom. At City Hall workers on their lunch breaks swelled the crowd to its largest size, more than doubling the expectations of the march organizers, the Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Citizens headed by Bishop L.E. Willis, a black minister, and other representatives of the local black middle class.

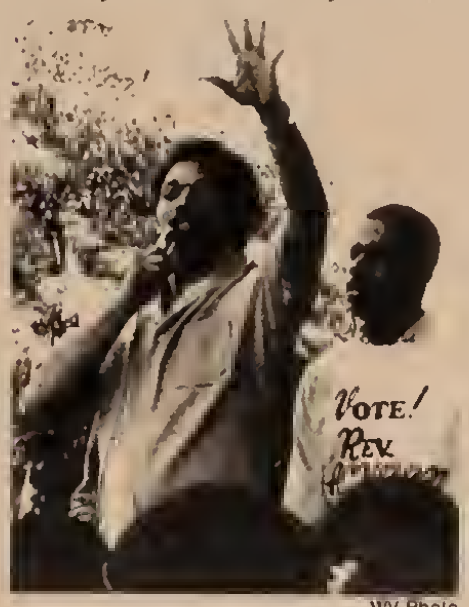
While thousands of Norfolk blacks were demanding integrated education, the march organizers had brought in superstar demagogue Jesse Jackson who had a very different idea of what it was all about. Jackson announced that he was coming to Norfolk for a "Southern Crusade" to get black voters for the Democrats, and he made his voter registration campaign a condition of his appearance at the march. He carried a banner reading, "Someone Paid for Your Right—Register/Vote Democrat." It was the only sign or banner at this large march which said nothing about busing. At a breakfast meeting before the march, Jackson outrageously declared: "I am not in town marching for desegregation. I am marching for the voter registration boost" (*Virginian-Pilot*, 14 May)!!

Defend Busing—
Break with the Democrats

Jackson speaks about busing in the same language as the anti-busing forces across the country: "Voluntary plans are best," he said in Norfolk. Everyone knows "voluntary" is a codeword for getting rid of "forced" busing for racial integration. Such statements were music to the ears of the Norfolk bourgeois establishment. Earlier, Mayor Vincent Thomas, a ringleader of the racist opposition to busing, had lauded the School Board and complained that "Our black leaders have invited [Jackson] here to condemn and protest an attempt by that school board to preserve over the long run the racial integrity [!] of our school system" (*Virginian-Pilot*, 13 May). But at a midnight private meeting with the mayor, Jackson praised this dyed-in-the-wool racist for "his statesmanship" and actually called the mayor "courageous"! No wonder the *Pilot* editorial the next day called Jackson's comments "a vast improvement over the finger pointing... that has marked the busing debate in recent weeks...."

At a speech at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. on May 10, Jackson mapped out his grand electoral strategy with fulsome praise for "this dynamic democracy [which] has made room for us." His electoral appeal to cool out "explosions" and black struggle was quite explicit: "...we can change the nation's course through elections without going through a revolution." But without a revolution, the fundamental conditions for blacks in America can only get worse. How can electing Democrats alleviate grinding poverty and black oppression? For the Rev. Jesse Jackson, no problem: "The poor are suffering," he intones, "but I believe that suffering breeds character."

"The spirit of Chicago has come to Norfolk," proclaimed Jackson, but what is that spirit and why should black people struggling for equality want any part of it? Chicago now has a black mayor, but it is the most viciously segregated city in America, as the recent election campaign showed. Chicago, which is run by the Democrats Jackson is hustling for, has a more successful record in resisting desegregation than any Southern city over the past 20 years. And for the mass of Chicago blacks, the election of Machine Democrat Harold Washington will only mean Reaganite austerity administered by a black



WV Photo

Jesse Jackson addresses Norfolk rally: "I am not in town marching for desegregation."

flunkey. There will be no program of integrated schools or integrated housing in Segregation City, nor did Washington promise any.

In part the sharply divergent motives of Jackson and the marchers on the streets of Norfolk represent the difference in the busing issue North and South. In fact, it was in Chicago that the civil rights movement came North and died on the streets at the hands of racist reaction. Jackson along with the rest of the black misleaders gave up on the struggle for black equality long ago. He is interested in traditional ethnic politics, a place at the Democrats' porkless porkbarrel.

But in the South the issue of busing goes back to the struggle against Jim Crow. The liberal-led civil rights movement under Martin Luther King found that after the Supreme Court's *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision in 1954 the federal government was prepared to ditch some of the most flagrant examples of formal segregation in the South. Southern blacks fought for integration on the streets. And after much racist resistance, some successful busing programs were established which significantly integrated some Southern school districts such as Charlotte-Mecklenburg in North Carolina. In the North, blacks for the most part had formal equality under the law, but remained segregated in the ghettos.

There could be no real improvement in the situation of black people in the North without attacking the foundations of the capitalist order. Instead, they made room for some black politicos, the better to keep the lid on the exploding ghettos. And the black misleaders were quick to make a deal for separate-but-never-equal as part of Democratic ethnic pressure politics. Thus the grand strategy today is to divert black anger and political struggle against the increasing misery of blacks—the mass unemployment, the cutbacks in what little social welfare there is, the declining literacy and rising infant mortality—with one answer: blame Reagan, vote Democratic in '84. And to make sure that the Democrats have something to sell to blacks, Jackson is touting himself as a black presidential candidate. It is in the abhorrent vacuum of black leadership that a hustler like Jesse Jackson can make his bid to be a national leader. This man spells danger for black Americans.

During the Reagan years, black Democratic mayors in Atlanta, Detroit, Los Angeles and Washington, D.C. have proven to be local hatchetmen for the Reagan program of cutbacks, racism and the imperialist war drive against the Soviet Union. The answer to attacks on school busing and the threat of KKK terror is not more Andy Youngs and Marion Barrys, and certainly not Jesse Jackson trying to pressure the Democrats into some platform concessions, but mobilizing the powerful integrated labor movement on the streets and in the plants to fight for black freedom and workers rights.

For Revolutionary Integrationism

For Jackson, 10,000 Norfolk blacks on the streets demanding integration is not at all what he wants. He wants them at the voting booth pulling the lever for Mondale. So Jackson told the marchers: "The reason you are demonstrating is that you have committed the deadly sin of doing less than your best politically." For Jackson, strength is to be behind closed doors "negotiating," that is, accommodating the racist status quo. They were demonstrating, he said, because "you're on the outside." Jackson explained that none of this marching was necessary because "when you're on the inside, you negotiate" (*Virginian-Pilot*, 14 May). But he is negotiating away the struggle for black equality.

After a string of defeats, blacks are looking for answers, for a way to fight and win. It is criminal that the Norfolk march committee and Jesse Jackson exploit that will to struggle, turning it into passive marches and votes for the Democrats which can only accomplish the opposite of black aspirations. Instead, concrete struggle is urgently needed which can begin to tap the power of labor and blacks in this proletarian heartland of the upper South. An example of such struggle was demonstrated on November 27 when 5,000 stopped the Ku Klux Klan in Washington, D.C. The Labor/Black Mobilization, initiated by the Spartacist League, received much support and endorsement from the Tidewater labor movement. Militants from Norfolk-area unions participated as the "Nat Turner Brigade." Here was an example of the fight against racist terror that worked. We stopped the Klan because blacks, a segment of labor and revolutionary socialists stood against the policies of the twin capitalist parties which encourage the growth of KKK and Nazi race-terror.

Unlike Jesse Jackson, blacks throughout the South know that separate can never be equal in racist America. In this they follow the tradition of black struggle for equality since the Civil War. But as every rotting ghetto shows, capitalist society can never integrate the black masses. Thus the path taken by the Norfolk black establishment treads the same failed ground as Martin Luther King, and it too leads into the Democratic Party and the betrayal of black aspirations. To win, the fight for integration must be linked up with the class struggle. The ILA marchers must know that to "go all the way against segregated schools" in racist America demands a fight against capitalism itself.

In Norfolk, the neo-segregationist School Board has created 35 "neighborhood schools" of which a third are 95 percent black. They make the excuse that this will help to prevent "white flight" from Norfolk. This is always the appeal of "sophisticated" opponents of busing. In the Tidewater area, what was the coastal resort town of Virginia Beach, for instance, has become the state's largest city. But to eliminate busing will only make segregation, and therefore black education, worse. What is needed is the *extension* of busing to the suburbs and Virginia Beach. But this demands a powerful fight by the working class.

What we need is a revolutionary workers party with a strong component of black leadership. Such a party could have called a one-day general strike on Friday. From the Norfolk longshoremen to the Portsmouth naval shipyard to the shipbuilders at Newport News, class-struggle action would put a screeching halt to the School Board's racist schemes and open the road to union organizing drives throughout the South.

It took a social revolution to free blacks from the shackles of slavery. But the promise of liberation was broken by a political counterrevolution after the Civil War. Now it will take a third American Revolution—a proletarian revolution—to free black people at last from the chains of a capitalist society in which they are a color caste segregated at the bottom. For revolutionary integrationism! For labor/black mobilizations to defend school busing in Norfolk! Extend busing to Virginia Beach! Finish the Civil War—For a workers government! ■

NORFOLK, May 13—At the demonstration today, Spartacist comrades sold 656 pieces of literature, including 450 copies of *Workers Vanguard* and 147 pamphlets on "Black History and the Class Struggle," showing that black workers are open to this perspective. People came up to *WV* salesmen with quarters in their hands, sometimes buying several copies for their friends. Workers here know that *WV* told the truth about the November 27 Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C., which included a busload of trade unionists, the "Nat Turner Brigade," from the Tidewater area. It is these militants, and not black Democratic Party hustlers like the Reverend Jackson, that show the way to smashing KKK terror and

WV Photo

breaking the chains of racial oppression and exploitation once and for all through workers revolution.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Jesse Jackson Steers Protest Into Democrat's Trap

Thousands March Against Jim Crow in Norfolk

NORFOLK, May 14—It was the largest march in the South since the mid-'60s, as 10,000 poured into the streets yesterday to protest the threatened elimination of school busing here. The marchers—almost entirely black and predominantly working class—are fighting the Norfolk School Board's February ruling which restores "neighborhood" elementary schools, the old Jim Crow "separate but *un*equal" standard, and dumps Norfolk's 11-year-old busing program. But while the demonstrators were showing mass support for integration among blacks in the Tidewater area of Virginia, the march was presided over by black capitalist hustler Jesse Jackson, who made it crystal clear his only interest was to channel black discontent into the Democratic Party.

Thousands marched from Lafayette Park to City Hall chanting: "Two-four-six-eight—We don't want to segregate!" And resegregation *is* the issue in Norfolk where the attack on busing is part of a nationwide assault on black people—from astronomical ghetto unemployment to the rise of KKK terror. In the South the fight for integrated schools is understood as part of a historic struggle for black equality. Norfolk is the city where they closed the high schools in 1958 in order to by-

continued on page 11

WV Photos

"Two, four, six, eight—We don't want to segregate," chanted 10,000 protesting school board attempt to eliminate busing. ILA contingent (left).

Protectionist Frenzy Fuels Anti-Asian Racism

Jail the Killers of Vincent Chin!

DETROIT—"It's not fair." Those were the dying words of Vincent Chin, a 27-year-old Chinese-American engineer who was brutally bludgeoned to death last June outside a Highland Park McDonald's. Chin and three friends were in a local nightclub celebrating his upcoming marriage when Chrysler foreman Ronald Ebens and his stepson Michael Nitz started a fight with Chin, saying, "Because of you, little motherfucker, we're out of work" (*Detroit Free Press*, 9 May). Ebens and Nitz hunted Chin down after he left the bar, paying a third man $20 to help find "those chink guys." While Nitz held Chin down, Ebens shattered his skull with four two-handed swings of a baseball bat, as two Highland Park cops looked on.

Nine months later a storm of protest has ignited in Detroit's small Asian community after Wayne County Judge Charles Kaufman set these killers free—

continued on page 9

WV Photo

May 9 protest in Detroit's Kennedy Square after judge let racist murderers go free.

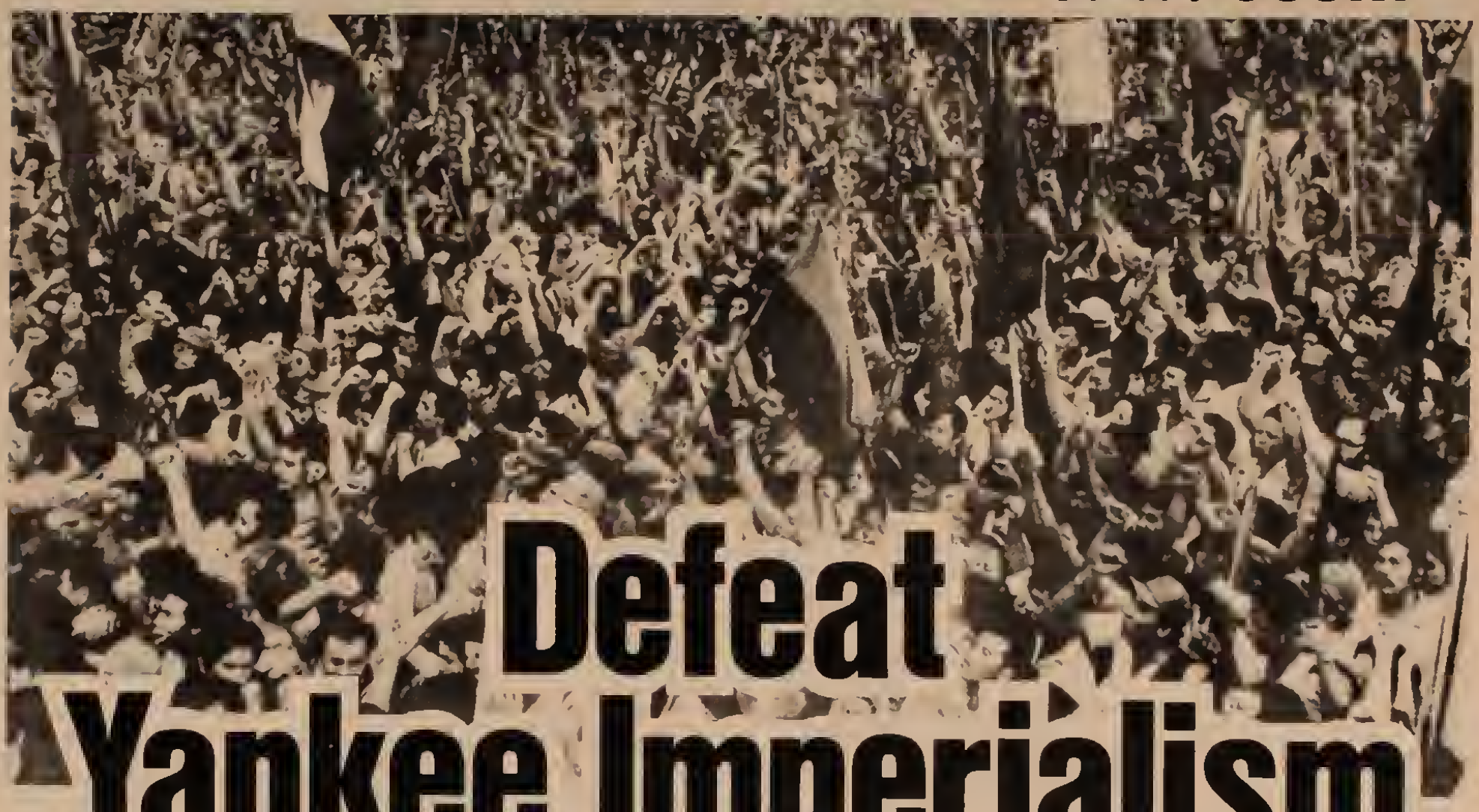
WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 331

3 June 1983

For Workers Revolution! Defend Cuba/USSR!



Defeat Yankee Imperialism in Central America!

Reagan would like to wipe out U.S. humiliation in Vietnam with the blood of the Central American workers and peasants. But his plans have grievously backfired. The leftist guerrillas are *defeating* the corrupt, demoralized and hated American-backed armed forces in El Salvador. A military victory for the insurgents would not only open the road to the liberation of the Salvadoran masses from the rapacious oligarchy and its blood-crazed death squads, it would be a powerful blow against U.S. imperialism everywhere, especially since Reagan has placed such high stakes on the outcome.

U.S. imperialism is in big trouble in Central America. If the leaders of the leftist rebels in El Salvador do not negotiate a sellout, the guerrillas can *beat* the U.S.-backed puppet forces. And in Nicaragua the CIA-organized counterrevolutionaries are being chewed up by the forces of the radical-nationalist Sandinista government, which so far has not thrown in its heavy battalions against the *contras*. If to stave off defeat the U.S. sends in combat troops, this will not only provoke a strong reaction at home but will inflame all of Latin America.

Responding to these fears, in his address to Congress last month Reagan declared: "Let me say to those who invoke the memory of Vietnam there is no thought of sending American combat troops to Central America." But Reagan is already hedging. In a press conference before the Williamsburg economic summit he refused to rule out the use of combat troops in the region.

Vietnam Was a Victory!

Lt. General Wallace Nutting, retiring head of the U.S. Southern Command in Panama, recently called for an open-ended commitment to stopping "Communist expansionism" in Central America. Railing against Congressional restrictions, Nutting said, "As long as those limits on our willingness to engage the ultimate resolution of the problem are evident to the guerrillas, they will persist. They have the example of Vietnam to refer back to." Last week the Pentagon announced an agreement with Honduras to triple the number of U.S. military advisers in that country and open a training base for Salvadoran and Honduran troops. A similar increase for U.S. advisers in El Salvador is also planned.

To clear the way for a more hard-line policy, Reagan has just dumped Thomas Enders, head of the State Department's Latin American section, and is reportedly replacing Deane Hinton, U.S. ambassador to El Salvador. By no stretch of standards can Enders be termed a "dove" in Central America or anywhere else. As deputy chief of mission in Phnom Penh he collaborated with Henry Kissinger in the secret bombing of Cambodia. But he angered the anti-Communist fanatics around Reagan, especially dragon lady Jeane Kirkpatrick, by suggesting a two-pronged program of war with negotiations. The firing of Enders and Hinton may well signal some kind of rapid escalation.

On the ground in El Salvador the leftist insurgents continue to maintain the upper hand. Government troops stick to the garrison towns except for fruitless, massive sweeps. Last week government troops abandoned seven towns in key San Vicente province with commanding positions above the Pan American Highway, the last overland link to the eastern half of the country. Together with stubborn rebel positions on Guazapa Volcano, control of these towns, less than 30 miles from San Salvador, tightens the noose around the capital. And the return to the U.S. of the deputy chief of the military mission in a coffin is a reminder that Americans will not escape the consequences of their program of destruction.

The Central American masses are on war footing to smash the aggressions of the Yankee imperialists and their local puppets. In Nicaragua, Reagan's threats before the U.S. Congress were answered the following day by a mass mobilization of some 150,000 in the *Plaza de la Revolución* in Managua. The *contra* invasion from Honduras has stirred popular support for harsher measures against the counterrevolution. Still the petty-bourgeois radical Sandinista leaders promise that the developing civil war will not divert them from the "pluralistic" road and the protection of the very forces which threaten the revolution!

When CIA chief William Casey tells Congressmen that his *contras* will overthrow the Sandinistas by New

continued on page 10

In Anti-Spartacist Frenzy Over Solidarność

Ernest Mandel: The Pope's "Trotskyist"..... 6

Caught Between State Department Socialism and Fidelismo

Barnes' SWP in No Man's Land 7

Editorial Note

"Democracy" in Barnestown

Back in November 1981, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) leader Jack Barnes couldn't resist taunting the SWP's two substantial, troublesome oppositional currents:

> "If the leadership of this party is already abandoning Trotskyism; if the elected leadership blindly walks down a revisionist garden path; if we have to pass motions—as Comrade Lovell proposes—denouncing the *Militant* editors for running an article by Lenin and an article about it—if all of that is true, then the August 1983 convention must seem awfully far away."
>
> —[SWP] *Party Organizer* Vol. 6, No. 1, April 1982

Yes indeed. In a move which Louis XIV ("L'état, c'est moi") would admire, the Barnesites have for the first time in many years decided not to hold one of their national conventions, which are supposed to take place every second year. Instead, the SWP has announced that what will take place this August will be an "educational" conference in honor of the Karl Marx centennial. For the SWP membership, it's not just the convention itself which has been disappeared. For in the bureaucratic SWP, no convention equals no pre-convention discussion, no internal discussion bulletins—and no new elected leadership.

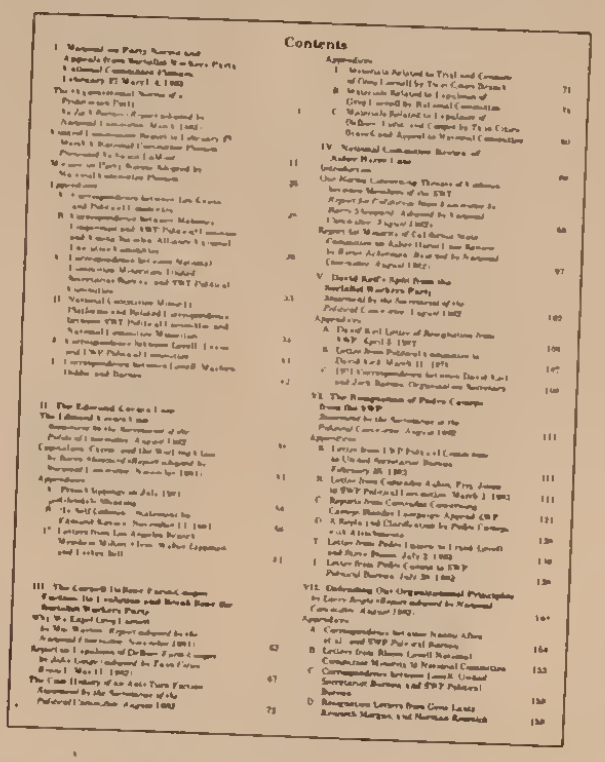
Mind you, it's hardly that there's nothing to talk about! The contrary is the case. Two examples will suffice. The February-March 1982 NC plenum lasted for *six days*—and the resulting September 1982 *Internal Information Bulletin* had to be priced at *eight dollars* (!) to cram in every expulsion, threat, motion, resignation, etc. To top it off, Barnes not only formally renounced but *de*nounced Trotskyism, during an (as yet unpublished) public speech at the December 1982 convention of the SWP's youth group. Thus is line made in Barnestown—Barnes just presents it in public and the membership is under discipline not to publicly demur. And now there will not even be a convention to "discuss" and endorse, even after the fact, Barnes' "discovery" that Trotsky was an ultraleftist.

No convention? You can't say you weren't warned. The Spartacist League (SL) devoted a five-page article to Barnes' "age purge" and the September 1982 internal bulletin, including the following prognosis:

> "A Leninist organization which found itself confronted with the necessity for a six-day plenum and 27 disciplinary motions to 'regulate discussion' would certainly open a discussion and might well schedule an immediate national convention—the highest body of the national party—to fully air the differences and elect a leadership reflecting the new relationship of forces between the majority and the oppositions. But Barnes' party is a bureaucratic organization; the national convention is not its highest body in any meaningful sense and the pre-convention discussion process is if anything the last remaining loophole in Barnesite 'organizational principle'."
>
> —"Barnestown, U.S.A.," *WV* No. 320, 31 December 1982

That loophole has now been closed.

Among the old-timers facing the ax, Frank Lovell in particular might recall a day 20 years ago when an up-and-coming NCer from the Midwest added his two cents during the plenum which bureaucratically expelled five members of the Revolutionary Tendency (RT—forerunner of the SL):


Contents

SWP's Internal Information Bulletin, September 1982: $8 worth of expulsions, threats and resignations.

> "Some areas of the country are extremely clean right now. The other areas will be in a very short period of time. There's only one thing that goes along with this, and that's merely to second what Comrade Frank said: All the living links have got to show plenty of life and help us out, and we can take care of the fleas with no problems."
>
> —[SWP] *Internal Information Bulletin*, April 1964, Part II

The speaker was Jack Barnes—who now wants those same "living links" made into "missing links." Though they're a sorry, rightist lot, we have some human sympathy for the aged SWP veterans whose sole reward for elevating Barnes—and loyally serving him (until recently)—is to be told to quit and/or die.

But alas for Barnes, it isn't that simple. At that same December 1963 NC plenum, RT leader (and now SL National Chairman) James Robertson warned that creation of an autocratic regime would not bring internal peace to the rightward-moving SWP leadership:

> "All that happens is that you get the most intense, internecine fights over, if nothing else, the selection of the personnel for posts. You can never stop struggle. All you can do is denature it, so that it's not clear, it's not political, it's not over the question of line, and destroy the ground rules of democratic centralism."
>
> —[SWP] *Internal Information Bulletin*, April 1964, Part I

The cancellation of the SWP convention is stunning testimony to the internal instability of Barnes' party. Even after massive persecution of old-timers (who, while fully as reformist as Barnes, see their party loyalties as not simply loyalty to Barnes), after endless disciplinary motions and open-ended threats, after hundreds of quits which might have been expected to reduce the population of alienated and demoralized elements to manageable proportions—still Barnes' clique finds itself unable to risk a convention. Fundamentally, the reasons are political: the virulence of bourgeois anti-Soviet war fever making mincemeat of the SWP's eccentric mix of sentimental pro-Castroism and basic social-democratic appetite, hastening the SWP's eclipse by the much larger, more influential and consistent social democrats of Michael Harrington's DSA (see "Barnes' Party in No Man's Land," page 7, this issue). On the organizational side, this much is clear: the SWP is hatching new dissidents as fast as it can muzzle or drive out the old ones. ■

Letter

FABRITEX: Strikebreaking Sandinista-Style

April 27, 1983

To the Editors,

In the article entitled "Workers Revolution vs. the Guerrilla Road" in the 11 March issue of "WV," it's mentioned that the Sandinistas, as an act of reprisal against the workers there, completely dismantled the FABRITEX textile factory. This assertion is not documented or otherwise substantiated in the article or in footnote. I have spoken with local SYLers to see if the info has been made available to them, and it has not. Also, friends who put out the new quarterly "No Middle Ground" were also unable to verify the anti-worker act of dismantling the factory.

Please do us all a favor and print your source(s) for the particular charge. The other charges of various anti-worker, authoritarian political practices of the FSLN gov't. have been fairly generally publicized in the left press (and naturally in the bourgeois press), but the FABRITEX case seems unknown around here.

Thank you,
Chris F.
Berkeley, Ca.

WV replies: The liquidation of FABRITEX—a better description than dismantling—first reported in *WV* No. 293 (20 November 1981) is perhaps the best example of the repression and strong-arm methods employed by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) against any manifestation of working-class independence from its bonapartist control. The story begins in February 1980 when the CAUS union federation, led by the dissident pro-Moscow Communist Party (PCN), called strikes in 18 Managua factories calling for a 100 percent wage increase. The FSLN declared the strike illegal (under a supposedly anti-lockout law against "boycotting production"), offered 6 percent, launched a vitriolic propaganda barrage against the PCN/CAUS, and mobilized Sandinista agitators to besiege the key FABRITEX plant, eventually forcing the strikers back to work. Then on March 4, a Sandinista "anti-CIA" march seized CAUS offices in León and turned the building over to the literacy crusade; the scene was repeated the next day in the capital, as the regime cynically amalgamated leftist opposition with imperialist "destabilization."

But key factories continued to be controlled by one or another of the ostensibly socialist groups, and in late 1981 the FSLN tops decided to do something about this "anomaly." So on October 21, 24 CAUS members (including two members of the Council of State) were arrested, along with four leaders of the COSEP businessmen's association, for publishing "provocative" documents. The CAUS pamphlet accused the government of "opening the doors to the international capitalists and seeking a bourgeois solution to the country's problems" (*Barricada*, 22 October 1981). In addition the unionists were accused of fomenting strikes and sabotaging production. A week later, the COSEP leaders were sentenced to seven months prison or payment of a $66 fine, while the CAUS representatives got *three years* in jail. Alan Riding commented in the *New York Times* (17 November 1981) that "agitation among trade unions was considered by the regime to be even more dangerous than the business group's protests," and noted that "so far, about 100 Communists have been arrested." Many of them were union militants at FABRITEX, accused of "psychologically torturing" fellow workers.

But this was not enough, so on November 1, the government shut down FABRITEX on the pretext of non-payment of debts to the state cotton agency. "Debts and Anarchy Sank Fabritex" proclaimed the *Barricada* headline, adding that the shutdown should be a "lesson to the confused." And just to make sure the lesson was clear, the police who closed the factory were accompanied by seven tractor-trailer trucks which carted off all the raw materials in the plant. CAUS was accused of "negative activities," a "provocative attitude," encouraging labor indiscipline, poor quality, slowdowns. The government could not permit "that the FABRITEX machinery, among the most modern in the country, should be squandered in this manner" (*Barricada*, 3 November). Workers were told to look for jobs in other factories (with unemployment at 15 percent), or they could try picking coffee during the harvest hundreds of kilometers to the north. Nevertheless, despite attempts to force the workers to join the Sandinista Labor Federation, they and workers at other Managua factories refused to abandon their union.

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BARRICADA

Cierre temporal debe ser lección para los confundidos

Deudas y anarquía ahogaron a Fabritex

Se abren de nuevo las minas de La Libertad

Sandinista paper Barricada offers strong-arm "lesson to the confused": "Debts and Anarchy Sank Fabritex."

For Labor/Black Defense Against Richmond Cop Terror!

Weatherpunks Get Lesson in Workers Democracy

OAKLAND, May 28—Seeking to exploit widespread outrage over racist cop brutality and recent police killings of blacks in Richmond, the misnamed "John Brown Anti-Klan Committee" (JBAKC) spent the past several weeks building a "Death to the Klan" rally at the house of Richmond police chief Leo Garfield. Garfield's home is not in heavily black Richmond, however, but in the overwhelmingly white suburb of El Sobrante. This is in a Klan-infested area that has been the scene of repeated racist assaults that have driven several black families from their homes. With no perspective of a mass mobilization of labor or blacks, the self-defined "progressive white people" of the JBAKC would hold their rally, then return to Berkeley and San Francisco.

This idiotic and provocative adventure could only, at best, set up whatever black protesters might attend to be photographed, tracked down and brutalized by the cops who would be out in force at their boss' home. And it very easily could have turned out a lot worse. The racists have guns and they remember the "Death to the Klan" rally at Greensboro, North Carolina, where five anti-Klan protesters were gunned down by KKK/Nazi killers in league with police. Perhaps the JBAKC were hoping to create some martyrs.

It is for this reason that at recent meetings in Richmond, San Francisco and Santa Cruz the Spartacist League (SL) and the newly formed Labor/Black League for Social Defense (L/BL) opposed the JBAKC's provocative plans. An SL leaflet distributed at the assembly point for the May 22 march called on black residents to "stay away from this set-up." We explained:

> "The Spartacist League says the only road to combat the rise of police violence and Nazi/Klan terror is the class struggle road through mass labor/black mobilizations and the fight to build an integrated, multi-racial revolutionary party. The JBAKC instead relies on adventurist and dangerous stunts that despair of integrated working-class struggle."

We pointed to our history of successful anti-fascist mass mobilizations, most recently the SL-initiated demonstration of over 5,000 unionists, blacks and socialists that stopped the KKK from marching in Washington, D.C. last November, and counterposed our strategy of labor-centered, integrated mass struggle to the JBAKC's adventure.

Unable to answer our communist politics, the frenzied JBAKC attempted a cowardly assault on members of the SL and L/BL outside an "anti-Klan teach-in" on May 21, held in "safe" San Francisco, not Richmond or El Sobrante. When five SL and L/BL members, including a black and an Asian woman, attempted to distribute literature outside the publicly advertised JBAKC meeting, 15 JBAKCers tried to jump our comrades. The would-be thugs were vigorously repulsed and given a firm lesson that we will not have our democratic rights trampled on.

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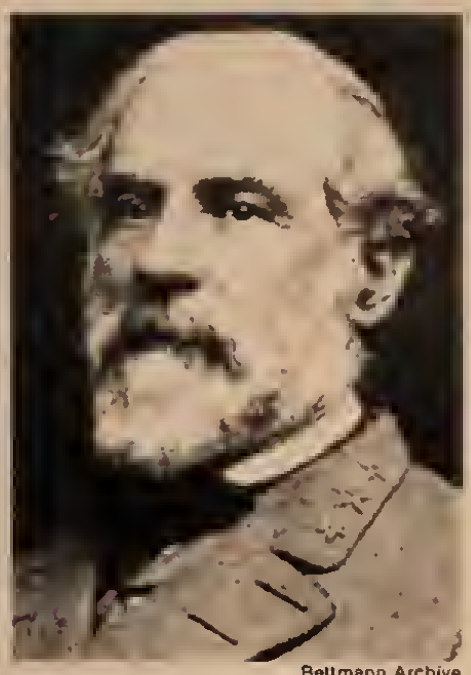

Bettmann Archive

Revolutionary insurrectionist John Brown (left) fought to liberate the slaves. With its anti-integrationist program, the misnamed "John Brown Anti-Klan Committee" would better be named for Confederate general Robert E. Lee (right).

When the SF police showed up while the JBAKC hoodlum attack was under way, the supposed opponents of police brutality made the cops their instant allies as they tried to stop us from distributing our literature. JBAKCers huddled with the cops, telling them the Spartacists and L/BL members were "disrupting" their meeting by distributing literature on a public sidewalk outside a church! This is downright obscene. The "John Brown" Committee claims to fight cop terror and racism, yet joins with the racist police against real fighters against racial oppression. The JBAKC and cops work hand-in-hand against the Trotskyists!

The SFPD is justly hated by workers and minorities throughout the city for its racist, anti-working-class attacks. Strikers, from the largely minority Hotel Workers to the craft unions, have had their picket lines assaulted by the scab-herding thugs in blue. The precinct house in the predominantly Latin Mission District is notorious for the vicious beatings regularly administered to those who are dragged in, a scandal that has forced recent cosmetic shake-ups in the precinct command. Blacks, particularly in the Bayview/Hunters Point area, are subject to systematic intimidation. And there have been several eruptions in the large SF gay community against continuing harassment by the police, whose hero is ex-cop Dan White, the soon-to-be released murderer of SF's first gay supervisor Harvey Milk and then-mayor George Moscone. Yet the JBAKC seeks the help of the racist cops to "protect" their meetings against revolutionary working-class politics.

What Is the JBAKC and What Is It Afraid Of?

The JBAKC is one of a myriad of front groups promoted by old New Left-overs and second-rate armchair Weathermen. Publicists for the shadowy remnants of the Black Liberation Army, glorifiers of the dubious Brinks job, the JBAKC is everybody's "overground." Taking vicarious pleasure in the terrorists' defeatist strategy, the JBAKC tries to push others into the line of fire, particularly arranging set-ups for cop traps like the one in El Sobrante. Yet despite all their macho anti-cop stunts, these phony "anti-white supremacists" blocked with the SF cops against the reds and blacks of the SL and the Labor/Black League.

The JBAKC has enshrined one political principle: the sectoralist, anti-Leninist notion prevalent in the New Left that each oppressed group can only organize itself. The "progressive white people" of the JBAKC completely reject the perspective of integrated working-class struggle and organization. The JBAKC urges blacks to leave their jobs and homes they have fought for and to set up a "New Afrika" in the old Confederacy, abandoning even the elementary gains that have been made against the racist segregation of Jim Crow. This is a reactionary/utopian program that might have had some appeal to Robert E. Lee, who led the federal troops which captured John Brown and killed most of his anti-slavery fighters at Harpers Ferry. But it is no wonder that the JBAKC program has attracted few blacks.

It is because of their complete despair of the possibility of real integrated working-class struggle that the JBAKC resorts to foolish adventures like small group "Death to the Klan" rallies at cops' homes in racist white suburbs where the Klan has been active. But the black residents of Richmond have more sense. Not one showed up for the El Sobrante rally. Every single one of the 50-or-so demonstrators had been carpooled in from meeting points in San Francisco and Oakland. Their chants of "Death to the Klan, Free New Afrika, Free the Land" fell on the ears of the cops who guarded chief Garfield's house and waited in large numbers on nearby side streets. The demonstration would very likely have been attacked by white racist youth who gathered from the neighborhood. But the cops, no douht with instructions to prevent an "incident" in front of the chief's home, once again acted as proteetors of the JBAKC.

Though most of these Weatherpunks are hopelessly committed to their reactionary/utopian strategy, this is not to say they can learn nothing. Having received an elementary lesson in workers democracy the day before, the JBAKCers did not lift a hand against SL and L/BL members who distributed a leaflet at their SF and Oakland departure points exposing the JBAKC's political bankruptcy and two-bit thuggery. In the West Bay, JBAKC organizers rushed arriving supporters into waiting cars and told them to roll up their windows to avoid the "danger" of receiving a leaflet or hearing us. In Oakland, a JBAKC leader with a black eye who partieipated in their abortive hoodlum assault the previous day assured us we would have our "freedom of expression" to distribute and sell our press. Indeed we would.

John Brown was a giant in the struggle against slavery and his revolutionary insurrectionist ideas exerted a powerful influenee on the militant wing of the anti-slavery movement. John Brown's attack on Harpers Ferry was the opening shot of the war to end slavery. John Brown would roll in his grave at the thought of these middle-class radicals who take his name in the cause of anti-racism for their ultimately segregationist schemes. As we wrote in *WV* No. 319 (10 December 1982):

> "We stand in the revolutionary tradition of Frederick Douglass and John Brown. To complete the unfinished democratic tasks of the Civil War, we look to the multi-racial American working class. In this period of imperialist decay, there is no longer a radical or 'progressive' wing of the capitalist ruling class; the whole system stands squarely counterposed to black freedom. Forward to the third American Revolution, a proletarian revolution led by a Trotskyist vanguard party with a strong black leadership component. Finish the Civil War—For black liberation in a workers' America!" ■

WV Photo

Dengerous edventure in El Sobrente: JBAKC stunt in Klen/cop-infested suburb.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 331 **3 June 1983**

Steel Workers: Don't Buy Protectionist Poison!

Stop Layoffs with Sitdowns!

Just four weeks after American steel workers were blasted with a 10 percent pay cut and other "givebacks" amounting to $4 billion, 2,000 employees at U.S. Steel's Fairless Works near Philadelphia found out the company planned to scrap their jobs. Under the March 1 Basic Steel Agreement every steel worker lost $15,000. All they got in return was a worthless promise that the companies would reinvest their profits in modernizing the decrepit American steel industry. It was a cruel fraud. On March 28 United Steelworkers (USWA) president Lloyd McBride announced that U.S. Steel was planning to shut down Fairless' open hearth furnaces and other facilities used in the production of semi-finished steel. Under this cutback scheme, only Fairless' finishing mills would remain open, processing steel slabs imported from the British Steel Corporation's (BSC) Ravenscraig plant in Scotland. Some 2,000 Ravenscraig workers will also be thrown out of work if the U.S. Steel/BSC deal goes through.

"Hypocrisy!" cried the USWA tops, who have always been the first to echo the steel companies' calls for import restrictions. But the biggest hypocrite of all is Lloyd McBride, who knew about the deal last November. This company flunky purposely concealed the information to grease the skids for the mammoth giveback sellout of March 1!

True to form, McBride has ruled out any strike action to stop the layoffs. Instead he plans to squander the $185 million USWA strike fund on a court suit and a "media campaign" to halt imports. This reactionary protectionist campaign won't save a single job. According to U.S. Steel chairman David Roderick, the company will shut down the entire Fairless Works—U.S. Steel's *newest* mill—rather than continuing to operate the plant's antiquated open hearths. BSC chief Ian MacGregor says the Ravenscraig mill will also be shuttered if the deal falls through.

Fairless Local 4889 president Al Lupini, who went along with the concessions contract, says USWA members might refuse to unload the imported slabs—but by then thousands of jobs on both sides of the Atlantic will have already been lost! What is needed is *immediate* militant action, directed not against foreign workers and the goods they produce, but against the bosses and their political hatchetmen, labor-hater Reagan and his Tory ally, Margaret "Iron Lady" Thatcher. The steel magnates won't give up a dime or "save" a job unless working-class struggle forces them to. Back in the 1930s it took industrial action—mass picket lines, secondary boycotts, sitdown strikes—to win the CIO organizing drives. It is urgently necessary to revive these traditions today—to fight or starve! Let U.S. Steel import all the slabs it wants. *But any move to lay off a single Fairless or Ravenscraig worker should be answered with immediate sit-in strikes!*

WV Photo

Protectionist Steelworkers demonstration waves the flag instead of fighting mass layoffs, Chicago, May 2.

No-Fight Bureaucrats Organize Star Spangled Rally

McBride pushes the line that steel workers ought to love American capitalism and hate foreign workers precisely to throttle this kind of class struggle. But the Pittsburgh bureaucracy isn't the only force in the USWA peddling stars-and-stripes protectionism. When news of the U.S. Steel/BSC negotiations came to the surface, several "dissident" local level officials organized a demonstration at the corporation's May 2 stockholders' meeting in Chicago. Its purpose was to present U.S. Steel chief Roderick with a "Benedict Arnold Award" for the "betrayal of our nation's vital interests." The demonstration was initiated by Ron Weisen, president of Local 1397 at U.S. Steel's Homestead Works outside Pittsburgh, and Joe Samargia, head of Minnesota iron range Local 1938. They were joined by Chicago-area "progressives" like former District 31 director Jim Balanoff and Local 1010 president Bill Andrews. Even the McBride wing of the USWA bureaucracy decided to get in the act after they realized that the demonstration would not threaten but *reaffirm* the International's pro-capitalist program. So May 2 saw both union factions heavily mobilizing to compete as the best defenders of American profits against "subsidized foreign steel."

UPI

Souza/Chicago Sun-Times

Steelworkers president Lloyd McBride (left) and "dissident" local president Ron Weisen join hands in protectionist chauvinism.

While union officials handed out tea bags to corporation stockholders entering the Westin Hotel, some 250 USWA members marched on the sidewalk behind two large American flags and a banner that blared "TREASON." The demonstrators carried placards with slogans like, "U.S. Steel Deceives Steelworkers and America" and "U.S. Steel Dumps on American Made." Not a single USWA placard even *mentioned* the impending layoffs at Fairless Works! Meanwhile, Roderick announced to the stockholders inside the possible shutdown of yet another plant: South Works, on the South Side of Chicago.

Balanoff's Midwest Center for Labor Research came to the demonstration armed with a special pamphlet entitled, "U.S. Steel: A History of Treason," inspired by the anti-Arab jingoism of the 1970s "oil crisis":

> "Are we headed for a situation of permanent dependence for ferrous metals on foreign sources? An OPEC of semi-finished steel?... The American Iron and Steel Institute [the steel companies' think tank] itself has warned against this possibility."

One of the authors of this chauvinist tract was Mickey Jarvis, known to those familiar with the short-lived Maoist Revolutionary Workers Headquarters. Jarvis, now an official in a small USWA local, came to the demo sporting an American flag armband. Not surprisingly, supporters of several fake-left organizations—Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Workers World, RSL, etc.—saw fit to participate in this disgusting orgy of pro-imperialist flag waving.

Such reformist outfits tout the Balanoffs, Weisens and Samargias as the coming "progressive" wave in steel. But these fakers helped McBride sabotage the defense of the Steelworkers membership by preventing militant struggle and by chaining the union to the institutions of capitalist rule: the U.S. government, its courts and the racist Democratic Party. Balanoff has made a virtual career out of dragging the USWA into the bosses' courts, strengthening ruling class control over the union. When a Local 1010 member, Keith Anwar, was fired by Inland Steel in 1979 for refusing to cross a picket line, then-district director Balanoff tried to sabotage his grievance. Meanwhile Local 1010 president Andrews scurried to the bosses' newspapers with the fink statement that winning the right to honor picket lines would "cause problems at Inland and all over"!

Given this pro-company position on picket lines, a basic weapon of class struggle, it's not surprising that none of these "dissidents" lifted a finger to mobilize the ranks of the union to stop the layoffs and plant shutdowns. Instead they seek to advise the capitalists on the best way to reinvest their profits. Their current campaign, along with the AFL-CIO leadership, to make protectionism a cornerstone of the Democratic/labor alliance in 1984 is proof of their commitment to propping up U.S. capitalism—at the expense of *all* workers, foreign and American.

Protectionism—Poison for the Working Class

From Weisen, Andrews and Balanoff to McBride, the USWA bureaucracy blames the massive loss of jobs in steel on growing waves of imports supposedly flooding the American market. The reality is quite a bit different. Since 1978, the tonnage of imported steel in the U.S. has been relatively stable from one year to the next. But during that same period more than 150,000 steel workers have been permanently sacked. Blast furnaces have been blown up, mills shut for good, whole company towns left nearly deserted. The cause is rooted not in "subsidized foreign steel" but in the deterioration of basic industry in capitalist America. The profit motive has ruled out the enormous investments that would be needed to update American steel production. And in the past year the worst depression since World War II has slashed steel production throughout the capitalist world.

In a letter to USWA members, McBride asked, "What will happen to our national defense if we become dependent on foreign steel...?" The Midwest Center for Labor Research warns that "the question of our nation's vital economic interests is involved." They're not talking about defending the working people's interests. Who has been waging a war against the American labor movement and oppressed minorities? Reagan busts unions, rolls back civil rights gains and axes entire social programs to help pay for his anti-Soviet war buildup. Democrats like black Detroit mayor Coleman Young carry out more of these cutbacks in the cities. The companies cut wages and lay off millions, uprooting families and casting working people into a life of destitution. The cops maintain ruling class "law and order" by shooting down unarmed ghetto blacks at will. For American workers and blacks, the main enemy is at home. When the labor bureaucrats call for a strong "national defense," they mean the defense of American *profits*. And that means war, as Democrat Walter Mondale made clear last year,

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Longshore Militant Under Attack

Stan Gow: "Stop Death Cargos to Salvador!"

OAKLAND—In a consummate act of political self-exposure the officers who run San Francisco longshore Local 10 are out to declare international working-class solidarity action "conduct unbecoming a union member" and grounds for expulsion from the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). The target of their witchhunting purge charges is Stan Gow, *Longshore Militant* editor and member of the Local 10 executive board. Gow is in effect charged with mobilizing the substantial sentiment of Local 10 members for a one-day West Coast port shutdown against Reagan's escalation of aid to his imperialist puppets who are waging bloody civil war against Salvadoran workers and peasants. The ILWU tops are after Gow in particular because he tried to stop loading of the El Salvador-bound freighter Lafayette last March 29.

While Reagan and his war-mad UN mouthpiece Kirkpatrick are sweating over the battlefield victories of Salvadoran leftists they can rest assured that

Stan Gow at ILWU convention fights for a coastwide port shutdown. Bureaucrats say working-class solidarity is "conduct unbecoming a union member."

they need only whistle to line up the pro-imperialist flunkies of the ILWU leadership and their Stalinist rad-lib hangers-on. International president Jimmy Herman and Local 10 president John Carr want to silence Gow and intimidate those longshoremen who know that real workers' solidarity, the kind that helped forge the ILWU, means hot-cargoing goods on the docks, not passing empty liberal "solidarity" resolutions. This purge move against Gow puts them out in the open as labor lieutenants of the anti-Soviet war drive. Local 10 members must expose these sellout artists for the aid they give Reagan and El Salvador's bloodthirsty junta. Stop the witchhunt against Stan Gow!

Local 10 has long been the brightest star in the rather small constellation admired by the reformist Bay Area "progressive trade unionists" set. What they admire, though, is the success of the Stalinist Bridges and social-democratic Herman leaderships in keeping longshore militancy straitjacketed for pro-imperialist liberalism. During the Vietnam War ILWU banners and speakers starred at every Bay Area peace crawl, but Bridges made sure that the dockers kept moving the massive arsenal required for U.S. B-52s to carpet-bomb Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. While he dealt away longshore jobs in the notorious Mechanization and Modernization agreement, *Bridges made longshoremen move record amounts of military cargo during the 1971 strike* and told members it would help "to get this war over faster."

After Pinochet murdered tens of thousands of Chilean workers, the ILWU passed motions and...did nothing. During a 1974 two-day international embargo on Chilean cargo even the East Coast ILA directed no work on goods to the junta, but arch-progressive Bridges personally ordered L.A. dockers through Spartacist-initiated picket lines. When bomb parts for Pinochet turned up on the SF docks in 1978, ILWU misleaders rejected *Longshore Militant* demands to hot-cargo them. The bombs were only stopped when Carter's "human rights" spat with the junta threatened to boil over as it did when the U.S. temporarily recalled its ambassador to Santiago.

In international "solidarity" as in everything else the labor fakers draw the line at *what's acceptable to the liberal Democrats*, who have presided over every major imperialist slaughter from World War II to Vietnam, from the Bay of Pigs to El Salvador's "human rights" junta. As full partners with Reagan and the war drive against the Soviets and the aid buildup to the junta, the liberals won't accept even token acts of workers' protest and the Herman/Carr witchhunt against Gow is their pledge to remain the labor cops for capital.

Since late 1980 Salvadoran workers have been the "beneficiaries" of one of Herman's dubious solidarity resolutions offered during Carter's end-of-term cutoff of military aid to his butchers (a reminder to the junta to use U.S. bullets to murder Salvadoran workers and peasants not Maryknoll nuns). Since stopping a load of riot-control equipment two-and-a-half years ago the ILWU resolution has been just one more dead letter. Herman's problem is that longshoremen really do hate Reagan's bloodthirsty junta and are undoubtedly impressed by the rebels' string of military victories.

When Stan Gow started circulating a call for a one-day West Coast port shutdown, 23 longshoremen and ships clerks signed on. This appeal found real membership support and forced the Local 10 executive board to recommend Gow's motion to the ILWU convention. But membership pressure won't push a bureaucrat very far or for very long. A week later when the freighter Lafayette hert hed in Oakland to pick up cargo for El Salvador, Gow organized eight members from Locals 10, 6 and 34 to shut down this life line for the Salvadoran junta. Local 10 president John Carr was emphatically opposed, saying he'd tell any longshoreman to work the Lafayette. And business agent Watkins, who seems to be the author of the charges against Gow, made a rare visit

WV Photo

ILWU militants picket against loading of El Salvador-bound freighter in Oakland, March 29.

to berth H to be the cop on the spot and make sure Reagan's war drive wasn't disrupted by unruly longshoremen suffering a fit of "conduct unbecoming."

By the time the ILWU convention opened in Portland two weeks later, in mid-April, only Gow remained to speak and vote for the coastwide shutdown. The officers had arm-twisted and lined up everyone else for their treacherous perspective—a resolution calling on Congress to negotiate the rebels to defeat since the military option of imperialist policy is being effectively trashed by the leftist guerrilla forces. Herman & Co. aren't home free however: the Coast Caucus of longshore delegates immediately following the convention narrowly backed a move by the bureaucracy to table the shutdown resolution, 34 to 25. This strong show of support from a body that has the power to implement Gow's class-struggle call threw a scare into the bureaucracy and the purge trial is an immediate and direct result.

Keeping the union politically lined up for the State Department is only the beginning of Jimmy Herman's job. The ILWU is a potential powder keg—largely minority, facing heavy unemployment from mechanization, plant closures and runaways, the union has done nothing to fight, and is chafing under the bipartisan austerity needed to pay for the anti-Soviet war drive that Reagan and the Democrats love so dearly. The ILWU tops want to render that discontent leaderless and Stan Gow isn't their only target. The convention witnessed a well-orchestrated barrage of redbaiting against Jackie Clark, Local 6 Militant Caucus leader and general executive board member.

Clark was fired from Heublein for refusing to cross an IBEW picket line set up to stop the new owner, union-busting giant R.J. Reynolds, from using scab contractors. Now, from Bridges to Local 6 president Lannon (rumor has it that witchhunting runs in his family) and secretary-treasurer Harris, the union bureaucrats screamed that Clark is a "dupe," "manipulated," and demanded that she apologize and admit her "mistake" (in refusing to scab) as a precondition for pursuing her grievance! We suggest the scab-herders masquerading as leaders hold their breaths waiting for sister Clark to "apologize." Local 6 members must be on guard—the bureaucrats who dealt away your jobs and are now trying to force you out of a hiring hall are probably even now preparing a purge trial against Militant Caucus leader Clark.

Observers of the Bay Area union scene may well see a striking similarity in the ILWU purge trial to the nearly year-old witchhunt against Militant Action Caucus leader Kathy Ikegami in Communications Workers (CWA) Local 9410. Both feature bureaucrats pleading their progressive credentials while they wave *Workers Vanguard* and rant McCarthy-like about conspiracy. Both purges target prominent SL supporters. It's no mere coincidence. For years the Stalinists and social dems have offered an alphabet soup of useless solidarity: BATUC, TUCES, CISTUR, ad nauseam. And for as many years the SL and its supporters in the labor movement have exposed these apologists for liberal imperialism, fought with some success for concrete acts of international solidarity and struggled to break the political stranglehold of the CIA-liberal Democrats.

Today the liberals beat the drums for Reagan's drive to smash the gains of workers revolution in the Soviet Union and the reformists don't even have fig leaves to cover their role as cops for imperialism. So in the unions the reformists' Big Lie campaign means purge attempts. If U.S. workers are to succeed in breaking the bureaucrats, in the class battles that will come they must be taught the lessons that will arm them. Only Bolshevik steadfastness and audacity can preserve and extend the political influence of class-struggle militants in the labor movement. ■

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In Anti-Spartacist Frenzy Over Solidarność

Ernest Mandel: The Pope's "Trotskyist"

Australasian Spartacist

Sydney, Australia: Mandel boasts he will debate us anywhere as his SWP goons exclude Spartacists.

ABRIDGED FROM AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST NO. 102, JUNE 1983

SYDNEY, Australia—The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) "Karl Marx Centenary Conference" was held over the Easter weekend in Melbourne. The event was very much a factional event for the SWP's United Secretariat (USec), that decaying end-product of the liquidationist revisionism that destroyed Trotsky's Fourth International in the early 1950s. Once again factional warfare has erupted in the USec, this time under the impact of escalating anti-Soviet Cold War. The American SWP of Jack Barnes and the European-centered followers of Ernest Mandel are at each other's throats and talk of a split is rife. Barnes has officially denounced Trotskyism and written off the USec as "hopeless, irreformable sectarians," the better to pursue "fusion" with the unsuspecting Sandinista government, tiny Grenada's New Jewel Movement and the Cuban and El Salvadoran CPs. For his part Mandel seems to have won a following among the oppositionists in Barnestown and, it seems, the leadership of Jim Percy's Australian SWP, who share the USec's political impulses to swim in the mainstream of pro-imperialist social democracy by going all out behind Polish Solidarność.

The star attraction at the conference was none other than Mandel himself, fresh from a stopover in Canada and accompanied by Peter Camejo, a former Barnes hack, now out of the U.S. SWP but touted around as the leader of Mandel's American "opposition." SWPers told us that the U.S. SWP turned down its invitation. Mandel, the armchair guerrillaist of yesteryear, is today a demagogic Cold Warrior. In both Canada and at the Melbourne conference Mandel went absolutely berserk in heated confrontations with our comrades of the Trotskyist League of Canada and the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand. What really drove him up the wall was our characterisation of Solidarność as a Polish company union for the CIA and bankers. Pounding the podium at the Melbourne conference, flailing his arms and shouting at the top of his voice, Mandel, who an hour or so earlier had slandered us as "Stalinist counterrevolutionaries," declared: "It's a clear united front between Jaruzelski, Monsignor Glemp, the pope, and perhaps the Spartacists." There's a "united front" all right, directed against the Soviet degenerated workers state, and it extends from the White House and Vatican to Cold War social democrats like Mitterrand/Hawke and their USec tails, all cheerleading for Solidarność.

From the beginning the SWP made it clear that the Trotskyist Spartacist League (SL) was to be excluded from its "Karl Marx" conference. Every registering participant at the conference received a 20-page exclusion dossier which lumped the SL together with the dubious Qaddafiite Socialist Labour League, detailing the SWP's slanders of Spartacist "violence" and "disruption." At times up to 30 SWP goons lined the gates of the conference, complete with specially selected "Spart spotters." But, even from the outside, the SL's aggressive political intervention sold more than 250 pieces of literature to conference participants—and precipitated a series of crises for the SWP.

It was our leaflet to the conference which exposed the SWP's scandalous patronage of the "leftward moving" nationalists in the Ustasha-loving Croatian Movement for Statehood (HDP), a sinister grouping that reveres the 1941-45 Nazi satellite state of Ante Pavelic's barbaric fascist "Independent State of Croatia" [in Yugoslavia]. Mandel, himself a young Trotskyist in Nazi-occupied Europe during the war, never said a word and the SWP tried to provocatively brazen it out, putting HDP members on the goon squad where they defended the Ustasha with the bald lie that Ustashi terror was the work of "Yugoslav agents." The SWP even *threw out* of the HDP's workshop a Polish Jew who had survived the Nazi holocaust, an ex-CPer in his 60s by the name of Jacob Bilander. Bilander's

UPI

Pope blesses Lech Walesa. Mandel says church opposes Solidarność.

"crime" was to demand a retraction when he was "racist" baited by the SWP for denouncing the genocidal crimes of Pavelic's Ustasha.

Mandel's first confrontation with the SL occurred outside the gates just before his second evening talk. Earlier, Spartacist supporters had challenged him on his support for Solidarność counterrevolution, accusing him of political cowardice for accepting our exclusion to which he had pathetically shouted he was "afraid of no one," not "even imperialism." When Mandel arrived at the conference for his Saturday evening talk on the "Capitalist World Economic Crisis" he immediately went into a tirade while his 30-strong coterie of SWP goons stood by dumbfounded. "You are Stalinist counterrevolutionaries," "Stalinist strikebreakers" and "the difference with you and Walesa is Walesa is against the church" he screamed in a heated exchange with our supporters. "You invite me somewhere and I will come," Mandel said before disappearing into the meeting. But the SWP goon squads were never bigger than when he was speaking.

That night the first speaker from the floor—a Spartacist sympathizer who had made it past the goons and the back-up teams of "Spart catchers"—challenged Mandel:

> "The land of the October Revolution is in danger.... Many comrades of the SWP here tonight realise your position on Afghanistan is support to the mullahs who are rebelling, shedding the blood of the Red Army soldiers who are fighting to defend such elementary rights as women learning to read. And of course in Poland he supports that CIA-type union (interjections).... And it comes as no surprise that a sinister group of Ustashi apologists have been welcomed into this meeting while the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League (drowned out by shouting and interjections)."

Mandel devoted most of his lengthy reply to Poland, saying nothing, of course, on the touchy question of Afghanistan where the SWP's formal support to Soviet forces stands counterposed to Mandel's call for a Soviet *defeat*. Mandel hails what the SWP correctly labels as imperialist-backed feudalist counterrevolutionaries for the "encouragement" they've given to "the peoples subjected to national oppression by the Soviet bureaucracy, such as the Poles in particular" (from the USec's *International Viewpoint*, 29 November 1982). Similarly Mandel ignored the Pavelic-loving friends of the SWP. He began by asking rhetorically if "the purpose of the rearmament today—I don't say historically, in ten (!), fifteen (!), twenty years (!!)—but today, is to attack the Soviet Union?" and answered:

> "No. The immediate target of the present rearmament drive is the Salvadoran revolution, is the Nicaraguan revolution, is the Palestinian revolution, is the Arab revolution, and not the Soviet Union."

This is the most cynical demagogy. Reagan/Begin's "anti-Soviet consensus" in the Near East, the imperialist troops in West Beirut and the Sinai—constituting the beachheads for U.S. imperialism's Rapid Deployment Force and "Pax Americana" in the region—were imposed as part and parcel of the Zionist holocaust against the Palestinians and Muslim poor in Lebanon. The more blatant and provocative that U.S. imperialism's war plans for first-strike capacity against the Soviet Union become, the more the Reagan administration makes ominously clear that it views the Palestinian fighters, the insurgents in El Salvador, the Nicaraguan Sandinistas as "Soviet surrogates," the more the USec must deny reality to duck the Trotskyist program of unconditional military defence of the bureaucratized workers states against imperialist attack.

To great applause Mandel ridiculed U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive as "imagination" and "myth" before getting down to the heart of the matter, a 10-minute attack against Spartacist "counterrevolutionary nonsense" on Poland. The powerful influence of the Roman Catholic church in the homeland of Polish pope Wojtyla he dismissed as "ideological inclinations," ranting that the clerical-nationalist leaders of Solidarność "are the best socialists in the world" (as opposed, we presume, to the Cuban Stalinist heroes of the Barnesites). Mandel's rather explicit "third campism" was no more in evidence than when he took on our characterisation of Solidarity as a Polish company union for the CIA and the bankers:

> "Who are the bosses of the Polish factories today? The American imperialists? Are they ruling in Poland or is it the Polish bureaucrats? So what is a bosses' union in Poland?... The bosses' unions in Poland are the state-governed unions led by the Polish bureaucracy."

"The free unions," shouted Mandel, appropriately taking up Radio Free Europe's long-time fighting slogan for Cold War anti-communism, "are the unions of Solidarność which represent three quarters of the Polish working class."

Mandel went on to alibi the "free world's" favorite "union" (in fact a clerical-nationalist *movement* incorporating large sections of the intelligentsia, petty bureaucrats, priests, etc.) by pointing to the Polish bureaucracy's concessions to Solidarność such as extending "private property in agriculture by up to 100 hectares." This is hardly news. The crime of the bureaucracy is precisely that their conciliation of reaction produces and fuels the counterrevolutionary threat. But it was Solidarity, with the blessing of the pontiff, that threatened a nationwide strike on behalf of Poland's restorationist land-owning peasantry organised in Rural Solidarity. Here is the real social base of the Catholic church in Poland, yet Mandel claims that "the Pope is going to Poland this year in order to further social peace"! And this only months after the pope was in Central America denouncing "collectivist systems" and urging a holy war against the Sandinistas!

The international Spartacist tendency (iSt) has extensively documented the very real unity, measured not only in formal declarations but many millions of D-marks and dollars, that links Solidarity to the Vatican and Western imperialism via its labour lieutenants internationally. The Polish military crackdown of December 1981 bought some time—nothing more—for a revolutionary socialist solution to the Polish crisis. While Mandel's USec is on campaign footing with Reagan/Mitterrand/Hawke for Solidarity we fight for a Trotskyist vanguard party in Poland which will restore Poland's deep and rich Marxist tradition represented by Rosa Luxemburg and the early Communist Party. As Marxists we are convinced that the mass of Polish working people can be broken from their current infatuation with Reagan's America, Wojtyla's Vatican and the

continued on page 8

Caught Between State Department Socialism and Fidelismo

Barnes' SWP in No Man's Land

Pope Wojtyla visited Nicaragua in early March to declare holy war on its leftist government. The *Wall Street Journal* (11 March) observed approvingly, "John Paul went to Managua to place the full weight of his moral authority against the Sandinistas and revolutionary Marxist solutions." This was the signal for U.S. imperialism to step up its attacks. Two weeks after Wojtyla's "pilgrimage," 1,400 CIA-organized *contras* invaded Nicaragua as their radio declared, "With God and with patriotism, we are combatting Communism."

This is not the first time that a papal "pilgrimage" has been the spearhead for imperialist-backed counterrevolution. Wojtyla's visit to his homeland Poland in the summer of 1979 was the occasion for massive anti-Communist demonstrations, setting the stage for the eruption of the clerical-nationalist Solidarność the following year. The petty-bourgeois radical Sandinista regime itself warns of the possible "Polandization" of Nicaragua. And the pope's upcoming visit to Poland could again trigger a reactionary mobilization.

There is, however, a great difference between Poland and Nicaragua. In Poland three decades of Stalinist bureaucratic rule in the name of "socialism" have driven much of the population into the arms of the reactionary Catholic church and the anti-Soviet warmonger Reagan. In Nicaragua the 1979 political revolution which overthrew the bloody tyrant "Tacho" Somoza, a graduate of West Point, retains broad popular support, especially among the urban working class and poor. And the bloody *contra* attacks, remote-controlled from Washington, are pushing the petty-bourgeois Sandinista regime down the "Cuban road" to social revolution. Wojtyla got a very different reception in Managua—where he was hooted down with chants of "People's Power!"—than in Warsaw.

Wojtyla's efforts to "Polandize" Nicaragua sharply expose the opportunism and political worthlessness of those self-styled leftists—and there are plenty—who simultaneously enthuse over the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and over the anti-Communist clerical-nationalists of Solidarność in Poland. This contradiction is especially acute for the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) which presents itself as the most fervent admirers of Sandinista Nicaragua and especially Castro's Cuba. Indeed, Jack Barnes' SWP has gone so far in its Fidelismo that it recently openly renounced Trotskyism (see "Barnes Denounces Trotskyism," *WV* No. 321, 14 January). At the same time, the SWP has ambitions to become a respectable, electoralist party of American reformist socialism, and to do this it *must* support the "free world" against "Soviet totalitarianism."

How then does the SWP reconcile its identification with Castro's Cuba, which consistently supports Moscow's foreign policy, with its pandering to anti-Soviet liberalism? By denying reality and spinning such incredible fantasies that one doubts the SWP leaders themselves believe their own words. To read the *Militant* and *Intercontinental Press* these days is to enter the political equivalent of Alice in Wonderland. Consider the SWP's line on Solidarność and the Catholic church. Everyone in the world knows that the Polish Catholic church, strengthened and emboldened by the elevation in 1978 of Wojtyla, then archbishop of Krakow, to the papacy, has played a major role in Solidarność. Imperialist propaganda, claims the SWP. The *Militant* (28 January) tells an unbelieving world that the Catholic hierarchy has nothing to do with Solidarność:

> "The imperialists try to portray the mass movement of the Polish working people as a struggle led by the Catholic hierarchy against 'godless communism,' a struggle whose goal is to drag Poland back into the capitalist fold."

It is not just the imperialists but the men who *formed and led* Solidarność who pay homage to the leading role of the Catholic hierarchy. Solidarność had its roots in the dissident movement centered around the Committee for

Gorgoni/Contact

Tapia/Barricada

1979 papal visit to Poland (top) spearheaded counterrevolutionary mobilization. In Nicaragua last March Wojtyla's anti-Communist crusade was met by angry demands for "prayers for our martyrs" and "peoples' power."

Social Self-Defense (KOR-KSS). This is what Jan Litynski, a KOR leader and editor of its paper, *Rabotnik*, had to say about the significance of Wojtyla's visit to Poland in 1979:

> "The Pope created through his visit here a new idea of the nation, a nation without chauvinism, a nation as a community. It was on *that basis* that Solidarity grew. The Pope's role was, if you like, revolutionary." [our emphasis]
>
> —quoted in Colin Barker and Kara Weber, *Solidarność From Gdansk to Military Repression* (1982)

If you like, counterrevolutionary. Right after the signing of the August 1980 Gdansk Accords, which recognized Solidarność, its principal leader, Lech Walesa, went to Warsaw to confer with Cardinal Wyszynski. And the *first time* that the Solidarność chief went abroad, it was to Rome to confer with Wojtyla. Does the SWP think Walesa and Wojtyla talked about the Vatican art collection?

When Solidarność first emerged, we maintained that the task of a Trotskyist vanguard in Poland would be to raise a series of demands aimed at splitting the mass of workers from the clerical-nationalist leadership around Walesa. At its first national congress in September 1981 Solidarność consolidated around a program for "bourgeois-democratic" counterrevolution, underscoring its ties to the "free world" by inviting notorious CIA labor operator Irving Brown to attend. At this point we raised the call: Stop Solidarność' Counterrevolution! The near-bloodless suppression of Solidarność was a sobering shock for the Polish working masses, creating the opportunity to break a section of the working class from intoxication with clerical-nationalism and "free world" imperialism. Shortly after Jaruzelski's countercoup we wrote:

> "Now is the time to start building educational and propagandistic cells of a Trotskyist vanguard to defend and extend the historic gains of socialized property, inherited from the October Revolution, by ousting the usurpers who undermine them and crushing those who would destroy them."
>
> —"What Next for Poland?," *WV* No. 298, 5 February 1982

On Opposite Sides of the Barricades in Poland

When on December 13, 1981 the Polish Stalinist bureaucracy spiked Solidarność' bid for power, the imperialist propaganda mills went wild. Predictably, the SWP took the standard "State Department socialist" line, indistinguishable from that of Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialists of America (DSA): "The brutal suppression of the Polish workers and farmers by the Polish regime, backed up by the Kremlin, must be condemned and opposed by everyone who is fighting for workers' rights and for socialism." (*Militant*, 25 December 1981).

Also predictably, the Castro regime and Sandinistas took a rather different line, to say the least. The Cuban press reprinted with evident approval the dispatch of the Soviet news agency, TASS:

> "Reagan sang the praises of the counterrevolutionaries in Solidarity and other antisocialist groups which had been preparing an armed takeover of the country...."
>
> —*Granma* [English edition], 27 December 1981

The Sandinistas likewise condemned Solidarność as an agency of imperialism.

While the *Militant* and *Intercontinental Press* regularly devote pages and pages to publicizing every aspect of Cuban and Nicaraguan political life, for *two months* the SWP press carried not a word about the Castroite/Sandinista support to the suppression of Solidarność. In effect Barnes & Co. *censored* the views of the "revolutionary internationalist" Cuban and Nicaraguan leaders on this world-political event. Perhaps the SWP was hoping no one would notice that in Poland they were on opposite sides of the barricades, or more precisely, prison gates, from Fidel.

But the SWP's bloc partners and rivals in the United Secretariat (USec), the European-centered followers of Ernest Mandel, noticed all too well for their liking. Reflecting the enormous ideological pressure of West European social democracy, the Mandelites have gone all the way with Solidarność and reacted more strongly to its suppression than did the SWP. For them, choosing between the strident Cold Warrior Mitterrand and yesterday's hero Fidel was no contest. The USec declaration on the crackdown against Solidarność condemned, albeit mildly, the Cubans and Nicaraguans:

> "...in the case of Poland, the Cuban daily press has faithfully taken up the angle of approach favored by the Soviet agencies....
>
> "The Sandinista National Liberation Front [FSLN] in Nicaragua has followed the Cuban leadership in this line."
>
> —"Political Revolution and Counterrevolution in Poland," *Intercontinental Press*, 15 February 1982

Just when doesn't the Cuban press faithfully follow the line of the Soviet agencies?

Only after this USec statement did the SWP inform its public ever so diplomatically that—oh, sorrow—it had a difference with the Cuban leadership:

> "Thus, the Cuban leaders felt that the leadership of Solidarity was in the hands of antisocialist elements and that Poland was on the brink of a confrontation that threatened to open wide the doors to imperialist destabilization and lead to the restoration of capitalism. As a result, they believe the crackdown was necessary and advisable.
>
> "In our view, this approach is wrong."
>
> —*Militant*, 26 February 1982

This is by no means the first time the SWP has found the approach of the Cuban leadership wrong, especially when "liberal" imperialist opinion likewise finds the approach of the Cuban leadership wrong. In almost every sharp conflict between Western imperialism and the Soviet bloc over the past decade—Portugal 1974-75, the Angolan war of 1975-76, Afghanistan and now Poland—the SWP has been on

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Mandel...

(continued from page 6)

memory of the reactionary dictator Pilsudski, and be won to the authentic communist program of workers political revolution to defend and extend the anti-capitalist gains embodied in the Polish deformed workers state.

Percy's SWP In Trouble

As anyone knows who went to this conference the SWP is in big political trouble. They are in the process of switching factional allegiances in the USec, which, moreover is intertwined with an unresolved faction fight over "solidarity ' with Solidarity" in the leadership of their own party paralleling the Mandel vs. Barnes USec war—and they have a Cold War Labor government in power. Then there is the HDP. Even the pro-ANZUS Communist Party have realised Percy's SWP is deeply compromised by their patronage of what may well be just another Ustasha front. And the day before physically ejecting Bilander, there was yet another gross scandal, when the SWP's "socialist steelworker" Andrew Jamieson told someone he thought was "just a Spart," but who turned out to be one of their own "gay workshop" speakers, that he'd "like to shoot NAMBLA," the North American Man/Boy Love Association, a tiny gay rights group [in the U.S.] under fierce repression from the FBI. Jamieson's revolting anti-gay bigotry is no aberration, being one of the products of the SWP's "turn to industry" which, with new-found petty-bourgeois workerist fervour, embraced all the chauvinist prejudices of the trade-union hurcaucracy. Except this time these bigoted Big Liars got caught. Much to the resentment of the SWP's bully-boys, Percy ordered a written apology to appease the gay-lifestylist adherents of the Mandel-linked U.S. Freedom Socialist Party. In fact Jamieson's written apology reads more like a defence statement, claiming he was "set up" by Spartacists who asked "provocative questions" like "Do you support Ante Pavelic?" and "What is your position on the 'Man/Boy Love Association'?" By the end of the conference any SWPer who opened his mouth to a Spartacist was whisked inside for fear of more Jamieson-type "incidents."

The various "incidents" captured the deep-going cynical demoralisation and rotten internal fabric of this organisation. While Mandel's speaking sessions pulled over 500 people, from all reports the conference itself was boring and a political flop. The CPA and even the "third camp" International Socialists boycotted and only a handful of Labor lefts turned up, like MPs Joan Coxsedge and Ken Fry. Their cynical contempt for the proceedings was summed up by Fry who announced to a crowd of SWP goons and Spartacist supporters outside that he was representing the "r-r-revolutionary Labor Party" as he got into a chauffeur-driven limousine after speaking. And much to the SWP's annoyance, even the conservative *Australian Financial Review*'s nasty little front-page piece, "Marx Gets a Testy Trot" (5 April), highlighted our exclusion while picking up that "the few notes of discord came from what appeared to be a Spartacist infiltrator who attacked Mandel for his support for the Polish Solidarity union and for Afghanistani rebel resistance to the Red Army."

Mandel is a Cold Warrior faithfully echoing at each and every hot spot in the global Cold War the line of Mitterrand and Western imperialism (like the USec's call for Vietnamese troops out of Cambodia, to give one more example), and this only highlights the SWP's political dilemma. The SWP is still struggling to pull itself into line with mainstream, i.e., Cold War, social democracy in this provincial imperialist backwater, where even the bourgeoisie has to be reminded (or so Reagan and the CIA believe) that the "Russian Question" is no tenth-rate issue. The trouble is, to prove you hate the Russians you've got to love American imperialism—or at least be "neutral." This is a bind for the nationalist, anti-American SWP, which wants to be very anti-Reagan and at the same time very pro-Hawke. The SWP has always been a deeply conservative, ultra-electoralist reformist tendency, whose "Trotskyism" in the past served only to bolster its "anti-Stalinist" (read: anti-Soviet) credentials, while the impressionist centrist Mandel chased after every will o' the wisp "new vanguard." But today they are marching together, straight into the arms of Mitterrand and Hawke under the banner of "solidarity with Solidarity." *Our* banner, the banner of the iSt, is that inscribed by Lenin's Bolsheviks and carried forward by Trotsky's Fourth International. Defend the gains of October! Reforge the Fourth International! ■

SWP...

(continued from page 7)

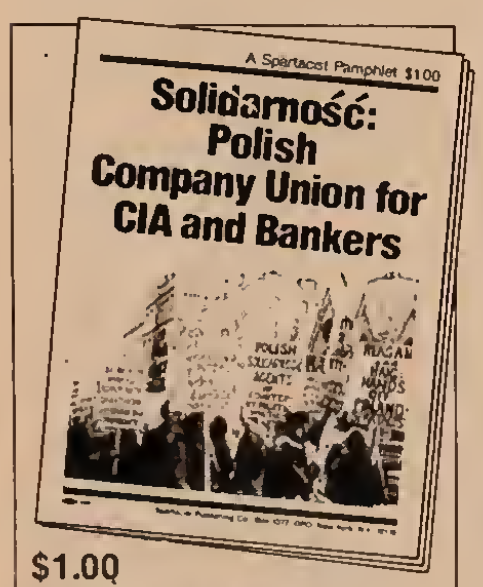
the "free world" side of the barricades against Fidel.

Between Fidel and Michael Harrington

The conflict between the SWP's Fidelismo and its social-democratic appetites reached the sharpest point to date over the suppression of Solidarność. A layer of right oppositionists in the SWP decided to go all out for "solidarity with Solidarity," and in this they received strong backing from the Mandelite leadership of USec.

A few days after Jaruzelski's crackdown the San Francisco branch of the SWP at the initiative of right oppositionist Nat Weinstein participated in a protest called by some "third camp" types. Joining this pro-Solidarność demonstration in force was the right-wing Libertarian Party carrying signs like "Smash the Communist Tyrants" and "Hang Jaruzelski."

The picture in the *San Francisco Examiner* of a prominent SWP spokesman marching in front of a sign saying "Smash the Communist Tyrants" was mighty embarrassing for Barnes & Co., especially given their ambitions to gain the Cuban franchise (don't hold your breath). So the *Militant* (29 January 1982) took the unusual step of repudiating and condemning the action of its San Francisco branch, declaring that such demonstrations "play right into the hands of those who are enemies of working people in Poland and in the United States."



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Weinstein and his co-thinkers were unrepentant, indeed defiant. In a 25 December 1981 letter to the SWP Political Committee Weinstein declared: "American imperialism profits from the *Stalinist repression of the Polish workers*, not from the protests *against* the repression!" (emphasis in original, SWP *International Internal Discussion Bulletin [IIDB]*, No. 2 in 1982). Even protests dominated by anti-communist rightists like the Libertarians or East European clerical-nationalists and fascists? Yes, even then, says Weinstein. He argues: "Without our intervention they can have a field day. Wouldn't it be better to mobilize at least a substantial *minority* that clearly supports international proletarian solidarity?" (our emphasis).

The SWP right oppositionists are now upset that the party is not throwing itself into the pro-Solidarność Cold War campaign. One of them, Steve Bloom, asks: "Why the squeamishness about getting involved in a real support campaign for the anti-Stalinist struggle?" He answers, the baneful influence of one Fidel Castro:

> "The leadership of the SWP has not, of course, adopted Castro's completely incorrect position on Poland. But it has begun to adapt to it in an unacceptable way."
>
> —"Poland, the Fourth International and the Socialist Workers Party," SWP *IIDB*, No. 2 in 1982

With Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive at white heat, for the SWP's rightists, it's now bye-bye Fidel, we love you Lech.

If Weinstein, Bloom, Lovell and the like take their stand against the SWP leadership's "Castroism" over Poland, it is in good measure because they have the support of the Mandelite leadership of USec. The Mandelites see "solidarity with Solidarność" as the main chance to ingratiate themselves with the anti-Soviet European social-democratic bureaucracies, especially in Mitterrand's France. Thus, they were absolutely ecstatic over the social-democratic-led pro-Solidarność mobilizations uniting fascists and Gaullists with the so-called far left (see "Mitterrand's 'Sacred Union' Over Solidarność," *WV* No. 296, 8 January 1982). A leading Mandelite spokesman on Poland, Jacqueline Allio, commended "the positions taken by the Mitterrand-Mauroy government" and the "advanced positions adopted by the leadership of the CFDT [trade-union federation affiliated with Mitterrand's Socialist Party]" (*Intercontinental Press*, 22 February 1982).

The opposite side of the Mandelites' appreciation for the "advanced positions" of pro-NATO European social democrats over Poland was a sharp attack on the Castro regime (and therefore the SWP). In an open letter to SWP spokesman Larry Seigle, Mandel and his long-time lieutenants Pierre Frank and Livio Maitan scream that in Poland "the Cuban press is now supporting *counterrevolution and not the revolution*" (emphasis in original). Them's strong words. And they generalize: "The limitations of workers democracy [in Cuba] have led to a demise of proletarian internationalism" (*Intercontinental Press*, 1 March 1982).

For his part, SWPer Seigle sums up the differences thus:

> "The line of the NC [National Committee] minorities is that we should turn away from the Cuban revolutionaries; that we should proclaim, as Comrades Frank, Maitan, and Mandel do in *Intercontinental Press*, that proletarian internationalism is dead in Cuba; and that we should orient instead to a 'united front against Stalinism' with the Michael Harringtons of this country and throughout the world."
>
> —"Class-Struggle Approach to Solidarity with Polish Workers," SWP *IIDB*, No. 2 in 1982

It is certainly true that the Mandelites are turning further and further away from the Cubans toward anti-Soviet social democracy. However, over Poland (and also Afghanistan) the SWP *is* in an anti-Soviet united front with the Michael Harringtons. Like the official State Department socialists of the DSA, the SWP demands that the suppression of the Polish company union for the CIA and bankers "must be condemned and opposed by everyone who is fighting for workers' rights and socialism." That Barnes chooses not to engage in joint actions with the DSA and all the talk about the "proletarian internationalism" of the Cuban leadership does not change this basic fact.

Barnes' SWP on the Road to Nowhere

Under the pressure of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive Barnes' SWP has been reduced to a declining, irrelevant and idiosyncratic sect. It no longer intersects political reality, even in a competent opportunist manner. The all-round deterioration of the SWP was accelerated by the death in early 1979 of Joseph Hansen and the revival of official State Department socialism represented by Harrington's DSA.

The long-time leading party "theoretician," Hansen was a skilled revisionist able to give a formal Trotskyist gloss to the SWP's manifold opportunist maneuvers. For that reason *both* the Barnesites and their right opponents in the SWP cite Hansen's writings on Cuba for the presently counterposed lines. For 20 years Joseph Hansen acted as an apologist for Castroism without, however, openly renouncing Trotskyism as Barnes has done, thus condemning the SWP to an ideological no man's land. What is anyone to make of an organization which simultaneously hails Fidel Castro, Lech Walesa and the Imam Khomeini?

A fundamental factor in the SWP's precipitous decline has been the rise of the Harringtonite social democrats. As the Vietnam War radicalization waned and the anti-Soviet Cold War waxed (Carter's "human rights" campaign), Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (now DSA) became the main vehicle for rad-lib activism. Last year the Harringtonites fused with the last sizable leftover of 1960s New Leftism, the New American Movement. Today the SWP simply cannot compete with the DSA for the niche of respectable party of American reformist socialism. The Harringtonites have a *consistent* anti-Soviet program, more members and, the connections to the liberal establishment and trade-union bureaucracy which the SWP covets.

Its ambitions frustrated, the SWP has suffered massive membership losses in the past few years. Adding to this Barnes' "age purge" has driven from the party hundreds of people, many with decades in the movement. Among them are such veteran trade unionists as Oscar Coover and Harry DeBoer, participants in the 1934 Minneapolis general strike and two of the 18 SWP leaders imprisoned by Roosevelt during World War II. Another striking sign of bad times in Barnestown is that *Militant* circulation has dropped more than half in the past five years.

So Barnes dishes out tantalizing visions of some future international deal with Castro and the Sandinistas (and don't forget Grenada's New Jewel Movement) to hold on to his ever-dwindling membership. In this sense Barnes' SWP has taken on one of the traits of a Stalinist sect: identification with a "socialist paradise" in a distant deformed workers state in compensation for sectarian sterility at home. But Barnes & Co. are far too subservient to their own imperialist bourgeoisie to actually take up Castro's international line (on Poland or Afghanistan), which is Moscow's international line. The SWP is thus trapped in a no man's land between Castroite Stalinism and State Department socialism, the hapless victims of the shells exploded from both sides. ■

Morenoite Scabs, Thugs, Finks

We reprint on this page a letter to Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 9410 president James Imerzel from the Internationalist Workers Party (IWP). The IWP are followers of the notorious Argentine pseudo-Trotskyist adventurer, swindler and political chameleon, Nahuel Moreno. Over the years Moreno has portrayed his tendency as Peronists, Castroites, Maoists, social democrats and Sandinistas. He has been accused of stealing thousands of dollars from other left organizations. He has defended the Argentine junta, which has jailed, tortured and murdered hundreds of his own comrades, against charges of human rights violations. Moreno is an Argentine nationalist who dreams that some day *he* will be El Supremo. In the meantime, he and his followers act as instruments of reactionary repression against socialist militants in the labor movement. Last October 3, the IWP and Morenoite supporters in the CWA murderously attacked the Spartacist League (SL) and militant phone workers, using claw hammers and numchakus, outside an IWP forum in Los Angeles (see "Attempted Murder!" *WV* No. 315, 15 October 1982, and "Morenoite Deadly Lies," *WV* No. 316, 29 October 1982).

WV Photo

Los Angeles, October 3: Morenoite goon's murderous claw-hammer attack on phone unionist.

So the Morenoites are more than crooks and political bandits—they are thugs for hire...and willing accomplices of bureaucratic McCarthy-type witch-hunters of "reds" in the unions. Last fall the leadership of CWA Local 9410 mailed to its entire membership an IWP slander sheet against the SL, with a cover letter accusing the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), a class-struggle opposition in the CWA, of being affiliated with the SL, "an international Trotskyist-communist political sect." We thought it was pretty weird, and sinister—this pro-CIA union jumping into bed with the fake-Trotskyist IWP, in order to persecute the real Trotskyists of the SL and militant oppositionists like MAC spokesman Kathy Ikegami, brought up on charges in a kangaroo court "trial" for exposing Imerzel's complicity in phone company plans to lay off hundreds of phone workers. More than 1,000 Local 9410 members signed MAC-initiated petitions for a recall election to oust Imerzel & Co.

But what are the Morenoites up to? Their letter coyly claims innocence of the witchhunters' purpose. But read carefully. While Leon Perez criticizes the 9410 officers for denouncing the SL "from a right-wing angle," he enthusiastically applauds efforts to smash militant unionists who support the SL. The letter also confirms what we reported in "CWA Witchhunters Get Burned" (*WV* No. 322, 28 January), namely that the IWP *did* agree to testify at the frame-up trial of Ikegami ("we accept your invitation to attend the trial"), with the fig-leaf that they would object to the purge! So far, anyway, they have not uttered a peep of protest, although they have had ample opportunity to do so. Maybe they would have testified at the 1941 Smith Act trial of the Minneapolis Trotskyists and Teamster leaders, while "criticizing" the anti-communist law. And how about Hitler's Reichstag fire trial of Dimitrov? The IWP disclaims "authorizing" reproduction of their public leaflet (no one accused them of doing so), while claiming that they "openly set forth our political positions," supposedly in contrast to the SL. Strange, for Kathy Ikegami has openly stated her political support to the Spartacist League, while IWP supporters Jim Green and Elizabeth Wiatr, publicly featured in photos in the IWP's paper, say they will sign "affidavits stating that they are not members or supporters of any socialist or communist organization." That, by the way, while they were daily scabbing on a Group W technicians strike!

The Morenoite letter complains of SL "public attacks against our organization." Evidently these macho goons, in a sorry and sickening imitation of their role models, the Argentine generals, have difficulty distinguishing between a political polemic and a potentially lethal physical assault. Naturally they also see nothing wrong with crossing picket lines, bilking other left organizations of thousands of dollars, or disguising themselves as various kinds of anti-*yanqui* nationalist-populists. But here they are acting as fingermen for a CIA-connected union bureaucracy, the initiators of the infamous American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) whose task is to smash militant unionism in Latin America! The Morenoites are surely expressing their appetites to join the anti-Reagan popular front—witness their participation in the October 24 pro-Democratic Party "labor" march in San Francisco last year. And above all it is virulent anti-Sovietism that unites these anti-Trotskyist gangsters with social-democratic Cold Warriors like Imerzel & Co.

P.S. As far as their leaflet being reproduced "in a manner contrary to customs of workers' organizations," we note that it never had a union bug. ■

Morenoite Letter

Los Angeles, January 20, 1983.

Mr. James Imerzel
President CWA Local 9410

Dear Sir,

We strongly object to the manner in which you used our flyer entitled *A Lesson in Worker's Democracy*. You included copies of it in a mailing sent out to the 4,000 members of CWA Local 9410 on January 11, 1983.

We protest your action for the following reasons:

1. Our flyer was reproduced without written authorization in a manner contrary to customs of workers' organizations. It was sent together with a letter signed by you and three other officials of Local 9410. In it you wage an anti-communist campaign which harms not only the fight against the gangster-like methods of the Spartacist League but also the Trotskyist movement of which our organization is a part.

2. It is particularly detestable that you denounce the Spartacist League from a right-wing angle by accusing it of being a Trotskyist-Communist conspiracy to take over the unions in this country. The Spartacist League is not part of the world Trotskyist movement, nor has the Trotskyist movement ever aspired to gain control of unions through conspiracy. Trotskyists are part of the working class and, as such, openly set forth our political positions in order to win workers over to Marxist ideas through political discussion, joint work and by the militant example we set. This method has nothing to do with either the Spartacist League or your right-wing attacks on that organization.

3. The fact that copies of our flyer denouncing the Spartacist League's violent attacks on a meeting of undocumented workers which was held on October 2, 1982 were enclosed with your letter could lead Local 9410 members to believe that we in some way agree with or approve of what you wrote. We deny any participation in the writing, editing or mailing of said letter. We demand that you inform all your members of this fact by sending them copies of this entire text at your expense.

4. This declaration is consistent with the response we gave when you informally invited us to testify at the trial of Kathy Ikegami. We said:

> "We accept your invitation to attend the trial. But the first thing we will say there will be that the trial goes totally against workers' democracy and is illegal from every point of view. The fight against the methods of the Spartacist League does not include anti-communist attacks. Rather, workers should be made to see its gangster-like methods and counter-revolutionary politics, which have nothing to do with the left or communism. If we participate in the trial we will oppose all anti-communist attacks which, apart from the Spartacist League, could be used in the future against other left organizations."

5. In their desperation and paranoia, Spartacist League members have once again launched public attacks against our organization. They see this whole affair as a national conspiracy against their organization. As they lack all moral principles, they seem to believe that all others do too.

In the end, your methods and those of the Spartacist League are similar. The Spartacist League violently attacks demonstrations and public meetings held by the left in an attempt to destroy all left organizations. The Spartacist League knows that it is unable to convince anyone or wage an ideological battle. You put the degenerate methods of the Spartacist League on display in order to present them as an example of what communism and Trotskyism are.

We oppose *both methods*: that of the Spartacist League, with its violent attacks against the left, and your utilization of these attacks to discredit the left and Trotskyism before the eyes of workers.

No organization is authorized to partially reproduce this letter. All reproductions must be of the entire text.

We await your response.

Sincerely,
Leon Perez
National Organizer of the IWP (FI)

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office
Box 1377, GPO
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(212) 732-7860

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Central America...

(continued from page 1)

Year's, most of the American ruling class views this as a wild case of wishful thinking. For example, *Business Week* (23 May), not exactly an organ of liberal protest, writes:

> "President Reagan suggests that the U.S.-backed invasion will prompt the Sandinist government to 'go back to its revolutionary promises.' But many Nicaraguans fear that the result will be to push the Sandinists further down the road to a Marxist-Leninist state."

The mass of the Nicaraguan workers and peasants *want* a social revolution, and this influential U.S. business journal fears that Reagan is forcing the Sandinistas to abandon "pluralism" and expropriate the capitalist class.

The Spectre of Vietnam

When Reagan was elected, he vowed to drag this country out of the so-called "Vietnam syndrome." The mightiest imperialist power on earth was defeated on the battlefield by a desperately poor, desperately under-armed but heroic people, the Vietnamese. Fear of another Vietnam-type defeat has stayed the hand of war-frenzied, hysterical and brutal U.S imperialism from southern Africa to the Middle East to Central America.

The military defeat in Vietnam also shattered the morale of the American armed forces. Moreover, with the draft temporarily shelved in favor of an all-volunteer army, the army and especially the infantry and combat units have a large component of blacks who don't see an American dream to fight for. They see an American nightmare—unemployment amid the hideous poverty of the ghetto—from which they're trying to escape by joining the army. They don't buy the "free world" and flag-waving rhetoric.

The American bourgeoisie has tried to overcome the "Vietnam syndrome" beginning with Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade. Reagan has presented the civil war in El Salvador as a confrontation with the Soviet Union and Cuba in order to mobilize American society for an *actual* war with the Soviet bloc. Yet the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracies in Moscow and Havana have *not* substantially aided the leftist rebels in El Salvador and only minimally aided the Nicaraguan revolution. The Soviet Union has not supplied Nicaragua with MIGs, whereas the U.S. puppets in neighboring Honduras have the strongest air force in Central America. Nonetheless, Reagan has decided on a showdown in Central America, posing this as a confrontation with the Soviet Union. That is why the Spartacist League insists that the defense of the USSR and Cuba—of the gains of the October Revolution and its extension—is posed in El Salvador and Nicaragua.

Two, Three, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism in Central America!

For the U.S. bourgeoisie, the words "Vietnam" and "defeat" are synonymous. With every guerrilla battlefield victory in El Salvador, with every wave of *contra* invaders repulsed by the Sandinistas, the spectre of Vietnam grows larger. The entire liberal wing of U.S. imperialism is trying to figure out how to avoid another defeat. So the reformists and rad-libs are now calling a "peace march" designed to cash in on the liberal imperialists' arguments and their program for "no more Vietnams."

A large ad appeared in the 1 May *New York Times* with the headline: "No Vietnam War in Central America!" calling for a rally on July 2 in Washington, D.C. The organizers are Sam Marcy's Workers World Party (WWP), with their various front groups including the All-Peoples Congress (APC), lashed up with liberal Democrat endorsers, particularly from the Congressional Black Caucus, old-line bourgeois pacifists, social dems, and the Latin exile "Casas." The call for an "emergency demonstration" (two months hence!) begins: "In 1963 the U.S. government decided to escalate the Vietnam war. What was the result? 300,000 GI's wounded and 57,000 dead. Over $150 billion spent on a cruel, illegal and unjust war that finally had to be abandoned."

Surely the most obvious and far-reaching result was that U.S. imperialism was defeated by one of the most heroic and dedicated fighting forces the world has ever seen: the Vietnamese army of workers and peasants. It was the most important victory of the post-war period. But this result doesn't appear in the Marcyites' "call to action" and the reasons are clear.

Casualty figures for the "GI's"? What about the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese wounded and dead? What about the costs to that terror-bombed country? What about the Vietnamese who fought French colonialism and U.S. imperialism for 30 years—and won! From the point of view of the U.S. bourgeoisie, however, this victory is seen as a loss and "abandonment"... of American GI dead, American wounded, American money. That is why the Marcyites, in a disgusting display of Yankee chauvinism, are holding their "emergency" rally on the weekend of American Independence Day at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. This memorial is a fitting place for a rally of the American Legion.

The Marcyites say they want to rally at the Vietnam War Memorial "to dramatize that the vast majority do not want a Viet-Nam type war in Central America." The "type" of war the

Taylor/Sygma

U.S. military "adviser" trains Salvadoran butchers at Fort Benning.

bourgeois "doves" want is one that wins. That is the thrust of this "antiwar" rally which promises nothing but social patriotism in the service of the anti-Reagan popular front. It spits on the graves of the heroic Vietnamese. No one who considers himself a foe of imperialism should be herded into the shadow of that monument to American imperialism to listen to the Democrats' alternate tactics for war against the Soviet Union and the working masses of the world.

These popular-front "peace marches" are consciously designed on the model of the Vietnam peace crawls. All wings of the bourgeoisie and the reformists have a vested interest in the myth that the U.S. lost the Vietnam War in the peace parades in Washington and New York rather than in the rice paddies, jungles and battlefields of Southeast Asia. The Reaganites with growing assistance from "responsible academics" and guilty liberal ex-activists are building a "Who lost Vietnam?" lobby for increased and more decisive military interventions. The reformists and rad-libs like to credit themselves with getting the U.S. out of a losing war. They tailored their politics to a developing bourgeois defeatism with social patriotism like the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) slogan, "Bring Our Boys Home."

But the bourgeois defeatism developed because the U.S. was losing militarily, because *their* boys were coming home in body bags and the Vietnamese couldn't be bombed out of existence. It was the Vietnamese who stood up to the napalm, the computerized battlefield of anti-personnel fragmentation bombs, the CIA's program of assassination, the Phoenix project, pacification, the tiger cages and all the rest—and they came out on top. The image of the U.S. helicopters hurriedly trying to escape from the U.S. embassy in Saigon has seared itself into the memory of the American bourgeoisie.

What the reformist organizers did do was keep the considerable sentiment against the U.S. intervention in Vietnam and the consequent radicalization within the bounds of bourgeois pressure politics. Today the Marcyites play the role the SWP played yesterday. The rapid decline of the SWP into an idiosyncratic sect has left the role of extra-parliamentary donkeys for the Democratic "doves" to the WWP/APC. To prove their loyalty and reliability to the Democrats, the Marcyites have relied on goons and cops to exclude the revolutionaries. Their class-collaborationist appetites cannot abide the Spartacist League (SL) call: "For Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador!" Particularly hateful to the Cold War consensus of the imperialist "doves" is our banner: "Defense of Cuba and the USSR Begins in Central America!"

Now when Vietnam is again being threatened with military encirclement by U.S. imperialism and its anti-Soviet ally, China, it is the SL and the SL only which declares: *Vietnam was a victory!* This simple statement of political truth has become a cutting edge of revolutionary politics against the popular-front betrayal. With Central America aflame, and Reagan "drawing the line" against Communism in the "American Lake," genuine communists expose the chauvinist betrayal of the pro-imperialist program of "no more Vietnams." The Trotskyists organize for "Two, Three, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism in Central America!" ■

FABRITEX...

(continued from page 2)

The shutdown of FABRITEX, the largest textile factory in Nicaragua, was supposed to be temporary. Three and a half months later a new company, FANATEX, was opened in the old factory, but with a new workforce of 450 instead of the previous 1,100. *Barricada* (23 April) reports that the new firm had "problems of all kinds, above all because it had to be reorganized again." Eventually this rose to roughly 700, presumably with the most troublesome "anarchists" weeded out. FANATEX apparently continues something of the militant traditions of its predecessor, for recent issues of *Barricada* report that more than 100 workers from the plant have been mobilized in army reserve battalions for the struggle against the counterrevolutionary U.S.-backed invaders, while shifts of up to 12 hours are not uncommon. The petty-bourgeois FSLN regime has sought to balance precariously between capitalism and social revolution, while increasingly being forced down the "Cuban road" toward a bureaucratically deformed workers state by the Big Stick policies of Washington. But the necessary revolutionary struggle to crush the *contras* and root out the capitalist fifth column inside Nicaragua is undermined by anti-working-class repression which sunk FABRITEX.

The Spartacist League has repeatedly protested Sandinista repression against the left and militant unions. While the dissident Stalinists of PCN/CAUS raise no fundamental challenge to the FSLN *comandantes*, trapped by their "two-stage" dogmas and raising nothing but wage demands as the *contras* are knocking at the door, a Trotskyist party in Nicaragua must intransigently defend workers' gains and extend them through transitional demands to complete the Nicaraguan revolution. We call not only to defend Nicaragua ("Kill the Invaders!" read the SL banner), but for armed workers militias, workers control and, in state-owned factories like FABRITEX/FANATEX, for workers management as part of a struggle for proletarian revolution—the real answer to counterrevolutionary war. ■

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SANTA CRUZ

FBI/KKK...

(continued from page 12)

U.S. government for the bloody work of their creature Rowe are also awaiting federal judges' decisions. These suits, by Walter Bergman for $1 million in damages and by James Peck, another white Freedom Rider, for $100,000 in damages, both stem from their brutal beating by KKKers in Anniston and Birmingham, Alabama—attacks Rowe had told the FBI three weeks in advance were planned, and in which he gleefully participated.

During the Bergman suit, former Freedom Riders deseribed the bloody day 22 years ago when Bergman and Peck were beaten on a Trailways bus in Anniston—and then driven on 100 miles to Birmingham, with their KKK attackers still on board. Once there Bergman stubbornly made his way in to "integrate" the depot, where 1,000 armed Klansmen were running wild. He found Peck lying in a pool of blood on a floor, after being dragged into an alley, beaten and left for dead, with head wounds that required over 50 stitches. Bergman himself has been confined in a wheelchair since September 1961, with permanent brain damage resulting from his vicious beating.

Newsman Howard K. Smith, who was at the Birmingham bus station that night, testified on Bergman's behalf, confirming that there was indeed a conspiracy between the cops and Klan. "It was chaotic," he said. "There were no police at all. After about ten minutes, someone gave a signal which was passed on. Someone said, 'It's time to go'." Smith said he was suspended from CBS for reporting what happened, the result of pressure from CBS' Southern affiliates (*Detroit News*, 3 March).

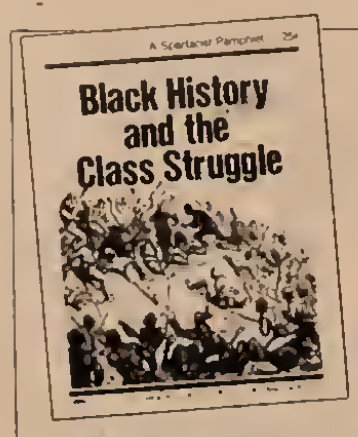
As we go to press, a U.S. District Judge decided for Bergman against the FBI. Bergman and Peck, and Viola Liuzzo's children, deserve everything they can get out of the bloody capitalist state. But as the Liuzzo case shows, the government's final decision is to vindicate the murdering Gary Rowe. At a press conference after Judge Joiner's stunning decision, Liuzzo's son Anthony Liuzzo, Jr., still red-eyed from tears of rage and frustration, called Rowe "a demented maniac let loose by the FBI." "I'm disappointed when our government can hide things and never be called to account," he said. "It isn't just my mother who lost, it's the American people who've lost here today" (*Detroit Free Press*, 28 May).

The family's lawyer said too if they'd had a jury, surely they would have won. He's right—that's why the federal government forbids jury trials in cases against itself. Gary Rowe and his FBI masters ought to be tried before a jury of their victims!

The government is not a neutral arbiter dispensing "justice for all." The liberals and pacifists in the civil-rights movement all demanded the intervention of the federal government to protect Southern blacks. What they got was the Gary Rowes out there swinging their chains—while the federal marshals stood back and watched as he and his fellow racists beat black students trying to enter integrated schools. And he *was* a "good informant." He followed the real rules: in right-wing groups like the KKK, "informants" are the best killers of leftists and the oppressed. But in left groups, the FBI's "informers" are the best fingermen for murder, like the FBI informer who provided the Chicago cops with the exact floor plan of Black Panther Fred Hampton's apartment, so they knew right where to shoot in their terror raid that left Hampton and Mark Clark dead in their beds.

While Rowe and his KKK buddies were murdering and terrorizing civil rights workers in the South, the FBI was setting up its own COINTEL program to smash the Panthers and other black militants. And it was only four years ago that the Klan/Nazi murderers of the anti-Klan protesters in Greensboro, North Carolina were accompanied in their deadly mission by a "former" FBI informant!

It is the sadistic killers like Gary Rowe that this capitalist state needs, that it recruits, encourages and protects—and the Viola Liuzzos that it smears, attacks and sets up for murder. It will take nothing less than workers revolution for justice to be served, for only then will monsters like Rowe and his masters in Washington, D.C. be brought before the relentless justice of the American workers government. ■



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Jesse Jackson...

(continued from page 12)

about integration." That is what the Dixie racists needed to hear. No integration—no anxiety.

Jackson offered the Alabama legislature a grotesque mixture of holy-roller hustlerism and racist anti-Asian protectionist poison. "Everyone applauded vigorously when Jackson decried, 'Toyota, Suzuki, Yamaha...and Nikon being unloaded at the docks, replacing Buick and Chrysler, Harley-Davidson and Kodak in the American marketplace."

Jackson's visit to Alabama is part of his "Southern Crusade" to keep blacks trapped in the bosses' Democratic Party of war and racism. His current Southern registration drive grows out of black Democratic mayor Harold Washington's victory in Chicago—Jackson's Operation PUSH was instrumental in registering 200,000 new black voters, a key factor in Washington's success. Now Jackson's going national—trying to put together a black voting bloc behind a threatened presidential candidacy as a pressure ploy.

"To have the right to vote and not use it is a sin," intoned the Rev. Jackson—and he would add that it's also a sin to vote Republican next year. (In 1980 he was playing footsie with *both* Carter and Reagan.) It was the Chicago elections which convinced national Democratic leaders that the black vote can be key in '84. Leading party figures streamed into Chicago to stump for Washington, and Teddy Kennedy personally intervened to stop ex-mayor Jane Byrne's "white-in" vote. For Washington's defeat would have meant mass disaffection with the Democratic Party among black voters.

Now liberals shake their heads at the "anomaly"—how can Jesse Jackson, Martin Luther King's lieutenant on the Selma-to-Montgomery marches in '65, now describe as "hospitable and kind" the likes of George Wallace, whose sheriffs' clubs, cattle prods and attack dogs spilled so much black blood on Pettus Bridge? How can this veteran of the Jim Crow jails, they ask, now hail the "marvelous spot" where Jefferson Davis took the oath of office as president of the slaveowners' Confederacy? It is precisely this image Jackson trades on—a politician with credentials like these is useful in the attempt to "reconcile" black voters to Wallace & Co.

Jesse Jackson did not "sell out." A whole layer of liberal civil rights leaders—Andy Young, Julian Bond, Marion Barry, etc.—saw the "Movement" as their personal vehicle to work their way up the power structure of American capitalism. Now they are the black mayors, the "BEOs" (black elected officials), the kept black front men of American imperialism—keeping the lid on the ghettos, keeping busing out and property values up in "Segregation City" far better than any white politician could. And in the name of the phony "lesser evil," faced with the choice between Wallace and racist Republican gun-nut Emory Folmar, local black leaders hustled votes for Wallace in last year's gubernatorial elections...and denounced Coretta Scott King as an outside agitator.

What gives Jesse Jackson his particular political profile is this: whereas the Marion Barrys and Coleman Youngs have for years been fully integrated into the Democratic Party administration, up until now Jackson preferred the posture of an "independent," the street activist, the hustler with his ChicagoFest stunts, his "black capitalist" Operation Breadbasket schemes. This in large part (plus the legacy of King) accounts for the popularity of this despicable demagogue among the black masses. But Jackson was just waiting for the right opportunity. Now with the Harold Washington victory, he's making his move.

Twenty years after KKK/FBI killer Gary Rowe and his pals threw the bomb that killed four little black schoolgirls in a Birmingham black church, a network of black Democrats has been absorbed into county and city administrations throughout the South. But race-terror still rides the streets of Montgomery, from the cop terror against the Taylor family to the two elderly black ladies, Julia Wilder and Maggie Bozeman, serving five-year sentences for the "crime" of voter registration!

"Black faces in high places" will not change the fundamental conditions for black people in this racist society. It took a social revolution to free blacks from the shackles of slavery. And it will take a proletarian revolution to break the chains of capitalist racial oppression today! Jesse Jackson says "the South can rise again." We say, "Finish the Civil War!—Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!" ■

Steel Workers...

(continued from page 4)

when he told the International Union of Electrical Workers that anyone trying to sell a car in Japan "better have the United States Army" with them! The AFL-CIO bureaucracy plans to turn over millions of workers as cannon fodder in this bloody campaign to revive American imperialism—including unleashing a nuclear Third World War.

Scapegoating foreign workers for the ills of U.S. capitalism fuels the climate of vicious reaction in this country. Look at Detroit, heart of the United Auto Workers jingoist "buy American" campaign. Last year Chrysler foreman Ronald Ebens and his stepson brutally clubbed to death Vincent Chin, a Chinese American engineer, after Ebens said, "Because of you, little motherfucker, we're out of work." Ebens never even had to face a jury—the judge just let him go free! This gives a license to kill to any racist stirred by the UAW leadership's anti-Japanese rhetoric, license that will be used against *all* minorities.

International Solidarity Means Class Struggle

When the Chicago May 2 demonstration was discussed at USWA local meetings in District 31, militants from Gary Works, Inland and South Works spoke out against the protectionism of the bureaucrats, and their program of derailing any concrete struggle to defend jobs at Fairless and throughout the industry. In Gary Local 1014, one militant warned against the "treason" theme, "the kind of language you use to whip up a war in which workers fight each other instead of fight the companies." Instead, he said, "we need a class-struggle fight to reverse all the layoffs, fight Reagan's anti-labor 'national interest,' and work with workers in other countries to stop the capitalists' worldwide assaults on labor."

There are real opportunities to wage a joint fight with the steel workers in England and Scotland to smash the U.S. Steel/BSC layoff deal. Although the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation leadership under William Sirs is also mired in protectionism, steel workers have a recent history of fighting. Three years ago they waged a long and militant strike, enforced by mass picketing and flying picket squads. With class-struggle leadership, these workers are capable of decisive action to halt the layoffs, which could ignite a powerful working-class mobilization that could topple Thatcher.

In the United States, working people—especially blacks—have been pushed to the wall. Despite the betrayals of the labor lieutenants of capital, there *will* be social struggles, even militant and bitter battles. Whether these struggles win or lose, however, depends on their leadership. What is urgently needed is the construction of a workers party committed to winning working people away from the "love your boss, hate foreign workers" nationalism which stifles any serious fight against the ruling class and its spokesmen in the Republican and Democratic parties. Only such a party can mobilize the power of labor and blacks in class struggle to bring down Reagan! The main enemy is at home! ■

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DETROIT

WORKERS VANGUARD

Lock Up All the Gary Rowes!

Racist Courts Give FBI/KKK Informers License to Kill

On May 27 a federal judge in Ann Arbor gave the green light to FBI/KKK killers by deeiding for the government in a lawsuit brought by the surviving family of slain civil rights worker Viola Gregg Liuzzo. Liuzzo, the wife of a Detroit Teamster union offieial, was hrutally murdered on a dark Alabama highway on 25 Mareh 1965, just after partieipating in the Selma-Montgomery march. She had—like so many unfortunate others—erossed the bloody trail of the FBI's own "best informant" Gary Thomas Rowe, Jr.

This abominable deeision writes in blood and fire the new FBI "Guidelines" (see "FBI Red-Hunt," *WV* No. 327, 8 April). The federal judge, Charles W. Joiner, totally absolved the FBI of any "negligence" in Rowe's murderous aets while on its payroll. Joiner understood full well the implications of the Reagan erew's campaign to "remoralize" its secret police in the serviee of the new Cold War. The meaning of the new FBI "Guidelines," with their sweeping provisions for unlimited investigations and infiltration of the government's political opponents, their provisions for labeling opponent groups as "terrorist, eriminal enterprises" is that more Gary Rowes are going to he needed to do the state's dirty work. And so the notorious FBI/KKK killer was rehabilitated.

The judge was right when he said Rowe was one of the "best informers" the FBI ever had. He was doing just what the FBI wanted him to do all along when he murdered, bombed, maimed and beat civil rights workers. Beeause the job of the FBI isn't to "prevent violence." It is to orchestrate and *direct* violenee—against the left, against the working class, against blaeks and minorities, against *anyone* who challenges the repressive state apparatus and oppression this system enforces.

"Rowe was dispatched to obtain information," the judge wrote. "The faet that, in the process of getting information and proteeting his eover, he did not aet to prevent an assault certainly cannot impose liability on the Government." So an FBI "informer" can do *anything* and get away with it, just like Gary Rowe. Precisely because the FBI informer *is* an informer, he's got "informer privilege"—the protection of government eover—and can never be brought to justiee, like Gary Rowe, already granted immunity forever for his crimes. The judge went further, aping J. Edgar Hoover's tribute in stating that Gary Rowe was "a good ma during the time he was on the FBI's informer, perhaps the best informer in the whole area." This is the man who planned, organized and *led* most of the major KKK terrorist aetions in Alaha-

UPI

FBI informer directed KKK attacks on Freedom Riders.

payroll! The man who aided in the hombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham in 1963, killing four young black girls in Sunday school. The man who beat hloody the Freedom Riders in the Birmingham hus station in May 1961, leading the 1,000-strong KKK assault in connivance with the Birmingham poliee force.

Ironieally, it was Gary Rowe's own sensationalist testimony before a Senate committee investigating FBI "excesses" in 1975 that inspired Viola Liuzzo's five ehildren to bring their $2 million lawsuit against the FBI and U.S. government. The family told of crosses burned on their Detroit home's lawn, of the anonymous slander letters smearing their mother as a promiscuous heroin addict—smears, they brought out at the trial, emanating from J. Edgar Hoover direetly. They introduced a 26 March 1965 memo by Hoover—the day after their mother's murder!—giving the line that "the woman had indications of needle marks in her arms where she had heen taking dope; that she was sitting very, very close to the Negro in the car; that it had the appearance of a neeking party..." (*Detroit Free Press*, 21 Mareh). They brought eyewitness testimony that Rowe had fired the shot that killed Liuzzo, and testimony from two Alabama policemen who said Rowe told them the day after it happened that he'd done the murder—but the judge couldn't care less.

Two other suits against thc FBI and

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Jesse Jackson Whistles Dixie

On May 24, Rev. Jesse Jaekson beeame the first blaek man to address a joint session of the Alabama legislature sinee Reeonstruction. But unlike Reconstruction, this black man was not there on behalf of black rights, but to whistle "Dixie." The day before, over ieed tea and sweet rolls in the governor's mansion, Jaekson had a cozy chat with Governor George ("Segregation Forever") Wallace about the 1984 presidential eleetion. Together they planned for a Democratic Party vietory in the South against Reagan; to this end Wallace agreed to promote a blaek voter registration bill. Leaving Wallaee, Jackson paused to talk with reporters on the staircase in the governor's mansion, where he was flanked by portraits of two Confederate Army officers. The next day in the Alahama legislature, he sounded like some Dixieerat demagogue as he vowed, "The South ean rise again"!

Jesse Jackson knew exactly what he was doing in the "cradle of the Confederacy," in the same hall where Alabama seceded from the Union on 11 January 1861. He was there as part of the Democrats' "Southern strategy" for '84, which is not only to register hlaeks but to figure out a way to satisfy the Demoerats' Southern eonstituency, from Dixie racists to the black masses. Jesse Jaekson was preaching "reconeiliation and healing" hecause he was there to assure the Dixiecrats they had nothing to fear from the blaek Democrats. "It is time that we leave the battle grounds behind us and seek a common ground," Jaekson intoned at his most preachy. And he made perfeetly clear to the Dixieerats that what he intended to leave hehind was the black masses' 100-year-plus struggle for equality and freedom. As the *Chicago Tribune* (25 May) noted, "The most enthusiastic response [came] from whites when Jaekson called for an end to anxiety

continued on page 11

UPI

Jesse Jackson glad-hands George "Segregation Forever" Wallace.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 332 | 17 June 1983

Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!

Avenge Black South African Martyrs!

At daybreak on Thursday, June 9, the savagely racist South African regime lynched three militant anti-apartheid fighters of the African National Congress (ANC). Thelle Mogoerane, 23 years old, Jerry Mosololi, 25, and Marcus Motaung, 27, were sentenced to death for their participation in attacks on police stations as part of the recent ANC campaign of carefully selected and effective attacks on institutions of apartheid repression. The widespread support for the ANC and these militants among South African blacks was demonstrated when two hours before their execution bells pealed across Soweto. This massive black "township" southwest of Johannesburg with a population of one and a half million was the focus of the 1976 black rebellion which swept across South Africa. Now the Soweto bells toll not only for these heroic anti-apartheid fighters but will sound the death knell for the hideously oppressive system they seek to overthrow.

The death sentences and hangings by the apartheid regime evoked outrage and protest throughout South Africa and the world. Braving the bloody machinery of repression 700 black students at the University of Zululand battled police and burned a police car. In a country where blacks have been stripped of every right, including symbolic expressions of national pride, where carrying the ANC emblem is an act of treason, 400 students marched through the streets of Durban carrying the banner of the ANC until they were scattered by the police. Fearing the spread of these protests to the black working masses, the South African government banned a rally in Soweto and subsequently prohibited all protests throughout the country for 48 hours.

For in the black "townships" like Soweto—virtual prison labor camps—there is concentrated a brutally oppressed but increasingly powerful black proletariat. In its hands are the means to break the shackles of apartheid. As Marx observed, capitalism creates in the industrial proletariat its own gravedigger. Nowhere is this more true than in South Africa. In its aspiration to develop a modern capitalist economy and to be a regional imperialist power, South Africa's white ruling class has been forced to recruit and train a concentrated black proletariat, thereby undermining the very institutions of apartheid (migrant labor laws, pass laws, the bantustan system) through which five million whites dominate, oppress and exploit 21 million blacks. The dramatic upsurge of the black trade-union movement in the past few years has shaken this racist police state to its foundations.

Emergency demonstration called by SL and Labor/Black League in San Francisco, June 8, for heroic anti-apartheid fighters (left).

Understanding that South Africa can easily explode, its bloody imperialist allies in the UN Security Council and European Common Market appealed to the Botha regime to stay the lynchings of the ANCers. It was certainly not out of concern for "human rights" but for the *survival* of the apartheid state that Reagan and his dragon lady Jeane Kirkpatrick at the UN mildly rebuked their allies in Pretoria. The Washington-Pretoria axis has increasingly become an important part of U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive. South Africa's top military man, General Constand Viljoen, claims that Russia has "hijacked" the region's "freedom movement." Certainly General Viljoen and the rest of South Africa's white rulers keenly remember that in 1975-76 Soviet-backed Cuban troops turned back their attempt, actively supported by Washington, to conquer Angola. If Soviet-backed Cuban troops can hold South African imperialist ambitions at bay in Angola, imagine what a few divisions of the Soviet Army could do. The South African failure to take Angola was an important blow against the apartheid state. And every such blow contributes to unleashing the power of the South African black proletariat, the powerhouse for socialist revolution throughout the continent.

The Botha government and its imperialist allies have, of course, tried to brand the ANCers as "terrorists." But one need only contrast the recent actions of the ANC with the indiscriminate bombing in Maputo (Mozambique) and massacre in Maseru (Lesotho) by the apartheid butchers in Pretoria to see who are the mass murderers and who fights for human dignity and freedom. Unlike many other

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Ernest Mandel's "Solidarity" with NATO Social Democracy

Ernest Mandel is competing with Ronald Reagan as the most vocal champion of Polish Solidarność in the Western world. They are "the best socialists in the world," he proclaimed recently to an audience in Australia. In the name of "anti-Stalinism" this fake-Trotskyist is putting himself forward as the left wing of imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive. He is going around preaching the unity of NATO-loyal social democrats and Catholic activists against the bureaucratic "bosses" in the Soviet bloc (see "Ernest Mandel: The Pope's 'Trotskyist'," *WV* No. 331, 3 June). To square this with his professed Trotskyism, Mandel claims that the counterrevolutionary bid for power by the clerical-nationalist Solidarność was a proletarian political revolution against Stalinism.

The European-centered Mandelites have thrown themselves whole hog into the "solidarity with Solidarność" campaign of NATO social democracy, especially in Mitterrand's France. However, their American bloc partners and rivals, Jack Barnes' Socialist Workers Party (SWP), have been more circumspect about *openly* demonstrating their membership in the pro-Solidarność unholy alliance, perhaps so as not to give Fidel Castro too great displeasure. In one of his polemics against the Barnesites (who also support Solidarność), Mandel tries to paint them up as Spartacists, who openly proclaimed: "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution." He writes:

> "The answer given by people like the 'Spartacists,' who capitulate to Stalinism, is clear: one cannot apply the united front tactic to the defence of Polish workers rights when their aggressor is the bureaucracy of a workers state.... They say we must not apply the workers united front tactic for the defence of trade unions, trade unionists and the workers right to strike in Poland because these workers are, in their great majority, reactionary ('pro-imperialist'). Their trade union is a 'scab' one, and their strikes are 'counter-revolutionary.' It does not matter much if the Spartacists add: all this is the product of 35 years of 'Stalinist madness.' But since the 'Stalinist madness' (that is, the bureaucratic dictatorial regime with all its political, economic and ideological byproducts) is hardly an affair of the past, such an 'analysis' necessarily represents a rejection of any political revolution and of any defence of workers in Poland or in the other 'Peoples Democracies' and in the USSR until an undefined future (when Stalinism's crimes stop producing 'regrettable effects'?)."
>
> —"Effective Solidarity with the Polish Workers and the Struggle Against Imperialism," [SWP] *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. XVIII, No. 6, September 1982

Spartacist Canada

Ernest Mandel: the pope's "Trotskyist."

This attempt by Mandel at a polemic against the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) is an exercise in confusionism, in part deliberately so since his main purpose is to tar Barnes' SWP with the brush of Spartacism. In the first place, as any reader of our material on Poland knows, the iSt has never maintained that Solidarność is the only and inevitable popular reaction to Stalinist rule. (It is Mandel who holds up clerical-nationalist Solidarność as a *model* for the workers movement everywhere.) From the 1979 Gdansk-centered general strike we have emphasized the radical *differences and discontinuities* between the present Polish crisis and the previous crises of Stalinist rule in Poland and elsewhere in East Europe.

Thus in 1956 the overwhelming majority of the Polish working class and intelligentsia genuinely wanted and believed in "the broadest socialist democracy" promised by liberal-national Stalinist Wladyslaw Gomulka. It was the endless broken promises of reform by all wings of the Polish bureaucracy which caused much of the working class to look toward the Catholic church and "free world" imperialism for salvation. Equally obvious and striking are the differences between Solidarność and the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. The Hungarian workers councils were for the most part led by long-time Communist cadre who were breaking from Stalinism in various directions. The forces of clerical-nationalist counterrevolution around Cardinal Mindszenty were relatively weak and widely despised among the urban proletariat and intellectuals.

By contrast, Solidarność was led from the outset by hardened anti-Communists trained and nurtured in the social-democratic and clerical-nationalist "dissident" circles which flourished in Poland in the late 1970s under the protection of the Catholic church. When Anna Walentynowicz, whose firing sparked the Gdansk-centered August 1980 general strike, was asked by Western journalists if she was a socialist, she replied, "I am a believer." The first national congress of Solidarność *voted down* a proposal to include socialism as part of its program. The term "socialism" is never mentioned in its 43-page program. Perhaps that's why Mandel calls them "the best socialists in the world." Every workers movement in Europe claims socialism as its ultimate goal, a necessary concession by the social-democratic and Stalinist bureaucracies to the anti-capitalist consciousness of their ranks. But Solidarność was characterized by an *anti*-socialist consciousness, the ideological predominance of clerical-nationalism and strong illusions in the "liberating" role of Western, especially American, imperialism.

Far from relegating political revolution in Poland (not to speak of elsewhere in the Soviet sphere) to some

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Solidarność Night at the SDUSA: A Company Affair

To describe the Social Democrats, U.S.A. (SDUSA) as "State Department Socialists" would provide a left cover for these rabid pro-imperialist warmongers. They are "company men" down the line. So it was not surprising when they got together on June 2 at midtown Manhattan's Sheraton Centre for a night of celebration for Solidarność and Reagan reaction. The official reason for the SDUSA fête was to hand their "Eugene V. Debs Award" to John H. Lyons, AFL-CIO Executive Council Member and president of the Ironworkers' union. Lyons' notable "service" was on Reagan's Scowcroft Commission on "arms control" where he was helping to figure how best to get U.S. imperialism ready for nuclear war against the Soviet Union.

Most of the whole rotten gang was there. Bayard Rustin of the CIA-associated Freedom House was emcee. AFL-CIO prexy Lane Kirkland of the Rockefeller cover-up committee on the CIA, the Trilateral Commission, the AIFLD and Radio Free Europe made the presentation. Carl Gershman, for many years the executive dircetor of the SDUSA and now special counsel to Jeane Kirkpatrick, and a host of other "labor advisers" to "free unions" and mass murderers in Central America were also on hand. But the real "working-class" hero of this gang of reactionaries is, of course, Lech Walesa, head of Polish Solidarność, Ronald Reagan's favorite company union. Walesa was represented by guest speaker Miroslaw Dominczyk, a Solidarność regional chairman now in exile.

For these labor-hating Cold Warriors inside the labor movement, Walesa is indeed an appropriate hero. It was Walesa who prayed for the election of Reagan so he could get tough on the Russians. "His election is a very good sign for the world and for Poland," he was quoted in an Evans and Novak column (*New York Post*, 9 December 1980). Denouncing American workers for "too much affluence and laziness in the West," Walesa condemned "too many concessions," adding that "Reagan seems to understand that." It was with Solidarność that Reagan and his "SD-CIA" saw its chance for counterrevolution. No wonder that the Solidarność rep had plenty of friends among the celebrants.

Up on the dais was Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) in whose quarters Solidarność opened a New York office in October 1981. In response, the Spartacist League (SL) organized a protest outside the inaugural press conference and proclaimed the simple truth: "Polish Solidarność, Agent of Counterrevolution." We noted that Lech Walesa had invited both Kirkland and notorious CIA "labor" operator Irving Brown to Solidarność' first national congress in September 1981. While the rest of the left was waving Solidarność' red and white banners, the SL pointed out: "Reagan smashes PATCO American union, loves Solidarność."

Since then things haven't gone so well for Reagan's favorite "union." In December 1981, Solidarność' counterrevolutionary bid for power in the name of the cross, the eagle and the dollar sign was checked by Stalinist general Jaruzelski's countercoup. Just before the crackdown, Zygmunt Przetakiewicz unceremoniously abandoned Solidarność' New York operation and set up shop in Toronto in offices provided—along with $18,000—by the Canadian Labor Congress (CLC). Now it seems that Przetakiewicz is even too rabid for the CLC tops. They didn't mind his anti-Soviet diatribes, of course, but drew the line at his meetings with openly anti-labor politicos and his screaming support for Reagan's El Salvador policies (*Toronto Sun*, 19 April). Amid charges of anti-Semitism and financial shenanigans, the CLC gave Przetakiewicz the boot. Yet such are the friends of SDUSA.

WV Photo

Lane Kirkland of Radio Free Europe, the Committee on the Present Danger... and the AFL-CIO.

Previous winners of the Debs award include sellout Steelworkers' president Lloyd McBride. Kirkland and George ("I never walked a picket line") Meany. So Mr. Lyons, a member of the President's Commission on Strategic Forces, is in good company. All previous recipients have been presidents of national unions. So we have a suggestion. Since the present commander in chief of U.S. imperialism was once the redbaiting president of the Screen Actors Guild, why doesn't the SDUSA rename its award for Ronald Reagan. Then at least Gene Debs can rest easy in his grave. As for Shanker, Kirkland, SDUSA and Solidarność, Langley's labor traitors are known by the company they keep. ■

Stop Death Cargos to El Salvador!

Defend Stan Gow— Beat Back Witchhunt in ILWU!

SAN FRANCISCO—On June 11 militant longshoreman Stan Gow was hauled before a witchhunting trial staged by the fakers who run Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). Gow, 55, is a 24-year veteran of the docks, a member of the Local 10 executive board since 1974. He publishes the "Longshore Militant," a class-struggle newsletter widely respected on the waterfront.

The ILWU bureaucracy is going after Gow because of his fight for concrete labor action to stop Reagan's aid to the bloody Salvadoran dictatorship. Gow's call for a one-day West Coast shutdown to support the Salvadoran workers and peasants was signed by dozens of ILWU members, and a resolution to that effect was recommended to the April ILWU Convention by the Local 10 executive board. Two weeks before the convention Gow organized a picket line that attempted to halt the loading of the Salvador-bound freighter, the Lafayette. At the convention Gow made a minority report in favor of the coast-wide shutdown. At the Coast Caucus immediately following the convention his resolution won a strong show of support from longshore delegates (see "Stan Gow: 'Stop Death Cargos to Salvador!'," *WV* No. 331, 3 June).

The Local 10 leadership is acting like a caricature of a Teamster machine stamping out any serious opposition to their sellout policies. They are succeeding in making many union members angry. And Gow isn't backing down. When the South African apartheid regime announced its plan to lynch three ANC guerrilla fighters, Gow and Militant Caucus members from Local 6 organized an emergency picket of the South Africa-bound *Nedlloyd Kimberley*. The bureaucrats haven't gone after Gow for this action for fear of alienating the substantial black membership of Local 10.

San Francisco longshoremen in particular have been victims of decades of reformist treachery. Redbaiting is "bad" in Local 10, unless it's the Stalinists redbaiting their opponents. Solidarity is "good," as long as it's got the liberal Democrats' seal of approval and doesn't stop their war machine. The class-struggle traditions of the '34 General Strike are honored—once a year at Bloody Thursday memorials, but never, never on the docks. As the Stalinists, social democrats and business unionists compete to line up workers for imperialist slaughter, Stan Gow's class-struggle program points the way to victory for Salvadoran, black South African and American workers.

The following is reprinted from "Longshore Militant" No. 60, 14 June 1983.

Dump the Verdict! Defend Stan Gow!

Last Saturday a witchhunt purge trial acting on charges by the Executive Board found Stan Gow "guilty" of "conduct unbecoming a union member" and voted to suspend him for 30 days and place him on 6 months "probation." During this "probation" if Stan engages in any activity that [Local 10 president John] Carr and [secretary treasurer Bill] Bancroft don't like he will be hit with more severe penalties—not specified. Also not specified is what union body, if any, will decide these more severe penalties.

What the Local 10 bureaucracy is really after, acting as puppets for [International president Jimmy] Herman and the International, is to railroad Stan Gow out of the leadership of the union. That was revealed when the trial "prosecutor," the notorious Carl Smith, demanded, in addition to the 30 day suspension, that Stan be thrown off the Executive Board and *be barred from union office for 5 years!* Herman, Carr, Bancroft & Co. didn't get all that they wanted out of this phony trial, but they aren't finished yet. Carr has indicated he is in no hurry to have the results of the trial come before the membership as mandated. Carr told Stan that in the meantime he will not be allowed, to appeal the verdict at the union meeting. "You're dead!" Carr said.

The union tops are after Stan because he *is* a leader. The charges were a direct result of the substantial support Stan received in the recent Longshore Caucus for his efforts to organize a 24-hour coastwide port shutdown against Reagan's bloody war in El Salvador. He was charged with "conduct unbecoming..." and "jeopardizing the welfare of the union" because he and other union members tried to stop the loading of the El Salvador-bound Lafayette on March 29. Two days before the trial Stan and other union members set up a picket line to stop the loading of the South Africa-bound Nedlloyd Kimberley to protest the racist lynching of 3 black anti-apartheid fighters. The dispatcher, at Carr's initiative, took the microphone at the hiring hall, called it "illegal" and ordered members to work the ship. That same night the Executive Board voted down Stan's motion that Local 10 carry out a 24-hour Bay Area port shutdown against the U.S. war in El Salvador. If anyone is guilty of anything it's the officers who haven't done a damn thing to defend our union or our class brothers struggling against U.S. imperialism in El Salvador or South Africa.

The "trial" was a bureaucratic circus orchestrated and directed by Secretary Treasurer Bancroft for the International. He started the day by refusing to allow Stan to call as witnesses members of Local 6 who picketed the Lafayette, calling them "outsiders." When he lost that one he said the witnesses couldn't sit there and threatened to call the cops if they didn't leave the "courtroom." Next he ordered Stan's attorney from the room, which left Mr. Bancroft the only trained lawyer in the "court." Stan's union defense counsel was Brother Roy Bowie.

Bancroft then directed the trial committee to make the following rulings: Stan couldn't speak while his union defense counsel was in the room; no one else in the room was allowed to consult with Stan or his defense counsel; Stan and his counsel could not get a recess when they needed to confer. There was no lunch break. Except for 2 or 3 arbitrary 5-minute recesses, they were trapped in the room, where they couldn't caucus.

During jury selection Bancroft directed the trial committee chairman to disallow Bowie's questions about the jurors' views of the war in El Salvador, which was why the Lafayette was picketed in the first place—it carried Salvadoran-bound cargo. Bancroft advised prosecutor Carl Smith what questions to object to. Stan's counsel, Roy Bowie, was continually harassed by Smith and the trial committee during his attempts to question jurors and witnesses. While the trial was still in progress members of the trial committee shouted, "Guilty! Guilty! Let's get this thing over with!" Bowie was threatened with a $25 fine for asking "disruptive" political questions. For Bancroft this was all "mundane, petty bullshit" as he put it. For him what was important was getting Gow banned (like in South Africa) from union office for his friends in PMA [Pacific Maritime Association] and Reagan and Kirkpatrick. When asked how much the CIA or Reagan was paying him to do this job on Stan, Bancroft replied he was "working for nothing."

After the prosecution had called all their witnesses, Smith and the trial committee then said *none* of Stan's witnesses from Local 6, including 2 General Executive Board (GEB) members would be allowed to testify! One witness, GEB member Pete Woolston, was physically ejected from the room after having been called in to testify. Bancroft then called in the *SF cops* to have all the Local 6 members arrested for trespassing! Bancroft was so determined to get his guilty verdict and his apartheid-style "banning order" that he was willing to bring the bosses' cops into the union.

Recent battlefield victories by the leftist guerrillas threaten the final

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WV Photo

Port of Oakland, March 29: ILWU militants picket El Salvador-bound freighter; Stan Gow (right).

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Richmond Ordered to Cough Up $3 Million for Victims of Killer Cops

OAKLAND—In one of the largest awards ever made against a U.S. police department, a federal jury granted $3 million on June 3 to the families of Johnny Roman and Michael Guillory, two black men murdered by the cops in Richmond, California. Both Roman and Guillory were gunned down in their own bedrooms, in 1980 and 1982, when Richmond police kicked in their doors with guns blazing. The verdict climaxed a dramatic four-month trial that repeatedly made headlines throughout the Bay Area. Over 150 witnesses testified, not only about the cold-blooded executions of Roman and Guillory, two of six Richmond blacks killed by the cops since 1980, but also on the long-standing pattern of racist police terror targeting the city's nearly 50 percent black population.

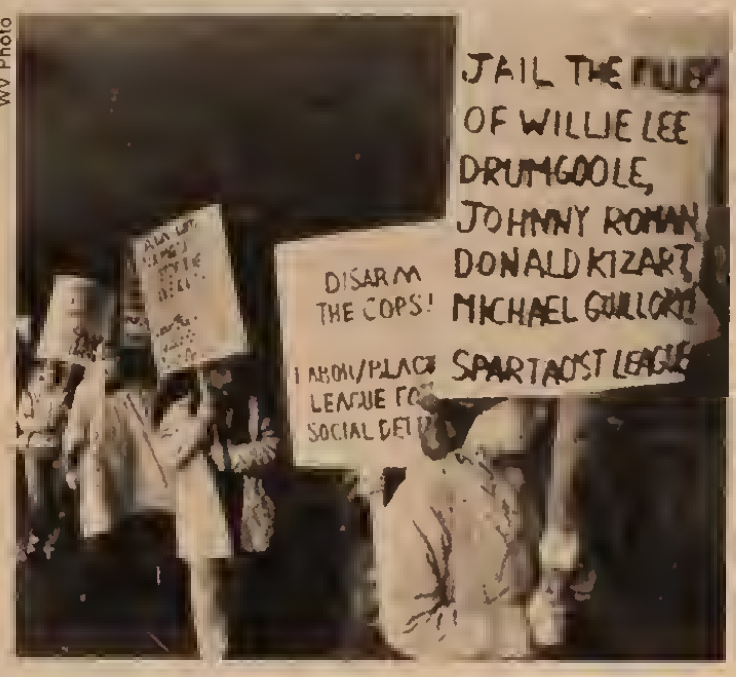
Throughout the trial, blacks testified in gruesome detail about repeated examples of unprovoked cop shootings and jailhouse beatings, of heads and bones broken in the administration of "street justice," and about a group of white cops called the "cowboys" who specialize in brutalizing blacks. In the wake of the trial, even the big business *San Francisco Chronicle* was forced to conclude what black Richmond residents have known for years: "The city has come to stand for widespread police brutality."

In a sweeping indictment of police terror in Richmond, the federal jury of four whites and two blacks cited not only the kill-crazy cops who pulled the triggers, but also top police department officials whom they held responsible for the acts of their henchmen. The jury also held that the city council was "deliberately indifferent" to the history of reports of police violence. Police chief Leo Garfield hastily resigned after the verdict came in, but the city council voted 7-2 to appeal the verdict. Jury foreman Carole Moy indicated the city got off light: "I didn't want to bankrupt the city. A larger fee was considered, but we compromised it down. Let me put it to you this way: two white boys in Danville [the white Contra Costa county where Moy lives] would not have been shot in their bedrooms."

Last January, the judge in the case declared a mistrial after jurors allegedly saw news reports about a proposed $750,000 out-of-court settlement that was rejected by the city. A new trial was ordered. We wrote then: "We're all for the families of Roman and Guillory squeezing every cent they can out of the city of Richmond" (*WV* No. 323, 11 February). Last week's verdict is a symbolic victory against racist cop terror, one which the city is trying to reverse.

But no amount of money can bring Johnny Roman and Michael Guillory back from their graves. The real outrage is that their killers are still freely walking the streets: the county D.A. ruled both shootings "justifiable homicide" and declined to press criminal charges. And what about the cops who strangled Willie Lee Drumgoole to death in the Richmond jail last fall? Or the racist cop who blew away Donald Kizart on January 25 with two shotgun blasts to the chest, again in the victim's own bedroom. Not one of these murderers has ever spent an hour behind bars for their heinous crimes. We say: jail the killer cops!

WV Photo



SL and Labor/Black League protest killer-cop terror in Richmond, California, April 23.

The Spartacist League (SL) and the newly formed Labor/Black League for Social Defense (L/BL) have been active in the fight against Richmond's racist thugs in blue. We have marched in demonstrations, spoken out at public hearings, and distributed our literature against cop terror to Richmond blacks at supermarkets, banks and in black neighborhoods. We showed the videotape of the successful SL-initiated demonstration that stopped the KKK last November in Washington, D.C., drawing the obvious link between the race-terror of the white-robed KKK and their blue-clad brethren. Throughout we have stressed that the racist capitalist state and its front-line defenders—the cops—cannot be reformed to "serve and protect" the exploited and oppressed. It is their purpose to do exactly the opposite: serving and protecting the capitalist system which requires the repression of the working people and, in racist America, especially the black masses.

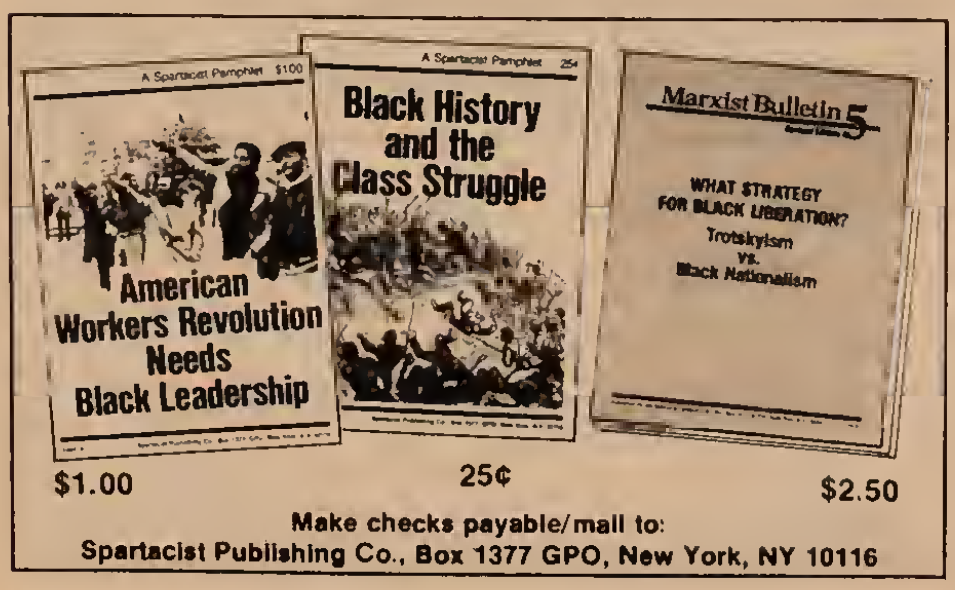
However, in the uproar caused by the trial's revelations and the now-undeniable record of pervasive police violence, some of Richmond's city fathers harbored deep fears of a "long hot summer" if some cosmetic changes were not made. Hence, there is talk of bringing in a new chief from outside the city's ranks. (Police Officer Association top Tony Zantelli—linked to the "cowboys"—denounced "bloodsucking attorneys" and black officers who testified as "puppets for the NAACP." He does not seem a likely candidate for the top spot just now.) And there is now talk of actually implementing some of the 20-plus reforms mandated in a 1981 out-of-court settlement of an NAACP suit over police brutality. The centerpiece of the cleanup (read "cover-up") proposals being boosted by liberals and most of the left is to create a civilian review board.

Civilian review boards, tried and tested in many U.S. cities, do nothing to curb cop violence. This is not just because they are usually staffed with hand-picked whitewashers, given no real power, and begin their "investigations" after the black corpses are already in the morgue. More fundamental, it is because the capitalist state needs its killer cops to preserve the "law and order" of racism and austerity, all the more so in this period of economic decay. As Lenin explained in *State and Revolution*, the core of the capitalist state power is its "armed bodies of men." And the cops are the front-line fighters in the war against black America in particular and the working people in general. Sometimes the issue of a civilian review board becomes a referendum on the subordination of the police to civil authority vs. police bonapartism. Then it becomes imperative to critically support such a board while pointing out that it will do nothing to change the fundamental character of the police.

On April 9, Richmond's Human Relations and Housing Commission held a public hearing to discuss formation of a police review board. The SL and L/BL mobilized supporters to attend the meeting and Spartacist spokesman Diana Coleman testified: "What I want to know is what citizen's review board has ever stopped one death? They are impotent schemes which can only build illusion in the reformability of the police. They have one in New York, but they still shoot blacks in Harlem every day of the week. In Chicago—segregation city—under Jane Byrne, they had a review board, too, and it's part of the police department. And guess what? They always go along with whatever the police do...so we say, 'Jail the killer cops!'"

One commission member responded that jailing the cops "doesn't sound terribly realistic" and wanted an "immediate measure." If he really wants one, how about starting with taking the guns away from the Richmond police? There would be a precipitous decline in the number of murdered Richmond blacks and it would even up the odds on the street considerably.

Real justice for the Johnny Romans, the Michael Guillorys—for all the victims of racist cop terror will not be found in the capitalist courts or in do-nothing review boards. We need a fighting labor movement and a class-struggle workers party to wage a real fight based on the power of labor and minorities against racist cop and Klan terror. The Labor/Black League has been formed as an organization of militant class-struggle defense of the black working people on the road to socialist revolution. Down with the racist capitalist state and its cop assassins once and for all! Jail the killer cops! For black liberation through workers revolution! ■



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Political Asylum for Héctor Marroquín!

On June 16, the U.S. Supreme Court will rule on the case of Héctor Marroquín. Formerly a student activist in Mexico and today a prominent spokesman for the American Socialist Workers Party, Marroquín faces deportation at the hands of the notoriously racist Immigration and Naturalization Service on a trumped-up 1974 murder charge in Mexico. If Marroquin is sent back to Mexico he'll be lucky even to get a trial. Two others accused of the murder were killed by police and right-wing death squads on the streets of Monterrey. A third was "disappeared," one of more than 500 such victims of government/rightist terror in Mexico.

Since fleeing Mexico nine years ago, Marroquín has been persecuted for his leftist politics by the U.S. authorities. According to the Reagan administration, America has plenty of room for Nazi war criminals and Cuban gusanos but none for the desperate victims of right-wing terror in El Salvador, Haiti, Chile, etc. It is imperative that the workers movement and all those who defend democratic rights take up this case. The Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee demand: Drop the deportation proceedings! Political asylum for Héctor Marroquin!

Protest messages should be sent to: Alan Nelson, Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. 20536.

Paris: Trotskyists Debate Former Supporters of "Islamic Revolution"

Iranian Left In Turmoil

PARIS—In Iran Ayatollah Khomeini's savage reactionary terror has forced the left and radical movements to debate the "Islamic revolution" which they uncritically hailed before becoming its victims. The international Spartacist tendency (iSt) was unique in warning *at the time* that Khomeini's ascent to power would produce a regime no less bloody and no less reactionary than the shah's. We called for: "Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran!" At the time, self-styled Iranian leftists abroad denounced our slogan as manufactured by the CIA and SAVAK (the shah's secret police) and attempted to break up our meetings on Iran, chanting "Long live Khomeini!" Now these very same militants chant "Death to Khomeini!" and "Khomeini is another shah." Today, even the deeply opportunist pro-Moscow Stalinist Tudeh (Masses) party, so servile to the mullahs' rule as to be dubbed "assistant ayatollahs" by the rest of the left, has been imprisoned and tortured *en masse* by Khomeini's secret police (recruited overwhelmingly from ex-SAVAK agents). But every Iranian left-wing tendency either upholds its original support to Khomeini's "Islamic revolution" as a "step forward" or denies it, claiming it only supported the "popular movement."

In this context a forum by the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), French section of the iSt, held in Paris on May 7 and entitled "For a Trotskyist Party in Iran" was an important and timely event. In attendance were a dozen Iranian leftists including supporters of the populist-guerrillaist Ashraf group, a former militant of the now-dissolved Stalinist-Maoist Peykar, and several women supporters of the Revolutionary Socialist Tendency (RST), a recent left split from the Fedayeen minority. Although Paris is the exile center for many Iranian groups, this was the first time a significant number of these militants attended a forum of the LTF. Of equal importance was the attendance of a number of non-Iranian Kurdish militants. The Kurdish nation is not only balkanized and oppressed by Iran, Turkey, Syria and Iraq (where Kurds make up a significant section of that country's proletariat, and where much of its oil reserves are located in Kurdistan), but also extends into the USSR. The iSt is the only socialist tendency that defends the right of the Kurds to their own nation-state, because that means wrecking four capitalist countries. Furthermore, since the Kurdish nation extends into the Soviet degenerated workers state, self-determination must mean a soviet democratic republic of Kurds within the framework of a *region-wide* socialist revolution.

The speaker Miriam, an Iranian comrade of the LTF, stated that the absence of a revolutionary Marxist party was primarily responsible for Khomeini's ability to place himself at the head of the insurgent masses and to channel the universal opposition to the shah into clerical reaction:

> "Khomeini took power without any resistance on the part of the left and the working class. Furthermore, never, but never, in the history of the workers movement have we seen the left support somebody so reactionary. And that's demoralizing. At the very least demoralizing, if not worse. Above all for the people that supported him, who have direct responsibility in his taking power, who have the blood of their own comrades on their hands.... It's necessary to draw the lessons from this historic defeat. Otherwise, generations of Iranian leftist militants will be demoralized or they'll end up in 'Marxist study groups'."

And, in fact, we've seen a tendency toward "study group" scholasticism among Iranian leftist exiles in the West, many of them in and around the academic milieu.

Kazemi/Stern

Khomeini's killers attack student leftists in April 1980. Iranian leftists who hailed Khomeini have the blood of their own comrades on their hands.

Comrade Miriam stressed that there was nothing inevitable about the victory of Islamic reaction. The left's tailing of Khomeini was a direct outgrowth of the Menshevik/Stalinist dogma of the "two-stage revolution" to which all sections of the Iranian left and radical movement are wedded, from Tudeh to Peykar and the Fedayeen. This dogma posits a "first stage" in which the national bourgeoisie is placed in power to carry out the "national democratic revolution" while the proletarian socialist revolution is postponed, in effect, indefinitely. But in the imperialist epoch the national bourgeoisies are dependent on imperialist domination and the perpetuation of feudal-derived backwardness (e.g., state-imposed religious obscurantism, the enslavement of women). Generalizing from the experience of the only successful socialist revolution, the Russian October, Trotsky counterposed to the "two-stage revolution" dogma the theory of permanent revolution: the tasks of revolutionary democracy, agrarian revolution and national emancipation could only be completed under the dictatorship of the proletariat leading the oppressed masses.

Under the banner of the "two-stage revolution" Tudeh strangled insurrectionary proletarian upheavals in the tumultuous period from 1946 to 1953, thereby paving the way for the CIA-backed coup which stabilized the rule of the shah and ushered in his 25-year reign of ruthless white terror. Likewise, under the banner of the "two-stage revolution" Tudeh was joined by the rest of the Iranian left in paving the road for Khomeini. The LTF speaker noted: "The left, in its search for a Persian Kerensky, found itself tailing the Persian Black Hundreds." In doing so, she pointed out, the Iranian leftists and radicals betrayed the insurrectionary strike wave, centered upon the oil workers, which in 1978 brought the shah's regime to its knees:

> "There was the oil workers strike, their general strike which paralyzed the world. And what happened? Khomeini sent Bazargan to Iran to break this strike. The response of the Iranian workers was that they hadn't gone on strike for Khomeini so that Khomeini could break their strike. What would a revolutionary party have done at this time? Separate, distinguish the working class from the shah and from the mullahs. But no, this wasn't the case. The left said it was necessary not to destroy unity with Khomeini...."

Even after Khomeini took power, the speaker continued, but while his Shi'ite theocracy was still unconsolidated, it was possible to rally the working class against the mullahs. One such opportunity was the demonstrations by women who refused to put on the veil:

> "At the beginning the Fedayeen supported these demonstrations, but after a few days abandoned them. Why? Because it was necessary not to destroy unity with Khomeini."

Another issue capable of splitting the masses from Khomeini was the trial and execution of the hated SAVAK agents:

> "You know, comrades, that after a short time Khomeini abandoned this. Why? Because he wanted to reconstruct the SAVAK! What would a revolutionary party have done? Build revolutionary tribunals to judge and condemn these SAVAK agents."

Populism vs. Leninism

The Iranian leftists who attended the forum have their roots in the petty-bourgeois radical tendencies which emerged in the 1960s, predominantly in the student milieu. The Fedayeen derived from a series of splits from the pro-Moscow Tudeh in the direction of Maoism and Third Worldist guerrillaism. While more militant than the reformist Tudeh, these tendencies largely consisted of young petty-bourgeois nationalist intellectuals and embraced an essentially populist world outlook. Akin to the Russian *narodniks*, the Fedayeen carried out a number of heroic but futile efforts to ignite "people's revolution" by robbing banks, executing police informers and bombing multinational corporate headquarters and the embassies of the U.S., Britain and Oman. In 1975 the Fedayeen split into the Ashraf group, dedicated to guerrillaism, and a minority which sought a "proletarian political orientation" by returning to the fold of Tudeh. After Khomeini came to power the pro-Tudeh Fedayeen experienced a sizable left minority split.

While many Fedayeen founding cadre had their origin in Tudeh Stalinism, from which they never really broke ideologically, Peykar originated in the Muslim Mujahedin, which in turn grew out of the religious wing of the old National Front. Peykar at first oriented toward Maoism until Peking's support to the shah drove it into the political no-man's land of homeless Stalinist-nationalists whose only common denominator is virulent hatred for "Soviet social imperialism." As we wrote in our article "Iran and Permanent Revolution" (*Spartacist* No. 33, Spring 1982), Iranian left-wing groups like Fedayeen and Peykar are "*at best* bourgeois-democratic liberation tendencies in 'communist coloring'," such as Lenin warned against.

The various Fedayeen organizations and Peykar, even when they are virulent critics of Tudeh's opportunism, find in the "two-stage revolution" a congenial ideology to champion the national bourgeoisie, whose sons and daughters they are. The notion of a "national democratic revolution" also serves as a justification for Great Persian chauvinism which pervades the Iranian left. And here the Iran-Iraq war is an acid test. Only Peykar came close to revolutionary defeatist and internationalist positions toward its own ruling class. However, its anti-Sovietism unites it with this ruling class and with the mullahs in Afghanistan where Khomeini is sending material aid to the CIA-backed counterrevolutionary insurgent movement. In the name of the "national

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Le Bolchévik

French Trotskyists say: Down with Islamic reaction in Iran and Afghanistan!

For Revolutionary Reunification of Germany!

THE EAST GERMAN WORKERS UPRISING OF 17 JUNE 1953

TRANSLATED AND ABRIDGED FROM SPARTAKIST NO. 47, JUNE 1983

The June 17 uprising was the first rebellion against the bureaucracy in a deformed workers state. It was an uprising for a red soviet Germany, for the revolutionary unity of the German proletariat, and not an anti-Communist revolt as the revanchist German bourgeoisie and the apologists for the suppression of June 17 would have us believe. It was no pro-capitalist "peoples uprising" on "Day X," but rather a rebellion almost exclusively waged by East German *workers* in East Berlin and the industrial workers around Halle-Bitterfeld. The 17 June 1953 revolt was not Solidarność' Poland: it struck neither religious nor anti-Soviet/nationalist tones, nor did it appeal for support from imperialist West Germany and the U.S.A. Rather, the class-conscious workers, who did not want a return to capitalism, demanded among other things a "metal workers government." The June 17 uprising could have led to a revolutionary reunification of Germany, thus putting a Socialist United States of Europe on the agenda. But in order to win, the workers uprising required a Trotskyist leadership, which would have armed the East German proletariat with the clear program of political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy, and mobilized the West German proletariat for the defense of the achievements of the East German workers state and for socialist revolution to overthrow the bourgeoisie.

When the uprising broke out on June 16/17, the German bourgeoisie likely feared the unleashed power of the East German proletariat, which could also have led to the overthrow of their class rule in the West. The same was true for their social-democratic agents within the workers movement. The SPD [German Social Democrats] followed the orders of their paymasters in the CIA and didn't raise a finger in order to mobilize the West German workers in support of their East German class brothers against the reactionary capitalist Adenauer regime. All that the bourgeois falsifiers of history can do is to attempt to rebaptize June 17 as a "German unity day," as a holiday of German imperialism on which it blatantly proclaims its claims to the eastern regions lost in the Second World War, "from the Maas [in the Netherlands] to the Memel [formerly East Prussia, now in the Soviet Union]."

But 17 June 1953 belongs to the working class, not the bourgeoisie! It is our task as Leninist revolutionaries to draw the lessons of the failed uprising in order to prepare the workers in East and West for a new, victorious June 17.

Keystone

German workers confront Soviet tanks on the streets of East Berlin, 1953. Uprising could have sparked proletarian political revolution throughout East Europe and the USSR.

Stalin—Gravedigger of the Revolution

In early 1945 the Soviet Red Army freed East Germany from Hitler fascism. But the Red Army had come as the armed fist of the Kremlin bureaucracy, which was exclusively interested in securing its borders with buffer zones against a new imperialist "Operation Barbarossa." The only possibility for an effective defense of the USSR would have been the *extension* of the revolution to all of Europe. It was a crime of the Stalinists, with their conception of "socialism in one country," that capitalism was reconstructed in West Europe and that the German working class was divided. Hiding the fact that in addition to the cowardly social democracy, the Stalinist KPD and Comintern as well had delivered the workers without a fight into the hands of Hitler fascism, the lie of the "collective guilt of the German people" was born.

The workers in the Soviet-occupied zones were not encouraged to take the factories into their own hands. Rather the East German factories served exclusively as a source of supply for reparations demands. Just as in the Western occupation zones all beginnings of spontaneous working-class organization were smashed, because Stalinism also feared revolution. All genuine attempts at uniting SPD and KPD workers were bureaucratically dissolved and replaced in 1946 by a unification led from above and tightly controlled in the SED [Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands—German Socialist Unity Party]. Later, the active anti-Soviet German policy of U.S. imperialism forced the Stalinists to carry out a revolution from above, and in 1948 the East German workers state was born along with the other deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc as an outcome of the Cold War.

Standing at the head of a deformed workers state, the SED is not a bourgeois workers party, but rather a bureaucratic caste which defends its parasitic rule against the workers. Yet the real power was not in the hands of the bureaucrats in Pankow [Berlin suburb, seat of the East German government], but rather in the Kremlin. In a maneuver to secure the status quo, and a last-minute attempt to prevent West Germany from joining NATO, in 1952 Stalin proposed the reunification of Germany on a "neutral" basis. That would have meant counterrevolution in the DDR [Deutsche Demokratische Republik—German Democratic Republic], the return of the Prussian junkerdom, the traditional elite of German imperialism, which had been driven out through the bureaucratic extension of the conquests of October. But [West German Christian Democratic Chancellor] Adenauer made integration into the West a precondition for reunification and turned down the offer.

The death of Stalin in March 1953 threw not only the Soviet Union but also the other states of the Soviet bloc into a crisis of uncertainty. The new party leadership under Beria and Malenkov attempted to obtain a breathing space and to moderate the economic crisis through diplomatic agreements with imperialism (for example, with Israel and over Turkey and Korea) and through economic concessions to the petty-bourgeois layers of the young bureaucratically deformed workers states.

"Socialism" in Half a Country

In 1953 the DDR bureaucracy was confronted with (for it) insoluble problems, whose appearance were largely its own responsibility. The "generous" American Marshall Plan aid, which created far more favorable starting conditions together with a higher living standard in West Germany, in addition to the mistaken Stalinist policies (such as the forced collectivization), resulted in a massive flight of hundreds of thousands of East German workers to the West. The arbitrarily planned emphasis on heavy industry and a financial crisis made the five year plan unattainable.

On 14 May 1953 the Central Committee of the SED issued a resolution against destructive activities "of bourgeois elements and of the whole gang of agitators, Trotskyists, Zionists, freemasons, traitors and morally degenerate individuals," and called on the Council of Ministers to raise labor piece-rate norms by at least 10 percent. The Soviet party leadership watched this policy of desperation in the DDR with concern. Semyonov, who since the end of May was the head of the Soviet High Commission in Berlin, reported to Moscow and received the reply that, first of all, no aid would be forthcoming from the USSR, which due to the devastation of World War II had its own problems in feeding its population. Secondly, a "New Course" policy should replace [East German leader] Walter Ulbricht's line of forced "socialist construction" and "sharpened class struggle." The liberal Stalinists Zaisser and Herrnstadt, opponents of Ulbricht in the Central Committee, who favored a more conciliatory policy toward imperialism, pushed through a communiqué by the Politbureau of the CC of the SED on June 9 according to which, "shortly ...a series of measures will be carried out to correct the errors committed and

to improve the living conditions of the workers, peasants, intelligentsia, artisans and other middle layers."

In the typical method of Stalinist zigzag policies, cuts were now to be made in the heavy industrialization plan in favor of encouraging the consumption goods sector. The most extensive concessions were toward the peasants, who were encouraged to return to their land and who were promised credits along with a reduction of their current delivery quotas. There were concessions to the church, for example raising the state taxes for support of the church. The East German writer Stefan Heym, a critic of the regime, captured well the mood of the workers in his book *Fünf Tage im Juni* (Five Days in June):

> "Everything was just a mistake, I learn, and we have a new course; everyone will get a little present, the peasants their farmyards, the shopowners their ration cards, there is something for everyone—except for the workers, for them the piece-work rates will be raised...."

The economic measures of the SED bureaucracy against the workers became unbearable: on June 12 *Neues Deutschland* published a front-page article praising workers who overfulfilled their norms not merely by 10 percent but even 20-40 percent.

June 16: Stalinallee Construction Workers Hit the Bricks!

Construction workers from Friedrichshain decided to send a delegation to Prime Minister Grotewohl and party general secretary Ulbricht to negotiate over their reduced wages. Three hundred construction workers from Building 40 on Stalinallee [Stalin Boulevard—the showpiece project of modern government ministries]—the entire workforce—also hit the bricks in order to support their co-workers. They dispatched delegates and after a short time 2,000 were under way: "Down with the increase of piece-rate norms!" Soon there were 10,000: "Ulbricht must go!"

The SED bureaucracy was paralyzed. Heinz Brandt, today a prominent anti-Communist and Solidarność lover who on June 17 was himself a Stalinist functionary, wrote:

> "The Party and State officials were overtaken by the events and increasingly paralyzed. Something monstrous, incomprehensible took place before their eyes: the workers arose against the 'workers and peasants state'."
>
> —Heinz Brandt, *Ein Traum der nicht entführbar ist*

Ulbricht and Grotewohl hid out in the building of the Council of Ministers. Only Fritz Selbmann, the minister of industry, had enough courage to come out. "You are no worker—just look at you!" "We want Ulbricht and Grotewohl!" "We, not you, are the true Communists!" thundered the crowd. Confronted with a powerful, immense mobilization of the East German proletariat, the SED bureaucracy at first took a wait-and-see attitude.

Spartakist

Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands calls for the revolutionary reunification of Germany, key to a Socialist United States of Europe.

The news of the march of the East Berlin construction workers spread like a prairie fire. When one of the workers got the opportunity to speak over RIAS (the American sector radio station)—the Western propaganda station against the DDR—he did not speak in an anti-Communist vein but called for a strike in *all* Berlin! Beginning with an economic struggle against the piece-work norm increases, the workers very quickly raised political demands. This is only another expression of the fact that the bureaucracy is not a capitalist class. The workers could not achieve any economic demands without ripping the control of the economic administration out of the hands of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

June 17: The Uprising

On the morning of June 17 workers in almost all East Berlin factories gathered and strike committees were elected. Not just in East Berlin, in all East German industrial cities there were spontaneous workers' assemblies, demonstrations and the formation of factory committees. At the Leuna-Works, 28,000 workers; 18,000 in Buna, 12,000 in Wolfen, the 12,000 from Hennigsdorf and workers in Halle, Bitterfeld, Merseburg, Leipzig, Jena, Gera and Görlitz. Demonstrations were held with the singing of traditional workers' songs. Part of the lower and middle layers of party cadre went over to the side of the rebels. That vividly demonstrated the character of the Stalinist bureaucracy as a parasitic caste, not a class, which is based on the proletarian property forms of a workers state. The bureaucratic party apparatus went into a death agony, threatened with collapse, and began to polarize into its proletarian and pro-bourgeois components—as happened to an even greater degree three years later in the Hungarian Revolution.

While many local strike committees were elected, it became clear in the course of the uprising that it was a spontaneous and *leaderless* rebellion against the Stalinist bureaucracy. Attempts to extend and centralize the strike committees were of an unplanned and uncoordinated character, rather the exception than the rule. No attempt was undertaken to occupy the crucial traffic and communications centers with the exception of Dresden where workers stormed the main post office.

Altogether there were strikes in 272 East German towns and cities; 350,000 workers out of a total of 5.5 million participated. In Berlin there were 150,000 on the streets, in Halle between 60,000 and 80,000 people participated in the mass demonstration in the market square—workers, their families, skilled workers, white-collar employees. But the uprising was above all a rebellion of the workers in the key industries. The events in East Berlin culminated in a mass meeting of 15,000 metal workers from Hennigsdorf and East Berlin in the Walter Ulbricht stadium. There were calls for the resignation of the regime: "Pankow is bankrupt—new people—today!" And they raised the demand for the formation of a metal workers government, based on strike committees and factory councils. But even before they could go into action the SED regime—after six hours of paralysis—decreed a state of emergency.

The SED leadership declared straight-out that the people had lost the trust of the government and denounced the uprising as a "fascist provocation." But the few anti-Communist lumpenized elements who infiltrated from West Berlin and mixed in with the uprising in East Berlin played only a marginal role and could have been easily isolated. The Stalinist bureaucracy had to resort to mudslinging slander—a victorious uprising would have swept away its parasitic rule. Finally Soviet tanks showed up and quelled the uprising. The then-revolutionary American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) declared:

> "The counterrevolutionary role of the Kremlin troops consisted in their confronting the unarmed working class with a display of overwhelming force, which saved the shattered regime from decisive defeat. The revolution was thereby blocked, and the workers who entered the political arena were compelled to retreat."

The role of the Soviet army was counterrevolutionary, but the uprising was put down without a bloodbath. This fact shows that it would have been possible for the rebels to challenge their Russian class brothers in uniform to struggle together with them against the Stalinist bureaucracy. The revolutionary unity of German and Soviet workers is indispensable for the victory of the proletarian revolution in the DDR and its extension to the east. Hundreds of thousands of Soviet soldiers fell freeing East Germany from the Nazi beasts. Lenin was counting on revolution in Germany as the best help for the isolated Soviet workers state. A soviet Germany would be a powerful bulwark for the defense of the Soviet Union and the East European workers states.

But that required a decisive leadership such as the Bolshevik Party provided in 1917. On June 17 what was lacking was just such a leadership with a program to turn the strike committees from organs of a workers' uprising into organs of state power, to smash the Stalinist state apparatus and replace it with workers councils. Not bourgeois democracy but soviet democracy, which should include all the parties, elected by the workers, which stand for defense of the socialist order. In its program a Trotskyist party would have demanded: For unions independent of bureaucratic control, based on defense of the socialist property forms. For the right to strike. For workers control of production, prices, distribution and foreign trade. For the collectivization of agriculture. For international socialist economic planning.

Social Democracy—Vehicle for Counterrevolution

For the German proletariat, the defeat of June 17 consolidated its division. But even though the German bourgeoisie makes every effort to falsify this day, trying to turn it into a revanchist pro-capitalist revolt, it was a proletarian uprising which could have opened the road to a revolutionary reunification of a soviet Germany. In recent years the Social Democrats have been more reticent about June 17 than the bourgeois CDU [Christian Democratic Union]. Unlike the CDU they have connections and political influence in the DDR and are attempting to achieve the goals of the German bourgeoisie through economic extortion and undermining the workers states from within. Helmut Schmidt made clear in the last election campaign "in German interests" that in the Social Democrats' eyes it's not just a matter of peaceful means: "Neutralism? We Germans have the most modern army in the world!"

"Free elections in all Germany!" was a favorite slogan of the SPD in the 1950s, because it could hope for considerable support in the DDR due to the bankrupt policies of Stalinism. On June 17 the workers of Magdeburg raised the slogan: "We will not negotiate with Ulbricht and Adenauer, only with Ollenhauer!" (the current SPD leader). This showed the hopes in social democracy with its phony protests against integration into the West. Thus one of

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THE SOLUTION
by Bertolt Brecht

After the uprising of June 17
the secretary of the Writers Union
had leaflets distributed along the Stalinallee
in which one could read that the people
had frittered away the trust of the government
and only through redoubled labor
could they win it back. Wouldn't it then
be easier for the government
to dissolve the people and
elect another?

Yevgeni Khaldei

In 1945 the Red Army smashed Nazi fascism, but the Stalinist bureaucracy refused to mobilize German workers to take power.

Moonie Libel...

(continued from page 16)

which works: militant black and white workers and other oppressed people in mass mobilization to stop the fascists. The militant and orderly demonstration of black people from the Washington area backed up by a segment of the labor movement was the largest and most effective anti-fascist action in decades. And it struck a direct blow against growing racist terror in the U.S. What more outrageous example of that terror than the recent killing of Patrick Mason, a black child of only five who was gunned down in his own home while watching TV—shot by an Orange County killer-cop who has gone free. Had the Klan marched in Washington on November 27, it would have meant more shotgun blasts in the night, more burning crosses, more black families' homes firebombed.

It won't be easy to fight the Moonies in court. Sun Myung Moon, a multimillionaire from a South Korean munitions plant with connections to the Korean CIA, is driving for respectability and increased influence in America. With his plans for Armageddon against "Satanic Communism" he has found some friends in high places, particularly among those who are planning thermonuclear holocaust against the Soviet Union. The same right-wing fringe of the Cold War which has cultivated the growth of the Klan and Nazis also fertilizes the Moonies.

Moon is establishing a publishing empire to use as a weapon in his "holy war." The Moonies' News World Communications, Inc. operates a daily newspaper in New York City and Washington, D.C., a weekly directed at black people in Harlem and another at Hispanics. Following the axiom that in capitalist society freedom of the press belongs to the man who owns one, Moon spent an estimated $75 million to found the *Washington Times* last year as a daily "alternative voice" of the extreme right in the nation's capital. Besides their two other newspapers, the Moonies recently changed the name and format of their New York City paper which achieved its first notoriety as a scab sheet during the NYC newspaper strike in 1978. Their *New York Tribune* vowed to "rise up in a crusade" against Communism and to "liberate especially the Russian people." But this Moonie "liberation," as the *New York Tribune* puts it, "must not stop with communism, but embraces every country and creed." Every country and creed is a lot bigger target than the Spartacist League. And some of the various creeds had better know what Moon has in mind for their Moonie "liberation."

Who is this supremely arrogant Moon who calls himself "Lord of the Second Advent," better than Jesus Christ? Financially dubious, his "religion" holds him above mere mortal laws and the truth. His "Unification Church" systematically destroys families because only he is the "True Parent." Thousands of young lives are ruined by this extremist cult as the Moonies work round the clock like zombies peddling flowers for their "messiah," who resides on a $600,000 estate, owns two yachts and manages a corporate empire which spans three continents. His victims/followers are married by the thousands in Madison Square Garden as designated couples and consummate the act only at the behest of Unification Church authorities.

Moon wants to get rid of the elementary democratic principle of separation of church and state, to establish an "automatic theocracy" in America in which he says: "my words will almost serve as law." The Moonies have made headway among the fanatics of the theocratically inclined New Right and Moral Majority. Even the mainstream Republican Ripon Society is "disturbed" by Moon's "three-pronged campaign to influence the highest levels of our government. The resurgent 'New Right' political movement, elements of the Republican Party, and the media are all in danger of being manipulated by Reverend Moon" (*Ripon Forum*, January 1983).

This racist Moon says that Asians are "spiritual," whites "analytical" and "black people can contribute in the physical area" (*Master Speaks*, 29 July 1974). Jewish people, Moon writes, dredging up the anti-Semitic filth of the Nazis, suffered the holocaust "to cleanse all the sins" because of "killing one man, Jesus."

So you don't have to be a Marxist to get on the Moonies' hit list, but it sure helps. As a small socialist organization with limited resources we are suing this dangerous cult reluctantly and in self-defense. The Moonies sit atop a corporate empire with legions of lawyers, big money and political connections. The Spartacist League has the truth on its side, but we know it takes more than the truth to do battle in the courts. Nevertheless we are cornered. And we will fight with all the political, moral and legal resources we can muster.

The Spartacist League has a proud record of successfully fighting for its reputation against slander and set-up. In 1981 we sued the then-California Attorney General George Deukmejian for including the Spartacist League among a list of "terrorists...with which law enforcement would have to deal." The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League obtained a retraction which the California Attorney General sent to police agencies throughout the country.

The Moon cult hopes to use the power of its publishing empire to silence and intimidate its opponents. We say: *the working class and the workers party have the right to organize*. Socialists have a right to speak and to organize for their views without being set up as cop-killers, terrorists and criminals by the Moonies or anyone else. In particular, we Marxists must have the right to organize the power of labor to defeat fascist terror on the streets. If the Moon cult prevails in their libel of us, any group or individual in the lead of struggle against fascist terror will be marked for destruction.

The SL/SYL has been politically active in the U.S. for twenty years. We are well known for our controversial political views and we want to be known for what we do. Over the last three years in which the KKK and Nazis have staged provocations in major urban centers we have initiated five mass labor/black mobilizations against the fascist threat. Many thousands of blacks, unionists and defenders of black rights in Washington, D.C. and around the country rallied behind our calls for labor/black anti-fascist action, and countless more have embraced these victories as their own.

As a genuine Marxist internationalist organization dedicated to a future socialist America, we have more than enough enemies. We are now going to court because we know this: if the Moonie cult prevails, the cops will have a reason and an excuse to shoot on sight. And we are a precious resource. As capitalism spins off toward World War III we are America's last, best hope. The future may pose the choice between proletarian revolution and some kill-crazy dictator to the liking of Sun Myung Moon. Those who disagree with our Marxist aims should understand that we are being attacked by sinister forces hostile to the democratic political and cultural values prized by a wide spectrum of the American people. The Moonies are not only trying to wipe out the Spartacist League, but liberties we all treasure. It is in this sense that our fight against the Moonie libel is also yours. ■

The Ladies' Lunch, and the *things* they talk about 1B

Economist warns bigger deficit will kill recovery / 7B

Fauntroy identifies provocateur group in rioting / 3B

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 30 1982 WASHINGTON D.C. 25 cents

Left-wing group linked to D.C. riot

By Isaiah J. Poole
WASHINGTON TIMES STAFF

from the Socialist Workers Party in the 1950s

D.C. Delegate Walter Fauntroy publicly accused the Spartacist organization

13 ounces — enough to put a dent in somebody's head."

The Spartacists were handing projec-

handed the volunteer the bolt wore a black beret.

The volunteer, who

The Moonies' "alternative voice" for the extreme right viciously libels SL/SYL as paramilitary outlaws.

UPI

Moonie mass marriage in Madison Square Garden, 1 July 1982: Arranged marriage of more than 2,000 couples can be consummated only at behest of Moon and Unification Church authorities.

We Need Lots of Money To Fight Moonie Libel

The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC)—a class-struggle defense organization which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League—is launching a fund-raising campaign to help pay for and publicize this important legal battle. The SL/SYL suit against the Moonie libel deserves your support.

The SL/SYL faces the most dangerous kind of lie—the kind that can kill. But it will take more than the truth to win against this dangerous cult in the courts. It will take hard cash. The SL has very limited financial resources, while the Moonies are made of money. They've got the high-priced lawyers, the big bucks, the New Right connections in high places. And we are going to need your help to win.

The Moonie training manual says, "Messiah must be the richest." And the Moonies seem to draw their money from a bottomless well. Many people think Moon's sole source of income is bilking his victims/followers—that army of glassy-eyed, vacantly smiling creatures who try to sell flowers in airports. The Moonies are a worldwide corporate giant. The multimillionaire "messiah" started piling up his vast wealth with a munitions plant in South Korea under the protection of the Korean government. Now his business and financial interests include dozens of enterprises: big-time real estate speculation, a host of slave-labor operations in the fish and produce industries, ginseng tea imports, karate schools, and much more.

Moon's publishing empire, however, is not a money-making hut an influence-making operation. The cult uses its newspapers as weapons in its war on the "Satanic" world—a world which includes Christians, Jews, blacks, labor, and especially the left and all those who struggle against oppression—from South Africa to El Salvador to the streets of Washington, D.C. The *Washington Times* is the Moonies' most important and expensive thrust into American political life. That is why this case is so important to so many. This lawsuit can strike a blow against the Moonie threat. Everyone on the Moonie hit list—every parent who has seen his child twisted by the cult, every clergyman and professor who has been used in the Moonies' "heavenly deception," every decent American who wants to see the race-terror of the Klan and Nazis stopped—has a stake in this case. Your financial support and endorsement is urgently needed to win this lawsuit.

Send contributions to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99 Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

Legal Complaint...

(continued from page 16)

engages in constitutionally protected activity, including running candidates for public office. As Marxist political organizations, the SL and the SYL seek to attract new members and to persuade non-members of the correctness of their political beliefs. In addition, the SL and the SYL seek to work in alliance with other political and labor organizations regarding particular issues or events. The SL and the SYL frequently sponsor and engage in legal political demonstrations and rallies to build support for their organizations and the issues they support.

3. Defendant NEWS WORLD COMMUNICATIONS, INC. ("NEWS WORLD") is, upon information and belief, a corporation organized under the laws of the State of New York, and maintains its principal place of business at 401 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York. NEWS WORLD is the sole owner of *The Washington Times*, a daily (except on weekends) newspaper published and distributed in the District of Columbia. Upon information and belief, NEWS WORLD, which also owns and publishes the *New York Tribune* (formerly *The News World*), is owned and/or controlled by members of the Unification Church, a purportedly religious cult, and/or by associates and adherents of Sun Myung Moon, founder and leader of the Unification Church. Sun Myung Moon and the Unification Church are expressly anti-socialist and anti-Marxist in their political views. *The Washington Times*, which was founded in or about May 1982, is the eccentric organ of this powerful, purportedly religious cult and is also expressly and maliciously anti-socialist and anti-Marxist, and has described its purpose as being the adequate representation of the political right-wing in the daily print journalism of the District of Columbia. Upon information and belief, when it commenced publication, approximately one-third of *The Washington Times*' editors and reporters were members of the Unification Church.

4. At all times relevant herein, upon information and belief, defendant ISAIAH J. POOLE ("POOLE") is and has been employed as a reporter for *The Washington Times* by NEWS WORLD, in which capacity he prepared and authored the article of and concerning the SL and the SYL and the members thereof which is described more fully below. Upon information and belief, POOLE was at one time a member of the Unification Church.

BACKGROUND

5. On November 27, 1982, the Ku Klux Klan ("the Klan"), race terrorists who are avowedly racist, anti-black, anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic, planned to hold a public march from the Capitol Building to the White House. To protest and oppose the Klan, the SL and SYL initiated and organized the "Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Washington, D.C. November 27" (the "Labor/Black Mobilization"), which was endorsed and sponsored by over 70 union locals, leaders and executive boards.

6. The focus of the planned Labor/Black Mobilization was a rally to be held at 10:00 AM on November 27, 1982 at Constitution Avenue and First Street, N.W. near the Capitol Building and the beginning of the Klan's route of march. A permit for the rally was secured from the appropriate police authorities on November 22. During the next four days, the SL and the SYL posted thousands of placards and distributed hundreds of thousands of leaflets in the District of Columbia and elsewhere announcing the Labor/Black Mobilization and rally.

7. In addition to the SL and SYL Labor/Black Mobilization, other rallies to protest the Klan were also held on November 27 in the District of Columbia. Upon information and belief, such other demonstrations included a rally which occurred across Constitution Avenue from the Labor/Black Mobilization rally near the Capitol Building, and two other rallies which occurred near the White House, in the vicinity of Lafayette Square, the planned destination of the Klan march. One of these latter rallies was staged in McPherson Square, the other rally commenced in the Ellipse.

8. The SL and SYL Capitol Hill rally began at about 9:30 AM on November 27 and continued until about 12:40 PM. Approximately 5,000 people attended the rally, the vast majority of whom were, upon information and belief, residents of the District of Columbia area. During the course of the rally, hundreds of placards were freely distributed to demonstrators at the rally. The three-hour rally consisted of speeches and chants by the demonstrators while they awaited the planned march of the Klan.

9. In order to maintain an orderly and controlled demonstration and to insure that there would be no provocative attacks against the police, numerous monitors, both SL and SYL members and union members, were present at the rally. The monitors, SL and SYL members and unionists, wore red armbands and no other distinctive article of clothing. During the course of the rally, an SL spokesman warned the demonstrators against provoking violence between the police and demonstrators and against provocateurs of such violence, and requested the demonstrators to inform the rally monitors of any such provocateurs.

10. The rally was entirely controlled and orderly and passed without any incident of violence whatsoever.

11. In anticipation of the Klan's march, large numbers of police lined the Constitution Avenue side of the rally site for approximately one and one half hours. The police and the demonstrators were in close physical proximity throughout this time. No acts of violence occurred.

Lane/Newsweek

Moon: "I will conquer and subjugate the world."

12. At approximately 12:40 PM, the rally was informed that the Klan march had been cancelled and that the Klan marchers were transported by motor vehicle to Lafayette Park. The police withdrew, and the demonstrators spontaneously entered Constitution Avenue, and ultimately proceeded to march up Constitution and then Pennsylvania Avenues to Lafayette Park, a distance of approximately 1.7 miles. The march proceeded without violence or incident.

13. Prior to and at the time that the demonstrators entered Lafayette Park, on the opposite side of the park, police operations, including the use of tear gas, were in progress with the apparent purpose of clearing a street adjacent to the park of people. No members of the SL or the SYL were in the area of the police operations.

14. The arriving Labor/Black Mobilization demonstrators were directed by monitors to the center of Lafayette Park, away from the police and the tear gassing. The Labor/Black Mobilization then held a brief rally, without incident. At the end of the rally, an SL spokesman requested the demonstrators to avoid injury and violence by dispersing quickly and peacefully. The Labor/Black Mobilization led the demonstrators away from the police and the tear gassing and out of the park, and the demonstration ended. The demonstrators dispersed without incident.

15. News reports in *The Washington Post* state that on the afternoon of November 27, a number of incidents occurred, a number of commercial stores in the vicinity of McPherson Square were damaged, and a number of arrests were made by the police. No member of the SL or the SYL was involved in said reported events, nor did any member tell or urge others to initiate or participate in these reported events.

THE DEFAMATIONS

16. In its November 30, 1982 edition of *The Washington Times*, defendant NEWS WORLD caused to be written, published and disseminated an article entitled "Left-wing group linked to D.C. riot", carrying the by-line of defendant POOLE. A copy of this article ("the article") is annexed hereto as Exhibit A and made a part hereof. The article, as a whole and by the specific passages and headlines set forth herein, falsely, recklessly, negligently and maliciously stated, conveyed and implied that the SL and the SYL and the members thereof:

(a) incited others, including "even children", to commit crimes and acts of violence, including specifically provoeative acts of violence against the police;

(b) committed crimes and acts of violence, including specifically provocative acts of violence against the police;

(c) are para-military, violent and criminal organizations;

(d) are exclusionary, insular and manipulative organizations that discourage political action by non-members; and

(e) are organizations that, by virtue of their criminal means of operation, are outlaw rather than political groups that are properly excluded from First Amendment protections, and are properly the subjects of continuous attention by criminal law enforcement authorities.

17. The article falsely, recklessly, negligently and maliciously stated, conveyed and implied the following false and defamatory statements, allegations, themes, innuendos and meanings of and concerning the SL and the SYL and the members thereof:

(a) that "[t]he Spartacist [sic] Youth League" was "a key element in provoking violence" at "the anti-Ku Klux Klan rally Saturday [November 27];"

(b) that "the members of the league carried containers of heavy metal bolts and other missiles to be handed out in the crowd for throwing";

(c) that the "Spartacist organization" was "the group that played a provocateur role in starting a melee of brick-throwing and sporadic looting in the vicinity of Lafayette and McPherson squares in downtown D.C.";

(d) that a staff volunteer in the office of Delegate Walter Fauntroy "was handed a large metal bolt Saturday" by a member of "the Spartacist organization" "from a container filled with rocks, bottles and broken chunks of bricks taken to the demonstration to be thrown"; which bolt "was 12 or 13 ounces—enough to put a dent in somebody's head";

(e) that "[t]he Spartacists were handing projectiles to anyone who wanted them, even children";

(f) that "[t]he Spartacists" told the persons to whom they were distributing "projectiles" that "'When the cops come we're going to throw these [projectiles] at them'";

(g) that members of the "Spartacist [sic] Youth League" can be readily identified by "their attire" and that said "members wear blue, black or red berets according to their rank within the organization," thereby implying that the SL and the SYL are insular, para-military, violent and criminal organizations;

(h) that the SYL and/or the SL

continued on page 10

WV Photo

Washington, D.C., November 27: Anti-Klan protesters charge up the hill to site where Klan threatened to begin its march. The Moonies' libel targets militant anti-fascist action.

Legal Complaint...

(continued from page 9)

refused requests from non-members for protest signs to carry and/or display, thereby implying that the SL and SYL are exclusionary, insular and manipulative political organizations that discourage and are hostile to political action and expression by non-members;

(i) that the SL and/or the SYL offered Delegate Fauntroy's staff volunteer "a rock to throw";

(j) that the "Spartacist [sic] Youth League" told the Black Student Union at the University of Maryland that "a peaceful demonstration was not in order," thereby implying that the SYL and/or the SL intended to provoke and/or engage in violence against the police and provoke and/or engage in riots and looting;

(k) that "the Spartacist [sic] Youth League incited the crowd to loot and throw bricks at police officers";

(l) that "some people came to the march with the specific purpose of instigating violent confrontation", thereby implying that the SL and/or the SYL planned to and did incite and commit violence on November 27;

(m) that "[t]he Spartacist [sic] Youth League refused to comment", implying that the SYL was requested to comment upon the allegations contained in the article and declined to do so, thereby implying that the SYL and/or the SL did not deny, and therefore admitted, the allegations;

Washington Post

Washington, D.C., November 27 struck a blow against racist reaction.

(n) that "people were carrying large metal bolts in shoulderbags and were handing out the bolts to people in the crowd Saturday", thereby implying that the SL and the SYL handed out large metal bolts to people in the crowd, and did so for the purpose of provoking violence;

(o) that "some group that had a lot of money came intentionally to the rally to cause violence," implying that the SL and/or the SYL was said group; and

(p) that "the violence wasn't just a spontaneous action. It was a planned action," thereby implying that the SL and/or the SYL had planned to and did incite and commit violence on November 27.

18. The headline for the article—"Left-wing group linked to D.C. riot"—falsely, recklessly, negligently and maliciously stated, conveyed and implied the false and defamatory meaning that the SL and/or the SYL and the members thereof instigated, provoked and/or participated in violence against the police and civil disturbances causing injury and property damage to others. Said headline, when read together with the article, was of and concerning the SL and the SYL and the members thereof.

19. The first page of defendant NEWS WORLD's edition of *The Washington Times* of November 30, 1982 carried the statement, prominently displayed and highlighted in association with a picture of police wearing riot gear, "Fauntroy identifies provocateur group in rioting". A copy of the relevant portion of this page is set forth in Exhibit A hereto. Said statement was followed by a reference to the page upon which the article appeared, and when read together with the article, was of and concerning the SL and the SYL and the members thereof. Said statement and picture falsely, recklessly, negligently and maliciously stated, conveyed and implied the false and defamatory meaning that the SL and the SYL and the members thereof instigated, provoked and/or participated in violence against the police and civil disturbances causing injury and property damage to others.

20. Upon information and belief, defendants knew or should have known at the time of the publication of the article that the statements and implications listed above were false, misleading, inaccurate and defamatory. Upon information and belief, defendants proceeded to publish said statements and implications with knowledge of their falsity, or in reckless disregard of their truth or falsity.

21. Upon information and belief, defendants' conduct in connection with the preparation and publication of the article and the statements and implications set forth above grossly departed from usual and normal standards of journalism.

22. Upon information and belief, defendants published the aforesaid false and defamatory statements and implications with the intention to injure the SL and the SYL and the members thereof by branding the SL and the SYL as violent, para-military, criminal and exclusionary organizations which attack police forces, and targeting the SL and the SYL as outlaw organizations

— Black Press Covers Anti-Klan Victory —

properly excluded from First Amendment protections and properly subjects for continuous law enforcement authority surveillance, infiltration, harassment, prosecutions and violent action.

23. The aforesaid false and defamatory statements and implications of defendants have injured and would have the effect of injuring the SL and the SYL in their activities and business as Marxist political organizations, in that said statements and implications have and would have the effect of:

(a) creating fear and apprehension, causing individuals to refrain from joining or being members of the organizations;

(b) causing a loss of membership financial support resulting from the loss of members and potential members;

(c) creating fear and apprehension, causing individuals and other organizations to refrain from participating in activities sponsored by or associated with the SL and the SYL;

(d) creating fear and apprehension, causing individuals and other organizations to refrain from giving financial support to the SL and the SYL;

(e) encouraging police and other law enforcement authorities to engage in surveillance, infiltration, disruption, harassment and/or prosecution of the SL and the SYL and the members and supporters thereof;

(f) causing police authorities and personnel to fear and dislike the SL and the SYL, thereby increasing the potential for violence against the SL and the SYL and the members and supporters thereof;

(g) encouraging and causing extreme right-wing groups or individuals to commit acts of harassment and/or violence against the SL and the SYL and the members and supporters thereof; and

(h) discrediting the SL and the SYL as Marxist political organizations.

24. By reason of the aforesaid acts of defendants, the SL and the SYL have and will suffer a loss of probable members, a loss of income from the loss of probable members, and a loss of income from the loss of contributions by individuals and other organizations, all to the SL's and the SYL's special damage in the sum of not less than $5,000.

25. By reason of the aforesaid acts of defendants, the SL and the SYL have been grievously injured in their good name, reputation, character, and standing as Marxist political organizations; branded as violent, criminal, paramilitary and insular organizations; characterized as outlaws existing outside First Amendment protections, all causing the SL and the SYL and the members thereof to be isolated, stigmatized and targeted for law enforcement and/or extreme right-wing surveillance, infiltration, disruption, harassment, prosecution and violence, and all to their general damage in the sum of $10,000,000.

WHEREFORE, plaintiffs demand judgment against defendants in the amount of not less than $10,005,000 as compensatory damages and $10,000,000 as exemplary damages, with interest thereon, together with the costs and disbursements of this action, including counsel fees and other lawful expenses, and such other and further relief as to the Court appears just and appropriate.

Dated: Washington, D.C.
June 14, 1983

TIGAR & BUFFONE
By: Samuel Buffone

COHN, GLICKSTEIN, LURIE, OSTRIN, LUBELL & LUBELL
By: Jonathan W. Lubell

and

RACHEL H. WOLKENSTEIN

Marcyite Splinter Caught in APC Pop Front

Trapped in McPherson Square

Five thousand black workers and youth, led by the Spartacist League (SL), ran the KKK out of the nation's capital on November 27. The sight of blacks and labor, mobilized in action and led by communists, is what the American ruling class fears most. It's not surprising, then, that this victory has been the subject of attack from the Capitol to the capitalist media and down to the reformist left. The All-Peoples Congress (APC), a creature of Sam Marcy's Workers World Party (WWP), put out a brochure "How the People Drove the KKK from D.C." to claim credit for the mobilization that stopped the Klan. They hope to steal in newsprint the victory we won in the streets. But thousands of black militants, not just the SL, know the real score because they made it happen. While the APC organized a diversionary demonstration to rope in the Democrats, held many blocks from the scene of the showdown, the SL initiated and led the Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the Klan.

Further testimony to this comes from somewhat unexpected quarters. The tiny Revolutionary Communist League (Internationalist), a handful of ultra-Marcyites in New Haven, got caught in a strange contradiction on November 27. The RCLI has little reason to want to build the credentials of the SL, especially since they say in their paper, "Above all, we would like to join the WWP." Their description of events on that day probably comes too close to the truth for the handful of hapless RCLIers to get their fondest wish. Yet they seem genuinely repelled by what they saw and participated in as part of the APC-organized diversion. They write, "The Left organization that played a crucial role in actually stopping the Klan from marching was the Spartacist League (SL). This is because it energetically mobilized for where the Klan were actually scheduled to begin their march, on Constitution Avenue and 1st Street NW."

The RCLI's account in *Internationalist Worker* (January 1983), titled "Lessons of McPherson Square," is a graphic condemnation of the WWP/APC actions in Washington that day:

> "Fully expecting to become a member of WWP, and committed to demonstrating at McPherson Square, I was frankly struck by how on Nov. 27 the emphasis on building cross-class coalitions worked at the expense of the anti-capitalist struggle and of the building of the Party. As late as 1:00 pm disoriented All Peoples Congress (APC) security guards could be heard telling demonstrators not to leave McPherson Square to confront the Klan, because 'It's a police trap.' ...As these oppressed youth fought the cops 100 yards from the speakers platform (!), bourgeois speakers grotesquely droned on about the need to ask Reagan for an end to the cutbacks. A WWP spokesperson['s]... conclusions were confined to the need to demand, rather than plead, from Reagan...."

This eyewitness account certainly gives the lie to the Marcyite claim that the APC rally was "a strip of liberated territory" and a center of a "people's rebellion." By their own account the RCLI admits that at the place where the SL's Labor/Black Mobilization was called "5,000 people gathered to stop the Klan.... They defied the scare tactics of the highest level of the capitalist state and held their ground." In the words of the RCLI it was "a triumph." But where the APC called its rally: "they even caught leftists gathered at McPherson Square, locked as we were into coalitions with bourgeois forces, unprepared to offer the revolutionary class-struggle answers...."

So how does this more-Marcy-than-Marcy clot explain why there was class struggle on Constitution Ave. and class collaboration in McPherson Square? They try to make it seem like it's just a tactical question of location, and offer the comradely criticism: "We believe WWP should have marched on Constitution Avenue, where the SL marched, as part of a *Labor-Black-Left united front.*" For the RCLI this all-purpose "united front" is the answer to everything. Yet from the outset, the WWP/APC made it clear that their rally would be a platform for the Democrats—not the Leninist tactic of a united front for joint action, but a Stalinist-style "*popular front*" for subordinating labor and blacks to their oppressors, as the wide-eyed account in the *Internationalist Worker* vividly shows. The RCLI shares the Marcyite opposition to a genuine Bolshevik vanguard—witness its lament that "the SL could mobilize D.C. residents under its exclusive leadership"—while grudgingly admitting that "the SL's penchant for 'angular positions' at least led it to march at the correct place."

WW Photo

Marcyite goons trap anti-Klan protesters in McPherson Square.

It was a fundamental programmatic/strategic counterposition, not a tactical difference that led to the different policies of the WWP and the SL, the difference between reform and revolution. Workers World admits they didn't organize those forces who showed up to stop the Klan. They claim, "What stopped the Klan was the spontaneous turnout of the determined people by the thousands." Not only did the WWP/APC not play a role in the mobilization that stopped the KKK, *they intended to let the Klan march!* That's why they chose a site *two miles* from where the Klan said they would step off. But after hearing the numerous radio announcements, seeing the thousands of posters and quarter million leaflets distributed by the Labor/Black Mobilization, 5,000 people, overwhelmingly black, showed up at its site at the foot of Capitol Hill, three times as many as at the WWP/APC diversion in McPherson Square.

Marcy & Co. wanted to curry favor with the black Democratic politicians and to channel black outrage into the anti-Reagan popular front drive to put a Democrat in the White House in '84. That's why they gooned their own demonstration when black youth split off to go get the Klan; and that's why they squirmed when the violence-baiting began in the wake of the cop riot against anti-Klan protesters. They were determined not to be anywhere near the demonstration to stop the Klan, even when offered speaking time from our platform. The Spartacist League was the only group to provide the Leninist leadership and organization that made it possible to do what the most politically conscious black militants knew had to be done.

The Marcyites are making their bid for the reformist big time. Their Peoples Antiwar Mobilization (PAM) front group showed their eagerness to act as waterboys for the Democrats by excluding the reds of the Spartacist League from El Salvador protests because we call for "Military victory to the leftist rebels" and defense of Cuba and the USSR against imperialism. Now they work hand in glove with the Democratic pols to derail militant struggles against fascist provocations. The RCLI seems to think this is aberrant behavior for Marcy, who broke from the SWP in the 1950s in favor of accommodation with counterrevolutionary Stalinism and opposing the 1956 Hungarian workers uprising. In fact there is a line of class collaboration and political support to the Stalinists and "Third World" nationalists from 1948 when the Marcyites urged support to the bourgeois Progressive Party of Henry Wallace through the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee in the mid-'60s and the CP's Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice a few years later to PAM at the Pentagon (May 1981) and the APC at McPherson Square. The reformists sell out the struggle against imperialist war and fascism to the class enemy—that is the real lesson of McPherson Square. ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area
Fri 5:00-8:00 p.m. Sat 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone (415) 835-1535

Chicago
Tues 5:30-9:00 p.m. Sat 2:00-5:30 p.m.
523 S. Plymouth Court 3rd Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone (312) 427-0003

New York City
Tues 6:00-9:00 p.m. Sat 12:00-4:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, N.Y. Phone (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto
Sat 1:00-5:00 p.m.
299 Queen St. W., Suite 502
Toronto, Ontario Phone (416) 593-4138

East Germany...

(continued from page 7)

the demands of the East German workers was:

> "We must not wait for the Bonn government to take the initiative for the real reunification of Germany. The East German government should start immediately by eliminating all barriers separating the two Germanys. The country must be unified by secret, general and free elections and a workers' victory must be won in these elections."
>
> —*Fourth International*, March-April 1953 [sic]

However, these illusions of the East German workers, of achieving their socialist goals through the SPD, could have been destroyed by a Trotskyist party with a program of extending the struggle and the mobilization to the West German proletariat.

In 1951 Willy Brandt openly declared in his article, "What Will Happen on Day X?", the counterrevolutionary goals of social democracy. He proposed reunification through "free elections." These elections were not "initially" to be applied to the "German regions [!] to the east of the Oder and Neisse" [the boundary between East Germany and Poland established in 1945], although there could be "in no case recognition of the arbitrary Oder-Neisse line." But the East German workers did *not* come out on June 17 for the annexation of the "former Eastern regions" of the German bourgeoisie.

Brandt continued:

> "There is hardly a doubt that the working people in the Soviet zone will just as decisively oppose a reprivatization of large-scale industry as they will also come out for a complete restructuring of the deprivatized factories. That the private economic sector will expand again, however, can be considered certain."

He then calls for the "reconstruction of the democratic parties and a free press," as well as for "the international aid which is probably widely seen as indispensable" in his plans for a "peaceful counterrevolution." The SPD certainly did receive the latter abundantly from the CIA and U.S. imperialism for its Ostbüro and its subversive machinations in the East German underground. But there can be no peaceful passing over to capitalism, a reformist model in reverse. If June 17 proved one thing, then it is that the working class will not let its conquests simply be ripped away from it, and that Brandt's dream at that time of smuggling capitalism in surreptitiously would not have led to success.

Acid Test for Trotskyists

"And where was social democracy?" was the disappointed call of the self-proclaimed Trotskyist leader of the hardly "United" Secretariat of the Fourth International [USec], half of which, represented by the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP), has since openly declared itself opposed to Trotskyism. The Trotskyist Fourth International was destroyed by "leaders" such as Ernest Mandel and Michel Pablo, who saw in Stalinism or in social democracy (in the case of a social-democratic-controlled working class as in West Germany) a shortcut to revolution. The answer of Pablo's International Secretariat to 17 June 1953 was a manifesto calling for the "real democratization of the Communist Parties"—i.e., bureaucratic self-reform.

Meanwhile Mandel, who then wrote under the pen name Wilhelm Sprenger in the left social-democratic journal *Pro und Contra*, sought to push the Eastern workers directly into the arms of the counterrevolutionary SPD leaders: for him the illusions in Ollenhauer were positive, a guarantee that the workers uprising "pointed forward, toward democratic socialism, and not backwards toward capitalist 'freedom'." And that is his program:

> "It is in the realm of the possible and the achievable to turn the reunification of Germany into an overwhelming success for the workers movement and socialism. Free, secret, general elections in all Germany would mean, with the correct SPD policy, an absolute majority for German social democracy, the first purely social-democratic regime in German history."
>
> —*Was Tun*, 29 June 1978

What this pseudo-Trotskyist refuses to say here is that there was another "purely social-democratic" government in Germany, the [1918-19] regime of Ebert, Scheidemann and the bloodhound Noske. And that regime ruled over the corpses of thousands of proletarians in order to return the power to the bourgeoisie. Trotskyists would have fought for the mobilization of the Western workers against the Adenauer government, and sought to use the spark of the East German workers' uprising to set all Germany aflame with a general strike. Mandel was opposed to unleashing the power of the West German proletariat: "Naturally it was not possible to proclaim a general strike in the Federal Republic on June 17: the objective preconditions were lacking" (*Was Tun*, 29 June 1978). Naturally the social-democratic Cold Warriors who helped after the war to turn West Germany into an anti-Communist bulwark against the Soviet Union feared nothing more than a general strike. For genuine Trotskyists the extension of the strike movement to West Germany would have meant freeing the West German proletariat from the stranglehold of its bureaucratic misleaders in struggle for its class interests.

On 17 June 1953 the workers suffered a defeat. But their struggle is a beacon for the workers of Germany and all of Europe. In contrast to Polish Solidarność—the company union in the service of NATO and the German bankers—the East German workers fought for socialism. Only the international Spartacist tendency fights in the spirit of the workers of June 17 for the revolutionary reunification of West Germany as part of a Socialist United States of Europe. The then-revolutionary SWP declared in 1953:

> "To realize the great revolutionary possibilities opened up by these events the organization of a revolutionary party of the German proletariat becomes imperative. In outlining the conditions for a successful political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy, Trotsky said in 1934 'We must set down, first of all, as an immutable axiom—that this task can be solved only by a revolutionary *party*.' Today this is truer than ever."
>
> —"The East German Uprising," by the Editors of *Fourth International*, May-June 1953 [sic]

In the tradition of Lenin, Trotsky, Luxemburg and Liebknecht the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD) fights for the construction of a victorious communist party as a section of a reforged Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■

From Berlin to Vorkuta

The East German workers who took to the streets on 17 June 1953 against the Stalinist ruling bureaucracy of the DDR were avowedly pro-socialist. "We are the true Communists!" shouted demonstrators outside government headquarters. In the Halle train station strikers greeted travelers from the West with a banner reading, "Now sweep out your crap in Bonn—In Pankow [East Berlin] we're cleaning house." And the uprising was decidedly *not* anti-Soviet. In Halle tens of thousands of workers gathered in a square already surrounded by Russian tanks and infantry without incident. And the Bitterfeld strike committee sent a telegram to Soviet High Commissioner Semyonov asking him to lift the state of siege "so that we Germans can truly keep our belief that you are in fact the representative of a government of the workers, a friend of peace and international understanding." A Trotskyist leadership would have sought to fraternize with the Soviet soldiers in order to win their support in common struggle against the Stalinist bureaucrats.

And such a common struggle *was* possible. Even the defeated East German revolt sent shock waves to the Urals. In the Soviet Union, the 17 June 1953 uprising led to the downfall of the feared secret police chief Beria. In the prison camps ferment had been growing ever since the death of Stalin. Now rebellion broke out in the giant forced labor camp at Vorkuta. On July 21, workers at two key coal pits laid down their tools and refused to leave their barracks; within two days the movement had spread to ten pits, totaling 30,000 laborers. Even though the initial strike committee was arrested, the general strike movement continued to grow, with sympathetic guard soldiers distributing leaflets for the prisoners. In early August Moscow responded by offering token concessions while liquidating the strike leadership. Eventually the movement was defeated, but some pits held out until November when supplies of food and coal ran out.

Most importantly, behind the Vorkuta strike was a dissident *Communist* opposition, the Istinny Trud Lenina (ITL—"Lenin's True Works"). Even though they reportedly had no direct ties to the Left Opposition led by Leon Trotsky, the coincidence of the program of this self-proclaimed "Communist resistance movement" with that of the Trotskyist Fourth International was remarkable. The ITL called for "a struggle against the system of government which rests on the bureaucracy and the army and which can be eliminated only by a political revolution"; and for "full democracy in the shape of a workers' and peasants' soviet government, the first stage toward the classless society" (see the article "Vorkuta (1950-53): Oppositional Currents and the Mine Strikes," by Brigitte Gerland, in George Saunders, ed., *Samizdat: Voices of the Soviet Opposition* [Monad, 1974]). This was from a manifesto drawn up by a dozen Moscow students; within a few months the ITL counted hundreds of members. But after two years of activity, in a single night, hundreds of the Leninists were arrested and sentenced to 25 years of hard labor.

The student Leninists were the first to popularize the idea of a mass strike by the vast complex of 250,000 forced laborers at Vorkuta. Many of them had become brigade leaders, and it was at Pits No. 1 and 7, dominated by the Leninists and anarchists, that the July 1953 strike movement was centered. A victorious workers political revolution in East Germany, sweeping away the parasitic Ulbricht regime, would have set the whole bureaucratic superstructure of the USSR trembling. The Vorkuta strikers demonstrated that a successful East German political revolution could have set off a chain explosion throughout the Soviet Union, sparked by a budding leadership who consciously looked back to the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky. Thus the unity of German and Russian workers, arising out of the defeat of Hitler fascism by the Soviet Red Army, was key to success for the Berlin Uprising of June 1953. And a proletarian political revolution extending throughout the Soviet bloc would have been a powerful impetus to socialist revolutions in the West.

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Ann Arbor
c/o SYL
P O Box 8364
Ann Arbor, MI 48107
(313) 662-2339

Atlanta
Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

Berkeley/Oakland
P O Box 32SS2
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 835-1S3S

Boston
Box 840
Central Station
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Chicago
Box 6441
Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 427-0003

Cleveland
Box 91954
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 621-5138

Detroit
Box 32717
Detroit, MI 48232
(313) 961-1680

Houston
Box 26474
Houston, TX 77207

Los Angeles
Box 29S74
Los Feliz Station
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 663-1216

Madison
c/o SYL
Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701
(608) 251-3398

New York
Box 444
Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013
(212) 287-102S

Norfolk
P O Box 1972, Main P.O.
Norfolk, VA 23501
(804) S43-4300

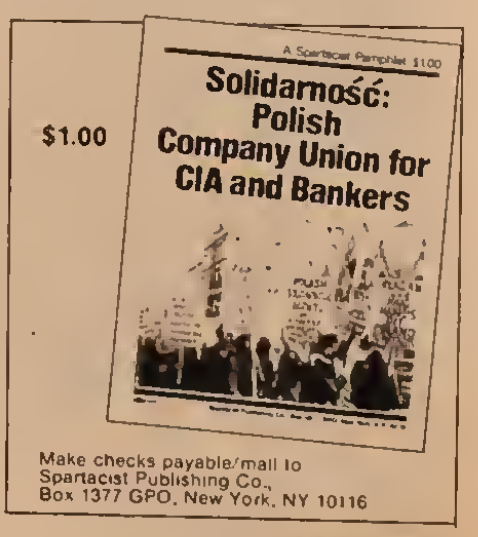
San Francisco
Box S712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(41S) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.
P O Box 75073
Washington, D.C 20013
(202) 636-3537

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) S93-4138

Vancouver
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C. V6C 2L8
(604) 681-2422



Stop Genocide of Kurds!

LONDON—May 25 saw another genocidal attack on the Kurdish people by the Turkish bonapartist military junta, in cooperation with the dictatorial Ba'athist regime of Iraq. Two elite units of the Turkish army were sent across the Iraqi border in order to shoot Kurds who were crossing into Iraq. The London *Guardian* (28 May 1983) commented that the "fighting may have begun...when 7000 Iranian Kurds are believed to have tried to cross from Iran into Turkey and travel from there into Iraq." A May 21 statement by the Association of Kurdish Students Abroad (AKSA) commented that "Heavy fighting is going on and...the Turkish army is said to be rushing more troops to its eastern frontier with Iraq."

The Turkish foreign office openly admitted the Turkish-Iraqi collaboration in this attack, stating that "consultations took place with our friend and neighbour the Iraqi government on the development." Meanwhile the right-wing Turkish bourgeois paper *Gunaydin* praised the operation with chauvinist hysteria as a "lesson" given to the Kurds.

This "operation" follows the Turkish junta's recent condemnation of 35 Kurds to death in Diyarbakir for establishing a nationalist movement. This is one of several mass trials where leftists, working-class militants and even bourgeois liberals are being sentenced to life imprisonment and even death. Already the dungeons of the junta are full and torture is commonplace.

Spartacist Britain

With signs in English, Turkish, Farsi and Arabic, Spartacist contingent protests at Turkish embassy in London, May 31, calling for the right of self-determination for the Kurds.

The Kurdish people are divided among four countries and deprived of their basic democratic rights in all of them. The largest concentration is in Turkey, amounting to one fifth of the country's 50 million population. Since the September 1980 military takeover the junta has intensified the attacks on Kurdish nationalists and leftists (attacks which also occurred under the previous civilian regime), denying that a distinct Kurdish people even *exists*. Even using the Kurdish language in speech and literature is illegal and the junta's recent constitution further legitimised its repression, intimidation and murder.

Meanwhile in Iraq, deprived again of basic democratic rights, the Kurds live under the dictatorial repression of Saddam Hossein's regime and continuously face forced population transfers. In Iran since the coming to power of the Persian-chauvinist fanatic Ayatollah Khomeini genocide against the Kurds has intensified, forcing many to try and escape the country. But in this attempt many fall into the murderous hands of the Ba'athists of Iraq and the Kemalist chauvinist military of Turkey. In Syria too, the Kurds suffer deep national oppression. Their very right to exist is denied from all quarters.

To protest the latest attacks on the Kurds, a picket of the Turkish embassy was organised in London on May 31, with participants from AKSA, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, the Committee for Defence of Democratic Rights in Turkey, supporters of the "Leninists" of the Turkish Communist Party (TKP) and others. A contingent from the Spartacist League/Britain (SL/B) joined the picket, carrying placards in Farsi, Turkish, Arabic and English demanding "Stop the genocide of the Kurds in Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Syria" and "For the right to self-determination of the Kurds." While some other demonstrators (including supporters of the TKP "Leninists") chanted "United Nations—where are you?" the SL/B counterposed "United Nations, den of thieves, is no friend of the Kurds—Out of the Middle East now!" Other SL/B chants called for workers and peasants governments throughout the Middle East. At the end most of the Kurds sang their national anthem, while the SL/B and some Kurds sang the "Internationale."

It is the elementary duty of the international proletariat and defenders of democratic rights to come to the defence of the Kurdish people against the all-sided genocide. Down with the butchers of the Kurds! Stop the genocide of the Kurds in Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Syria! For the right of the Kurds to self-determination! ■

Iranian Left...

(continued from page 5)

democratic revolution" the Iranian left refuses to support the historic program of the national democratic revolution: the right of nations to self-determination, including separation; the emancipation of women; separation of church and state and freedom for religious minorities. Why? Because every task of genuine national democratic revolution challenges the social order upon which the national bourgeoisie rests.

The RST and the Lessons of Bolshevism

The Revolutionary Socialist Tendency is an interesting and important development. It split from the Fedayeen minority in mid-1982 over the character of the social revolution in Iran, which it asserted is *proletarian* as opposed to the "two-stage" dogma. Nevertheless, at the May 7 forum supporters of the RST claimed that the 1978-79 period in Iran was "not so clear." Yet that was the crucial moment for those who are genuinely struggling for proletarian revolution and not just in covering their own tracks! The RSTers reproached the iSt for polemicizing against the Iranian left thereby ignoring the "people." While paying lip service to the Leninist tenet that the granite foundation of the revolutionary party is *program*, in reality they envision the spontaneous creation of this party "born in the midst of the struggle of the working class." Lenin noted the parallelism between the Economists who worshipped the spontaneous and immediate economic struggles of labor and the *narodnik* terrorists who worshipped the spontaneity of the "people" and "the propaganda of the deed." The underlying theme of the RST supporters' interventions was the flight from any real discussion of the left's criminal prostration before Khomeini, while counterposing "immediate tasks" and tactical gimmicks to the basic questions of program and strategy. It is only by confronting the bankruptcy of the Iranian "left" in 1978-79—and today—that the crucial task of regrouping revolutionary forces to forge a genuinely communist vanguard, the nucleus of the future Trotskyist party in Iran, can be accomplished.

The RST's current perspective of toppling the Khomeini regime simply through labor struggles and factory committees ignores the fact that in a semi-colonial country like Iran, this prison house of nations where women are enslaved in veils and sexual "deviants" are routinely shot, where the Shi'ite priesthood regulates every aspect of daily life according to laws that predate feudalism, where the agrarian question is a matter of life and death for millions of peasants and rural toilers, the struggle for democratic rights and against extra-class oppression is decisive for proletarian revolution.

That the RST has not really broken with nationalist populism is indicated by their agreement with the Ashraf guerrillaists in rejecting the Russian October as a model in the name of "national particularities." Ashraf group supporters at the forum argued that the Chinese, Vietnamese, Angolan and Mozambican revolutions had "followed their own way." However, the first two culminated in *deformed* workers states in which capitalism was expropriated but political power was monopolized by a parasitic and nationalistic bureaucratic caste. The tragic results of Stalinist nationalism can be seen in the present U.S.-China alliance, which is aimed at crushing Vietnam and ultimately overthrowing the gains of the Russian October. The Angolan and Mozambican revolutions "followed their own way" only to replace the colonialists with their own petty-bourgeois nationalist elite as the domestic intermediary of imperialist (including South African) domination.

LTF speakers unmasked the capitulation to Shi'ite Islam contained in the call for Iranian exceptionalism. Iran under the shah with its weak bourgeoisie, with an autocracy thoroughly corrupt, discredited and isolated, with a small but powerful proletariat, with an explosive mixture of national and agrarian questions, most closely resembled tsarist Russia. What is missing is the Bolshevik party at the head of the Iranian proletariat, a factor which combined with the egregious opportunism of the left, allowed the reactionary Shi'ite clergy to place itself at the head of the insurgent masses.

Defend the Gains of the Russian October!

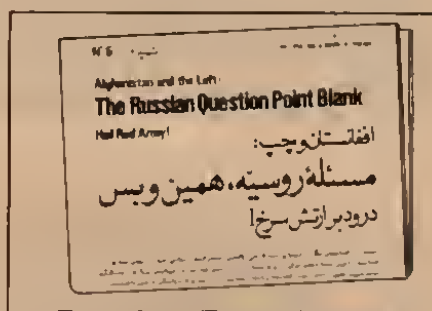
LTF spokesmen pointed out that Tudeh, which claims to defend the Soviet Union, backs Khomeini who arms the counterrevolutionary rebels in Afghanistan in killing Red Army soldiers. The contradiction between Peykar's attempt to approach revolutionary defeatism on the Iran-Iraq war, where it stood counterposed to its own ruling class, and its hysterical anti-Sovietism which in Afghanistan unites it with its own ruling class and all the imperialist powers no doubt contributed to the disintegration of that organization.

When we look at a group like the Organization of Communist Unity, which while moving in the direction of "state capitalism," has spent the last decade without an explicit position on the class nature of the Soviet state, or the Union of Communist Militants which gave up its agnosticism in order to fuse with Komaleh, which holds that the USSR is "social-imperialist," it is difficult to take these "theoretical" debates in the Iranian left seriously. *Yet the "Russian question" is key to proletarian revolution in Iran.*

One would think that leftists who are now all too well aware of the torture chambers of the Iranian "Islamic republic" would hail the intervention of the Red Army against Khomeini's brethren in Afghanistan. But here we touch the Persian nationalist heart of the anti-Sovietism of the Iranian left. The ex-member of Peykar posed the problem point-blank when he asked what our attitude would be in the event of the Soviet army intervening in Iran! Almost without exception the entire Iranian left, even those who think the USSR is some kind of "socialism," regard the Soviet Union as a menacing great power on Iran's northern border.

When threatened by imperialism, as in Afghanistan, the Soviet bureaucracy sometimes combats the forces of reaction. In those cases the Soviet army, even under bureaucratic control, is defending the social gains of the October Revolution—the planned, collectivized economy. Trotskyists condemn Stalin (still a hero for many of these Stalinist-nationalists) not for occupying northern Iran during World War II but for *withdrawing* from Azerbaijan in 1946. Military aid to bourgeois-nationalist butchers like Mengistu in Ethiopia or the intervention against the proletarian political revolution in Hungary in 1956 is another matter altogether. In any military confrontation between the Soviet degenerated workers state and capitalist forces, we defend the gains of the October Revolution and call for proletarian political revolution against the parasitic bureaucracy. But anti-Soviet nationalism is the handmaiden of the Iranian left's populism.

The Spartacist perspective for proletarian revolution in Iran is an international one. It is also one of revolutionary optimism in the capacity of the Iranian proletariat. Both qualities are alien to the present organizations of the Iranian left. But not to those militants who will rally to the banner of a reborn Fourth International and build the party which will lead the Iranian October, thus giving shape to the aspirations of the "Internationale," sung in four languages, which closed the meeting. ■



Persian Translations

1. Fake Trotskyists Support Mullahs
2. Iranian Fedayeen In Search of a Progressive Clergy
3. Iran/Iraq Blood Feud
4. Iranian Left and the Test of War
5. Iran and the Left
6. Afghanistan and the Left: The Russian Question Point Blank

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South African Martyrs...

(continued from page 1)

nationalist organizations who act in the name of the oppressed, the ANC has been highly selective, choosing real targets of imperialist domination and racist oppression in which innocent victims are minimized: a nuclear power plant, police stations, air force headquarters.

These are the police stations which contain the thousands of blacks arrested every day for petty violations of the apartheid pass and migratory labor laws as well as the "political crimes" of supporting left-wing, labor, nationalist and democratic causes. In these police stations they are tortured, often to death, or sent to prisons where they are "found" hung like courageous white union organizer Neil Aggett. Further, the recent ANC actions were carried out with a sophistication that indicates a professional, highly trained cadre and wide support within South African society, including among elements of the white community, a fact which must really rattle the racist bigots of Pretoria.

The most important point is that made by Trotsky in a section of his essay, *Their Morals and Ours*, appropriately entitled, "Morality of the Kaffirs." In polemicizing against those renegades from Marxism like Max Eastman who claimed that applying different criteria to the actions of exploiters and exploited signified standing at the level of the "morals of the Kaffirs," Trotsky wrote:

> "A Kaffir who has not been demoralized by missionaries to the marrow of his bones will never apply the selfsame abstract moral norms to the oppressors and the oppressed. Yet he will easily comprehend that it is a function of these abstract norms to prevent the oppressed from arising against their oppressors."

The lynching of the three ANC militants evoked an international outcry because South Africa is a hideous microcosm of the relationship of imperialist power to the oppressed nations and toilers of the world. Therefore the oppressed everywhere feel a special kinship with anti-apartheid fighters in South Africa. This is especially true for American blacks whose sense of identity

WV Photo

Los Angeles, June 8: At South African consulate Spartacist League protests against Botha's apartheid lynchings.

with the oppressed of South Africa has been deepened by the viciously racist administration in the White House.

It was no mere coincidence that on the same day that Reagan invited apartheid butcher Botha to meet him at the White House, last November 27, he also gave the Ku Klux Klan a green light to parade through the streets of Washington to the White House for the first time in 57 years. It was the power of the working class, demonstrated by the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League, that stopped the Klan on November 27 and then took over their parade route for a victory march against racist terror. Given the Botha visit, we like to think that a blow was struck against race-terror in South Africa as well.

The Spartacist League hails the courageous militants of the ANC. Even though the ANC does not have the resources to directly militarily defeat South Africa, nevertheless it is in a state of war with the apartheid regime. In that war we stand with the ANC militants against racist oppression. But their struggle is thwarted and subverted by the ANC's strategy, also promoted by the Stalinist South African Communist Party, of seeking to pressure "liberal" elements in the white ruling class such as gold and diamond magnate Harry Oppenheimer, and the "democratic" imperialist countries, such as Reagan's America, into forcing the South African government to abandon apartheid. The apartheid regime cannot be "reformed," it must be smashed. Under the leadership of a revolutionary vanguard party, the black working class mobilizing behind it all of the oppressed masses of South Africa will be the gravedigger of apartheid. And on that grave will arise a black-centered workers and peasants government.

Break the Chains of Apartheid Slavery!

The executions demanded an immediate outcry from all labor and socialist organizations and decent people everywhere. The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) immediately swung into action, organizing emergency demonstrations and participating in protests against the lynchings, from New York to Chicago, Los Angeles and the Bay Area. Everywhere we brought the message: black unions are key in South Africa; labor/black struggle is the key in America to the liberation of the black masses.

In New York, what was originally announced as a "candlelight" vigil before the execution on Wednesday night, June 8, in front of South African UN offices, spontaneously turned into a predominantly black 700-strong demonstration. There were militant chants such as "Execution, No! Revolution, Yes!" as well as the usual reformist pap provided by the Communist Party and their Workers World fellow-travelers. A Spartacist contingent was well received and many demonstrators held up the *Workers Vanguard* headline, "Black Labor Shakes South Africa," as their placard.

In Chicago, the Communist Party (CP) through its front group, the "National Anti-Imperialism Movement for Solidarity with African Liberation," had called for two days of protest (June 8/9) outside the South African consulate. SL comrades arriving on site Wednesday night found a handful of protesters there, joined the picket line and began chanting, "Stop the Executions! Smash Apartheid in South Africa!" When it became apparent that only a half-dozen CP and Young Communist League (YCL) supporters in all of Chicago were going to show up, they pulled out of the picket line to caucus, briefly rejoined the line, then spent the rest of their time standing about uncomfortably. When a Spartacist comrade urged them not to stand on the sidelines while ANC militants were scheduled to die, all the YCLers could do was snarl, "Get lost! We're having a meeting!" These Stalinist sectarians preferred to *abandon their own demonstration* rather than carry out joint action with the Trotskyists.

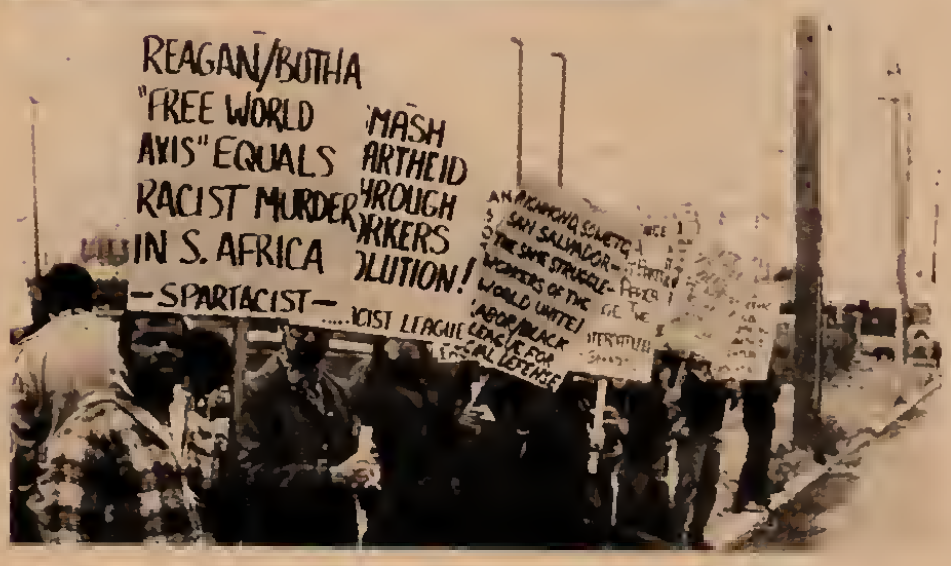
The next day the Chicago SL proposed a united front demonstration to Ted Pearson, Illinois CP state chairman. Yet Thursday was simply a repeat. Again, less than a dozen CP/YCLers cared enough about the executions to come out and protest. Pearson walked up to the line and then retreated to the side. So the Stalinists stood huddled, their backs to the wall, awkwardly watching the demonstration. When asked why they would not protest these apartheid lynch murders, they snarled, "Cop, FBI agent, police provocateur," sounding like the people who in August 1917 called Lenin a German spy. But the Spartacist picket line, with our call for "Vengeance for the ANC Three," was well-received by black passers-by who shouted encouragement and bought almost 100 pieces of our literature. A photo in the city's black daily, the *Chicago Defender* told the story.

Los Angeles Spartacist comrades built a demonstration outside the South African Consulate June 8 in less than a day. Our call for the emergency demonstration to "Stop the Hangings! Save the Anti-Apartheid Fighters!" went out in leaflets and a broadcast over a black radio station brought out six young black militants from Los Angeles Community College. An important factor in building the demonstration was that the Pretoria hangings recalled lynch terror against blacks in the American South. This is keenly felt in L.A., where a five-year-old black child, Patrick Mason, was shot to death watching TV in his bedroom by a kill-crazy racist cop. Some 30 people participated in the action which ended with speeches from the SL/SYL and militant phone workers (see box). A second protest that evening called jointly by the CP, ANC and SCLC drew some 250 people, predominantly black.

In the Bay Area, the Spartacist

WV Photos

Oakland, June 9: Protesting the South African-bound ship, Nedlloyd Kimberley. Longshore militants (left) appeal to co-workers while SL and Labor/Black League picket (below).



For Labor Action Against Apartheid!

Reprinted below is a resolution raised by Stan Gow at an ILWU Local 10 executive board meeting last September 9. It was "adopted" after being amended to death. Secretary treasurer Bill Bancroft's amendment knocked out the resolution's teeth: its call for Local 10 to "hot-cargo" goods to and from South Africa. Stalinist bloc-partner Leo Robinson moved to delete the class line, i.e., its criticism of divestment and consumer boycotts and its call on South African black workers to break from the bourgeois liberals.

—Reprinted from the "Longshore Militant" No. 55, 12 September 1982

The racist, apartheid South African regime, which Reagan supports, is attempting to destroy the black trade union movement. The state-owned corporation, South African Transport Services, refuses to recognize the General Workers Union, which represents dockside workers. The GWU is already recognized by the stevedoring companies. In Port Elizabeth, 400 dockside workers were fired September 1 for conducting a slowdown to win union recognition. The government plans to deport the workers to the bantustans.

Apartheid, the system of capitalist rule in South Africa, can't be reformed. It must be destroyed. The black working class, leading the oppressed colored (mixed race) and Indian masses, while appealing to the white workers, has the power to destroy apartheid and replace it with a black-centered workers and peasants government.

It is important that U.S. workers, especially longshore and other transport workers, come to the assistance of the South African workers with concrete acts of solidarity. Consumer boycotts are ineffective token pressure tactics and divestment is a utopian scheme which depends on the racist multi-nationals "goodwill."

Therefore, ILWU Local 10 will not work any cargo to or from South Africa until the deportations are canceled, the 400 workers in Port Elizabeth are rehired and the General Workers Union is recognized by the South African Transport Services as the dockside workers representative.

Local 10 also calls on all other ILWU longshore locals and the ILA to take similiar action.

We urge our brothers and sisters in South Africa to politically break with the liberal bourgeois reformers of apartheid and to instead struggle for a black-centered workers and peasants government.

League and the Labor/Black League for Social Defense called for protest outside the South African Airlines' office in San Francisco's Union Square. Again on less than 24 hours notice, the 5 p.m. Wednesday picket drew 75 people, from the SL/SYL, the Labor/Black League, the Democratic Workers Party, Revolutionary Socialist League, and black workers who had received one of the over 1,200 leaflets distributed the day of the demonstration. One popular chant was "Richmond, Soweto, San Salvador—Same enemy, same fight—Workers of the world unite!" This referred to the fight against racist cop terror in Contra Costa county, a fight in which the SL and Labor/Black League have been active. Signs included, "Reagan, Begin, Botha, Hitler—Brothers Under the Skin!" "Smash Reagan/Botha's Anti-Soviet War Drive, the Main Enemy Is at Home!" and "For a Trotskyist Party in South Africa!"

Speakers at the rally included a representative of the Democratic Workers Party; Peter Woolston of the Militant Caucus in the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) and General Executive Board member of ILWU Local 6; and Martha Phillips, recent Spartacist candidate for Oakland City Council. Woolston called for international labor solidarity against the apartheid executions, demanding the longshore union stop working all ships to and from South Africa. This would be a powerful demonstration of labor action, a show of solidarity that would have impact around the world, representing far more of a threat to the murderous apartheid system than dozens of "vigils" and impotent protests.

ILWU militants have been fighting to put this program into action. On the eve of the executions, a South Africa-bound ship was due to arrive in the Bay Area. However, the ship anchored out in the Bay that night. When it docked the next morning, after the executions, it was met by a picket line of SL and Labor/Black League supporters. Militant Caucus members approached their union brothers calling on them to refuse to work the ship. One ILWU brother at the dock that morning was Stan Gow, Militant Caucus spokesman and ILWU Local 10 exec board member. Gow is a respected class-struggle union leader with a long record of fighting on behalf of the oppressed. In 1976 and again in 1977, following the Soweto rebellion, he put forward motions to implement a boycott of South African cargo, and ILWU militants joined with SL/SYLers and solidarity activists in protesting this very same *Nedlloyd Kimberley*. Yet at this moment, Gow is being railroaded by union bureaucrats because he has fought to stop military goods to the bloody Salvadoran junta (see page 3).

A UPI photo of the June 8 San Francisco demonstration, picked up by a Brooklyn daily black paper, showed the integrated crowd of blacks and whites, workers and socialists, voicing their outrage over the Botha/Reagan axis. Spartacist spokesman Al Nelson concluded the SF demonstration, saying, "These men are waiting to die. If we cannot save their lives, then one day we will avenge them, when the working class takes power." ■

For International Labor Action Against Apartheid Rule!

Remarks by militant phone worker Manuel Delgadillo at Los Angeles protest against the apartheid lynchings, June 8.

"We are here today to stand shoulder to shoulder with our brothers and sisters in South Africa who fight against the brutal racist apartheid system. The need of the hour is an organized united movement of solidarity on a national and international scale. Workers everywhere must raise their voices in a mighty protest against the lynching of Mogoerane, Mosololi and Motaung. It is the working class, here and abroad, blacks and Chicanos, who are the allies of the anti-apartheid fighters. Black labor is the Achilles heel of apartheid. The five million black workers have the social power the white rulers cannot suppress purely and simply through police-state terror. That is why the apartheid butchers do everything in their power to struggle against the black workers of South Africa. That is why the masses of black workers remain unorganized. That is why organizers like Neil Aggett are systematically rooted out and murdered. Aggett was found hanged in his cell while under police custody. The labor contract system is at the heart of the apartheid

WV Photo

regime's reign of terror. Black citizens in their own country are forbidden to live with their families, forbidden to leave prison-like compounds. The revolutionary victory of the powerful black working class of South Africa will bring the torturers and hangmen of apartheid to justice."

Mandel...

(continued from page 2)

indefinite future, we have written that the near-bloodless suppression of Solidarność' bid for power has created an opportunity to break a section of the Polish working class from the current infatuation with Wojtyla's Vatican and Reagan's "free world." Thus we have insisted that now is a critical moment to create in Poland underground Trotskyist cells of an educational and propagandistic nature.

As to Mandel's "workers united front" with NATO, Trotskyists do not make united fronts against the Stalinist bureaucracy with anti-Soviet social democrats whose purpose is to whip up Cold War hysteria. This was clearly explained by the then-revolutionary SWP of James Cannon when the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 was crushed by the Soviet army. At that time the social-democratic Reuther regime in the United Auto Workers launched a "solidarity" campaign, demanding among other things that Washington initiate "a United Nations International Police Force to move in and resist aggression in such cases as that of Hungary." The SWP not only refused to support Reuther's campaign but sharply denounced it:

> "...it isn't any principle of international working class solidarity that motivates Reuther and Meany's stand on Hungary. Their 'internationalism' appears on the scene only when it meets with the approval of the U.S. State Department and is always in tune with Big Business foreign policy promoted by the U.S. government.
> "Indeed, Reuther went Secretary of State Dulles one better by proposing, Nov. 13, that the U.S. initiate a permanent UN army to intervene in Hungary. The aim of such intervention would inevitably be the restoration of capitalism in Hungary, something that is diametrically opposed to what the workers are fighting for."
> —*Militant*, 24 December 1956

Today Mandel is striving for a united front with NATO social democracy in support of counterrevolution in Poland. But back in the mid-1950s, when East Europe was actually pregnant with proletarian political revolution, Mandel and his then party boss Michel Pablo were leading advocates of Stalinist self-reform! In a resolution by the Pablo-Mandel International Secretariat of the Fourth International on the 17 June 1953 East German workers uprising, these liquidators called for "real democratization of the Communist Parties"—i.e., the governing Stalinist bureaucracy—and assured workers that "they [the Stalinists] have been obliged to continue along the road of still more ample and genuine concessions.... From now on they will not be able to stop halfway" (quoted in "Towards a History of the Fourth International," Part 4, Volume 3, [SWP] *Education for Socialists Bulletin*, March 1974). Moreover, in contrast to the then-Trotskyist American SWP, the Pablo-Mandel IS pointedly *refused* to call for the withdrawal of the Soviet troops which put down the June 17 revolt. This conciliation of Stalinism, denying the need for an independent Trotskyist leadership, was a major factor in the destruction of the Fourth International by Pabloist liquidationism.

Likewise, in 1956 Pablo/Mandel hailed Gomulka's accession to power as a political revolution against Stalinism and *favorably contrasted* Gomulka's Poland to the *actual* political revolution in Hungary:

> "In Poland, thanks to the leadership role which the workers party was able to play, taken over, transmuted by the Gomulka tendency, itself an expression, albeit deformed, of the true tendency of the masses, yet a centrist tendency nonetheless evolving to the left—the political revolution of the masses against the bureaucratic regime was able to do without wandering in incertitude and confusion and avoiding the dangers inherent in such a situation....
> "In Hungary, the absence of any centralized and however minimally clear leadership provoked, in contrast, after a certain point, exactly these shortcomings and dangers...."
> —*Quatrième Internationale*, December 1956

In reality, Gomulka's accession to power *prevented* a political revolution and set into motion a chain of developments which led eventually to the counterrevolutionary eruption around Solidarność. By glorifying the Gomulka regime as the overthrow of Stalinism, Pablo/Mandel helped discredit Trotskyism in Poland and so strengthened the forces of clerical-nationalist reaction as the only perceived alternative to Stalinist rule. ■

Stan Gow...

(continued from page 3)

destruction of this blood-drenched Salvadoran army that has murdered 50,000 men, women and children since 1979. Reagan, determined to rescue his butchers, is making a hard push for a massive escalation of military and economic support to the junta. That's why on Sunday Defense Secretary Weinberger talked about sending more U.S. "advisers" to El Salvador. Despite all their rhetoric about "conditions" Reagan's getting most of what he wants from the Democrats.

Our brothers and sisters in El Salvador urgently need help from the American labor movement. Reagan's war in El Salvador must be stopped by labor action. Only the labor movement has that kind of power. This was the basis of our call for a 24-hour West Coast port shutdown.

The officers' purge trial was conducted not just to get Stan Gow, but to serve as a warning to the ILWU membership. To the hundreds of longshoremen who voted for Stan's anti-capitalist program in the last election, to the 42 ILWU members who signed his call for a coastwide port shutdown, and to anyone else who wants the union to fight the bosses, the officers' message is, "Shut up or else!"

From Jimmy Herman on down, the ILWU officers are acting as the political cops for Reagan and the Democrats. They are demonstrating that they will do everything they can to stop the union from taking concrete action to stop Reagan's war in El Salvador, to stop the execution of anti-apartheid fighters in South Africa, or on anything else.

El Salvador is in the front lines of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. Herman & Co. support the anti-Soviet war drive and have no answers to the massive attacks on the unions and minorities in this country. They support the Democrats who support Reagan. To help Reagan pay for the Moscow-bound missiles, the imperialist-bribed American trade union bureaucracy does everything in its power to prevent social struggle. That's why they are after Stan Gow. The officers' message is: no strikes/no struggle against the social cuts, givebacks and union busting; and no labor action to stop the rise of Klan and Nazi terror.

Brothers and sisters, it is up to you. You must not let the Local 10 officers tie your hands from fighting the bosses' austerity drive. If you want this union to get off its knees come to the Thursday union meeting and vote *against* the trial committee's verdict! Stop the witch-hunt! Defend Stan Gow! For Labor Action to Stop Reagan's War Drive in El Salvador! ■

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League Sue Dangerous Cult

Moonie Libel That Kills

We reprint below the statement of the Spartacist League Central Committee and the Spartacus Youth League National Committee on the SL/SYL libel suit against the Moonies' Washington Times.

* * * * *

Today, a libel lawsuit was filed hy the Spartacist League (SL) and Spartacus Youth League (SYL) in Superior Court of the District nf Columbia against News World Communieations, Inc., the publishing arm of Sun Myung Moon which owns and operates the *Washington Times*. The Moonies, a purportedly religious, but highly dangerous anti-Communist cult, have targeted the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League hecause the SL/SYL, Marxist political organizations, were the initiators and principal organizers of the successful Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. on November 27.

On November 30, 1982, this *Washington Times* published a feature artiele about November 27 with the headline: "Left-Wing Group Linked tn D.C. Riot." This article vieiously accuses the Spartaeists of "provoking violence" against the police. This dangerously false article smears the Spartacist League as a violent, criminal, paramilitary, terrorist organization whose members wear "blue, hlaek or red berets aecording to their rank." Spinning a weh of grotesque fabrications out of whole cloth this libelous artiele aceuses the Spartaeists of handing out rocks and "heavy metal bolts" to "even children" to throw at the police, while refusing to hand out political posters to non-members.

The Moonie libel falsely hrands the SL/SYL as would-be cop killers, to set us up for police harassment and violence, right-wing attaek, and stepped-up seeret police surveillanee/disruption/provoeation. The Moonies target us as outlaws who should be dealt with militarily and who can be denied the democratic rights of free speeeh and political association. In short, we are being set up to be shot first and questioned later.

We are forced to bring this suit because these are libels that kill. The Moonies' vicious slanders are aimed at setting us up for the same kind of campaign of government slander, provocation and ultimately murder that destroyed the Black Panther Party in the late 1960s. Especially now when the government's new FBI domestic security/terrorism "guidelines" promise inereased infiltration and witehhunting of "violent" and "terrorist" groups, we must fight the Moonie libel. We do not intend tn be nameless, faeeless victims who can, with impunity, be blown away in the dead of night.

The Moonies have more than the SL/SYL in their sights. Their libel goes after all those who endorsed and participated in the massive protest of 5,000 which stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. on November 27. They want to destroy the leadership and discredit the strategy

continued on page 8

"We stopped the Klan!" Now the Moonies want to stop us.

WV Photo

Washington, D.C., November 27: Labor/Black Mobilization stopped the KKK.

Spartacist Legal Complaint

We reprint below the text of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League legal complaint filed 14 June 1983 in Superior Court, District of Columbia.

SUPERIOR COURT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

SPARTACIST LEAGUE and SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE,

Plaintiffs,

against

NEWS WORLD COMMUNICATIONS, INC. and ISAIAH J. POOLE,

Defendants.

COMPLAINT FOR DAMAGES IN THE AMOUNT OF NOT LESS THAN $20,005,000

Plaintiffs, the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, by their attorneys, TIGAR & BUFFONE, COHN, GLICKSTEIN, LURIE, OSTRIN, LUBELL & LUBELL and RACHEL H. WOLKENSTEIN, for their complaint, allege as follows:

NATURE OF ACTION

1. This is an action in damages for defamation eoncerning statements puhlished in the newspaper *The Washington Times* on November 30, 1982, regarding anti-Ku Klux Klan demonstrations held in Washington, D.C., on November 27, 1982. Plaintiffs are the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, whieh are Marxist political organizations and were initiators and principal organizers of an anti-Ku Klux Klan rally. *The Washington Times* is a new newspaper, published daily (except on weekends), that is owned and/or controlled by members or followers of the purportedly religious cult of the Reverend Sun Myung Moon and is strongly anti-Marxist and anti-socialist in its political outlook. The statements at issue herein falsely accused the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE and members thereof, and, by implieation, the SPARTACIST LEAGUE, and members thereof, of provoking violence against poliee and rioting at the anti-Klan demonstration, and of being violent, criminal, para-military and insular organizations.

PARTIES

2. Plaintiffs SPARTACIST LEAGUE (the "SL") and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE (the "SYL") are unineorporated national membership associations, with principal offices in New York, New York. The SL and the SYL are Marxist political organizations. The SYL is the youth section of the SL. The SL has been politieally active in the United States for almost twenty years and regularly

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 333

1 July 1983

Two, Three, Many Defeats for Imperialism!

Vietnam Was a Victory!

Vietnam News Agency

Granma

Defeat U.S. In Central America!

Ronald Reagan came to power vowing to avenge the U.S.' humiliating defeat in Victnam by quickly smashing leftist insurgency in Central America. But despite trillions in armaments, CIA mercenaries and the concerted Cold War campaign, Washington has not pulled off a victory against Communism in what it believes to be its own backyard. Because the U.S.-backed butchers in El Salvador are on the run, and its *contras* are repulsed at the Nicaraguan border, all wings of Yankee imperialism—from Democratic doves to Reaganite hawks—fear "another Vietnam." They fear another defeat at the hands of a desperately poor and poorly armed population determined to win against the tyranny of U.S. imperialism and its puppet regimes.

But for the workers and peasants of El Salvador, for revolutionaries in America and throughout the world, *Vietnam was a victory!* That is why the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League say: *Two, Three, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism!*

"No more Vietnams" is the counterrevolutionary battle cry of an imperialist power still smarting from the rout it suffered militarily and politically in Southeast Asia. Despicably, it is also the primary slogan around which the July 2 El Salvador protest in Washington, D.C. has been called. Making an explicit appeal to the Democratic liberals who hope to head off U.S. defeat in Central America through a "negotiated sellout," the Workers World Party/People's Anti-War Mobilization/All-Peoples Congress (WWP/PAM/APC) of Sam Marcy has draped the July 2 demo in the stars and stripes.

This "emergency" demonstration was called months in advance to coincide with the July 4th patriotic holiday. The Marcyite organizers chose the Vietnam War Veterans Memorial for their rally site—the imperialists' grotesque monument to the mission of "their boys," the Lt. Calleys who were driven out by the heroic Vietnamese. Perhaps the Marcyites are considering beginning the rally with a moment of silence or a prayer for the defeated U.S. troops.

We have noted that the Veterans Memorial would be "a fitting place for a rally of the American Legion" (*WV* No. 331, 3 June). Now the Marcyites find they are competing with precisely such reactionaries for this "sacred" patriotic space. A lash-up of fascistic "captive nations" emigrés, the New Right and flag-waving veterans groups, as well as Cuban and Vietnamese *gusanos* have threatened a counterdemonstration with disgusting ex-Panther and Moonie showpiece Eldridge Cleaver as speaker, to "neutralize" the July 2 rally at the Memorial. But "No More Victnams" rally spokesman Bob Lamoth has tried to indicate to these fanatic anti-Communists that the Marcyite demo is pretty neutral already: "We don't mean to offend anyone," he whined about the use of the Memorial. "We think it is important to point out that there were 57,000 Americans killed in Vietnam, and our purpose is to keep that from happening again" (*Washington Post*, 24 June).

The July 2 "call to action" (printed in the *New York Times*, 1 May) is one of the most disgustingly chauvinist documents ever produced even by the U.S. "peace movement." It sums up the result of the Vietnam War: "300,000 GI's wounded and 57,000 dead. Over $150 billion spent on a cruel, illegal and unjust war that finally had to be abandoned." The call says *not one word* about the *one million Vietnamese* slaughtered by U.S. imperialism, not a word about the Vietnamese men, women and children cruelly maimed for life by napalm, the razing of whole villages until the countryside resembled a moonscape. In fact, more bombs were dropped by the U.S. in the Vietnam War than in all of World War II. But for the organizers of the July 2 demonstration, like the Senators and Congressmen they hope to appeal to, all of this is covered under the cost-effectiveness of pursuing the war.

The Vietnam War was not one which "finally had to be abandoned." The U.S. was *driven out* by the National Liberation Front (NLF) and North Vietnam-

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Stalinist Deal with the Vatican?

The Pope of Counterrevolution

SEE PAGE TWO

Stalinist Deal with the Vatican?

The Pope of Counterrevolution

JUNE 28—Pope John Paul Wojtyla's eight-day "pilgrimage" to his Polish "homeland" unleashed an orgy of anti-Communist and anti-Soviet demonstrations, as all knew it would. He reignited the forces of clerical-nationalist counterrevolution which were temporarily checked by General Jaruzelski's December 1981 countercoup against Solidarność' bid for power. Everyone has been asking, why did Warsaw allow it? What did the beleaguered Polish Stalinists hope to gain from the pope's inflammatory visit?

As we go to press there are sensational and increasingly detailed reports of a deal between the Vatican pontiff and the Polish general. Allegedly martial law would be lifted in exchange for the disappearance of Solidarność and a return to oblivion for its leader, Lech Walesa. A new "union" would be sanctioned under the direct control of the Catholic church hierarchy. In addition, the church would establish a bank providing loans for Poland's several million peasant smallholders and petty entrepreneurs. In turn, Western imperialist powers—Wojtyla's masters—would lift sanctions to ease the economic pressure on Poland.

We are not in a position to know if such a deal were made. But we warn: this would threaten the very foundations of proletarian state power in Poland, endangering the entire Soviet bloc. The Catholic hierarchy seeks institutionalized control over the economic life of the nation, interposing itself as an intermediary between the regime and the petty bourgeoisie and working class. We Trotskyists, who in late 1981 proclaimed "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" insist that only through proletarian political revolution in the bureaucratically degenerated/deformed workers states and socialist revolution in the capitalist West can the forces of counterrevolution be defeated.

Pilgrimage for the Cold War

"He goes right in there and stops just short of stirring up rebellion," Republican Senator Charles Percy observed approvingly (*New York Times*, 24 June). And indeed Wojtyla whipped up anti-Communist hysteria, exhibiting his authority in Poland in order to increase his bargaining power. For more than a week he roamed the country, preaching the gospel according to NATO, demanding Polish "sovereignty" and "freedom" from Russian "domination":

- "The fate of Poland in 1983 cannot be a matter of indifference to the nations of the world, especially Europe and America" (Warsaw).
- "Solidarity" was a time "when the Polish worker stood up for himself with the gospel in hand and a prayer on his lips" (Czestochowa).
- "Do not be swallowed up by immorality and indifference.... The nation is called to victory" (Krakow).

Pope Wojtyla was the imperialists' man in Poland. His visit gave a "legitimate" cover for massive anti-Communist demonstrations, far and away the largest since Walesa's power grab was spiked two and a half years ago. Altogether, an estimated ten million people filled the churches, the parks, the soccer stadiums dominated by monstrous altars and crosses. Solidarność activists brandished their crosses and banners, wore their Black Madonna pins, flashed their V-signs and marched through the streets proclaiming, "The priests are with us. The pope is with us."

It was a week-long orgy of anti-Russian Polish nationalism: every religious image made political, every "sacred" site chosen to further the chilling appeal: the pilgrimage to the icon of the Black Madonna of Czestochowa, credited with having broken the siege of the "foreign invaders" (Swedish Protestants in 1655). "Before your altars, we entreat you, oh lord, deign to restore to us a free homeland," intoned the pope, dressed in royal crown and red cape emblazoned with the Polish eagle and the cross. Home Army songs are sung at mass, along with "Oh God, Who Has Defended Poland" and "March, March Dombrowski," ode to the emigré general who fought the Russians under Napoleon. And everywhere Wojtyla warns about the "arrogance of power."

The beleaguered Stalinist officialdom is dismayed by it all. "The pope is the only authority in the country," one of them exclaimed (*Los Angeles Times*, 20 June). A genuinely communist regime, as opposed to this wretched bureaucracy, would have a base in the population to pursue the struggle against clericalism. What is involved is *not* a religious issue, a matter of personal faith in god. Marxists do not go around burning crucifixes and knocking down churches. If the church stays out of political life, then social development over the generations will determine whether or not people continue to believe in an afterlife.

Burnett/Contact

Pope stirs the spirit of clerical counterrevolution in Nowa Huta—town of the Stakhanovite "Man of Marble," now a Solidarność stronghold.

But Wojtyla is making a bid to enhance the already enormous political weight of the Catholic church in Polish society. (In fact, the Italian wing of the Vatican is clearly upset that the Polish pope has become so deeply embroiled in the political life of his homeland.) After his second meeting with Jaruzelski, a son of the Polish upper classes educated by the Jesuits, reports began circulating about a deal, most of them emanating from Rome.

Lech Walesa is reportedly being dumped as the church's favorite son in Poland. Since the general strike on the Baltic coast in August 1980, the Vatican has constantly praised him for having uncompromisingly and unconditionally followed the directives of the church. This, of course, led him to become a front man for Western imperialism, financially for the West Germans, militarily for the Americans. His proud hoast was that he had never read a book—which is how he got invited to lecture at Harvard. He is a Polish version of Father Gapon, who was finally murdered by the Social Revolutionaries as a tsarist agent. Well, now the Vatican paper, *L'Osservatore Romano*, observes, "Officially Lech Walesa once more leaves the scene" because "he has lost his battle." Walesa is undoubtedly too far gone to have learned from what is happening to him, so we will not lecture to him that the path of the socialist class struggle is the way. But mayhe others in Poland will learn from his contemptible fate.

Stalinists Conciliate Clerical-Nationalist Reaction

For decades the Polish Stalinists have conciliated the Catholic church in a vain effort to secure social stability. After the 1956 "thaw" the church was allowed to become the *only* voice of political opposition. At the same time, the Polish Stalinists abandoned agricultural collectivization and so perpetuated a class of priest-ridden peasant smallholders hostile to socialism. When Karol Wojtyla, then archbishop of Krakow, was elected the first Polish pope in 1978, we warned:

> "To the Stalinists Pope John Paul II may seem a prince of peace and détente, a man of the post-Helsinki period. Domestically the Gierek regime portrays him as a symbol of Communist-Catholic coexistence. But he now stands at the head of many millions of practicing Catholics in East Europe, a tremendous potential force for counterrevolution. *And it is precisely the Stalinists who are responsible for the existence of this grave threat to the social conquests of the degenerated and deformed workers states.*"
>
> —"The President's Pope?" *WV* No. 217, 20 October 1978

Behind Pope Wojtyla stands the power of Western imperialism, now in particular its capacity for economic blackmail. Poland owes $25 billion or more to Western bankers and governments. The Jaruzelski regime hoped that allowing the pope's visit would ease Reagan's economic sanctions and perhaps open the way for additional Western credits or, at least, easier repayment terms. The minister of religion and atheism, Adam Lopatka, explained this disastrous maneuver: "The trip by the head of the Vatican state and the church will make the continuation of this unfriendly policy toward Poland more difficult." Not a chance. Reagan & Co. will stop being "unfriendly" toward Poland only when Wojtyla is in power in the Belvedere Palace and Jaruzelski is in prison or dead.

While the Moscow Stalinists have taken a harder line on Poland than their Warsaw counterparts, they very much want to cut down their present massive subsidies to the Polish kulaks and neo-Pilsudskiite scum. So the Kremlin, too, is under pressure to accept a deal with the Vatican. The Polish crisis is the product of decades of capitulation by the Stalinists to capitalist restorationist forces and world imperialism. A Trotskyist leadership in the USSR would make short shrift of the mess in Poland.

Wojtyla's anti-Communist pilgrimage and the reported deal to establish a church-run "union" in Poland demonstrate anew that the Stalinist bureaucracy acts as a transmission belt for the imperialist pressures on the Soviet bloc. There can be no "peaceful coexistence" with the Vatican, the International Monetary Fund, Ronald Reagan, NATO and other agencies of global counterrevolution. The social gains of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and their extension to East Europe after World War II can be defended only by proletarian political revolution which ousts the Stalinist bureaucracy and restores the Soviet Union, land of the October Revolution, as a bastion of world communism. ■

Dietz

Rosa Luxemburg, Communist leader and martyr, epitomized the internationalist tradition of Poland's historically socialist proletariat.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 333 **1 July, 1983**

SL/SYL Protest Lynching of South African Martyrs

Smash Apartheid— For Workers Revolution!

The June 9 lynching of three African National Congress (ANC) fighters by the racist South African police state ignited militant outrage from blacks and opponents of apartheid all over the world. In protest against the executions of Jerry Mosololi, Thabo Motaung and Thelle Mogoerane, on June 16 an angry crowd—2,000-strong and overwhelmingly black—marched in New York City from South Africa's UN offices to Madison Square Garden chanting, "Liberation, yes! Apartheid, no! Death to apartheid, blow by blow!"

The nationalists and Stalinists who organized the protest tried to channel this anger and militancy into their strategy of pressuring the blood-soaked U.S. government to reform apartheid. In line with the call for a boycott of South Africa by the "democratic" imperialists, the protest focused on the Duran-Moore boxing match taking place in the Garden, which was sponsored by Bob Arum, who has promoted fights within South Africa. The Trotskyists of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) countered with the call: "Not liberal divestment schemes, but labor action to smash apartheid!"

The SL/SYL intervened with a contingent of 50 people, including militant trade unionists, that called for the U.S. *working class* to take action in defense of the South African oppressed—notably hot-cargoing military goods to the South African butchers. Unaffiliated demonstrators eagerly carried Spartacist placards with slogans like "Frec Tsotsobe, Shabangu, Moise—Free All Victims of Apartheid!", "South Africa Out of Namibia—Military Victory to SWAPO!" and "Smash Reagan/Botha Anti-Soviet War Drive—The Main Enemy Is at Homc!" Our chant, "Put Botha on the run—ANC fighters need Russian guns!" was picked up hy protesters marching near the SL contingent. Wc partieularly raised the defense of ANC lcaders Nelson and Winnie Mandela—"South Africa's last, best hope" as fighters against apartheid and all forms of racialism—who have been jailed and persecuted for more than two decades. In all, over 600 pieces of Spartacist literature werc sold to thc anti-apartheid demonstrators.

The U.S. imperialists have a big stake in the survival of the Pretoria regime, a staunch ally in Reagan's war drive against the USSR. But cracks are appearing in the apartheid strueture as the power and militancy of the black working class grows. The key is the construction of a revolutionary Trotskyist party to lead the proletariat in the fight to topple the brutal apartheid system and go forward to a black-centered workers and peasants government. As our comrades chanted on June 16: "Black labor is the key to smash apartheid slavery!"

WV Photos

Nicaragua Needs MIGs

On the Jalapa Front

On June 2, hundreds of Honduras-based counterrevolutionaries backed by the U.S. launched their third major attack on northern Nicaragua in as many months. The mercenaries, called "freedom fighters" by Ronald Reagan and "beasts" by the Nicaraguan people, are largely former members of dictator Anastasio Somoza's murderous National Guard, paid and directed by the CIA in an overt-covert war against the radical nationalist Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). In March a Somozaist invasion reached into the heart of the country. In May they surrounded the town of Jalapa, isolating its FSLN defenders for several days. This time the *contras* managed to hold a thin sliver of Nicaraguan territory including the border village of El Porvenir for over a week, while destroying a significant part of the tobacco harvest. Ominously, the Honduran army preparcd this attack with a two-day barrage of mortar fire. Reagan and his puppets are preparing a counterrevolutionary war throughout the region. It must be met by a struggle for workers revolution, from Central America to the U.S.

Last month, the Peruvian magazine *Caretas* (16 May) published an article entitled "En el frente de Jalapa" (On the Jalapa Front). This recalled the Spanish Civil War song, "En el frente de Jarama," whose lines continued, "No tenemos ni aviones, ni tanques, ni cañones" (We don't have planes or tanks or cannons). The song reflected the unequal struggle in which the Republican soldiers were starved of arms by the "democratie" imperialists' "non-intervention pact," in cooperation with Stalin who allowed only a trickle of Soviet weapons to reach the Loyalist side, while the Francoists were supplied with the most up-to-date aircraft and artillery by the German and Italian fascists. With mass support and a growing people's militia, the FSLN can beat back anything short of a direct U.S. invasion. But today on the Jalapa front, Sandinista soldiers could repeat the refrain as they, too, lack planes, tanks and heavy guns while Honduras has the most modern air force in the region, equipped with U.S. and Israeli jets. As FSLN interior minister Tomás Borge remarked: "We're lacking weapons. We don't lack thc people to hold them" (*Wall Street Journal*, 31 May).

U.S. aggression against the Sandinistas continues to escalate. In May Reagan cut off the sugar quota—shades of Cuba 1960. In response to Managua's expulsion of three CIA spies, whose guilt was demonstrated on videotape, on June 7 Washington closed down every Nicaraguan consulate in the country and summarily deported 21 diplomats. This measure was only two steps short of a formal declaration of war: next comes breaking of diplomatic relations. Yet only four days after it was revealed that the Americans attempted to poison Nicaraguan foreign minister Miguel D'Escoto, the intended victim held a chat with U.S. "peace" envoy Richard Stone, former lobbyist of the Guatemalan military dictatorship! The FSLN *comandantes* seem determined to follow the treacherous advice of Fidel Castro, who counseled them on the morrow of their victory over Somoza to "avoid [the Cubans'] mistakes" and seek to eonciliate the Yankee imperialists whatever the cost. But while the Sandinistas keep turning the other cheek, the CIA is amassing a counterrevolutionary army on both borders, staging bloody invasions and activating a capitalist fifth column to "destabilize" the country from within.

With every step toward open war, the Reagan administration is pushing Nicaragua down the "Cuban road," toward the formation of a bureaucratically deformed workers state. But the Sandinistas remain wedded to their petty-bourgeois nationalist program of "nonalignment, mixed economy and political pluralism." Recently the FSLN regime seized the properties of 15 landowners guilty of collaboration with the *contras*, as well as two factories of a leading businessman who had systematically "decapitalized" them (milking profits to feed bank accounts in Miami or Switzerland). Yet these are still measures aimed only at those counterrevolutionary plotters who have been caught. Marxists understand that the capitalist *class* as a whole is the base of counterrevolution, which would bring back the bloody tyranny of the Somozaist butchers to protect their profits and property, in concert with U.S. imperialism's global anti-Soviet war drive.

The question posed sharply in Nicaragua today is that of social revolution or bloody counterrevolution: will Sandinistas act as Cuban Castroists and finally expropriate the bourgeoisie; or as Spanish Loyalists whose policies of preserving capitalist rule strangled proletarian revolution and let the Francoists pass—at a cost of hundreds of thousands of dead and decades of dictatorship? The Spartacist tendency fights for the formation of Trotskyist parties throughout the region, forged on the program of permanent revolution: Kill the *contras*—workers to power! Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs—Nicaragua needs MIGs! Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan revolution! ■

Syrians Exploit Anger Over Arafat's Betrayals

Mutiny in the PLO

JUNE 26—With the open mutiny in the Palestinian guerrilla army in Lebanon and the expulsion of Yasir Arafat from Syria, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is facing the most serious crisis in its almost 20-year history. Retreating to the northern Lebanese port of Tripoli, Arafat loyalists are hemmed in by Israeli patrol boats on the sea and hostile Syrian forces on the city's edge. Arafat is paying for his own treachery during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon last summer. The heroic resistance of the Palestinian guerrillas during the siege of Beirut was betrayed by Arafat's deal with Washington—without a peep of protest from the PLO "radicals" like George Habash (PFLP) and Nayef Hawatmeh (DPFLP) or the leaders of the present anti-Arafat mutiny—allowing PLO forces to be disarmed and dispersed by the U.S. Marines, French Foreign Legion and Italian troops. The immediate result of the imperialist disarmament of the PLO commandos was the Israeli-orchestrated Lebanese Phalangist massacre of Palestinians at Shatila and Sabra.

The U.S.-backed Israeli invasion of Lebanon demonstrated in the most naked way the genocidal program of Zionism. Tens of thousands of Palestinians were killed, hundreds of thousands driven from their refugee camp homes. The only language to describe Israel's invasion and occupation of Lebanon is the language of the Nazi holocaust in East Europe. The Israeli army itself described its mission with the Hebrew word *letaher*—the "purification" of Lebanon of PLO forces. And with the aid of the Arafat leadership and the Syrian Ba'athists, the Zionist criminals have gone a long way toward achieving that aim.

After the withdrawal from Beirut Arafat became a general without an army. The PLO commandos were dispersed in concentration camps across the Arab world, while those remaining in Lebanon were firmly under the control of the Syrian army. The *New York Times* (5 June) observed:

> "Given what has happened to the P.L.O. over the last year it would appear that former Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon's Lebanon strategy was close to the mark. His plan to drive the P.L.O. into the iron grip of the Syrians has in large measure worked. As a result, the organization is losing its unity and independent identity...."

Der Spiegel

Arafat disarmed PLO, now Assad wants to subjugate it.

As his reward for brokering the introduction of imperialist troops into Lebanon, last September Arafat was given the Reagan plan, which proposes to establish a Palestinian "entity" under the guns of Jordan's King Hussein, butcher of the 1970 Black September massacre. The PLO chief found "positive elements" in Reagan's plan and spent the next several months pursuing these in negotiations with the Jordanian monarch. According to the leader of the mutiny, Colonel Saed Musa, Arafat was willing to agree that the West Bank and Gaza Palestinians would become vassals to the Hashemite throne.

The mutiny in the PLO ranks clearly expresses angry frustration over the last year's defeats and betrayals, in particular Arafat's open turn toward Pax Americana in the Near East. Centered in the Fatah, the predominant organization in the PLO coalition, the mutiny represents a deep split. It must be a desperate act, since it challenges the personal authority of Arafat, who for almost ten years has held the Arab League franchise as the official leader of the Palestinian people. At the same time, it is also clear that the Palestinian fighters' anger at Arafat is being manipulated by the Syrian Ba'athist regime for its own ends, which have nothing to do with Palestinian national liberation.

The mutiny began in early May when Arafat attempted to replace two PLO officers in the Syrian-occupied Bekaa Valley of Lebanon with his own loyalists. The leader of the mutiny, Saed Musa, reportedly walked into the headquarters of the elite PLO Yarmouk Brigade in the Bekaa and took over with the help of two mutinous battalions. By early June the conflict had escalated into a full-scale battle around Baalbek, resulting in several dead and wounded.

The mutiny could not have taken place without the support of the Syrians. Syrian officers were reportedly present at the takeover of the Yarmouk Brigade, and the rebels were able to open up an office in Damascus as well as seize six PLO supply centers in the Syrian capital. Just before he was expelled from Damascus, Arafat protested: "The Syrian tanks are surrounding and sieging our troops at every base." Syrian strongman Assad clearly intends to control all of the PLO forces as he now controls the significant Palestinian organization al-Saiqa.

For their part, the leaders of the anti-Arafat mutiny make no secret of their support to the Assad regime. When asked by the liberal West German *Der Spiegel* (6 June) if he did not fear becoming totally dependent on the Syrians, Musa replied: "No. As long as Syria rejects the Reagan initiative and Syrian tanks stand with us against the Israelis, as long as we have a common goal, so long as that we are comrades-in-arms."

Musa conveniently omits that last summer his Syrian "comrades-in-arms" negotiated a separate cease-fire with the invading Israelis, thus allowing Begin/Sharon to concentrate their entire military might against the PLO forces. Henry Kissinger noted at the time with malicious glee that "Syria stood by passively until its own forces were attacked, and made a separate cease-fire while the PLO was being systematically destroyed" (*Washington Post*, 16 June 1982). Musa also conveniently forgets that the Syrian army first entered Lebanon in 1976 (with an Arab League mandate) to support the Christian Maronite forces *against* the PLO. The Syrian intervention shifted the balance of forces, setting the stage for the massacre of Palestinians at Tel Zaatar by the Phalangists and Chamounists.

If the Damascus rulers now oppose the Reagan plan to make the West Bank Palestinians into Hashemite vassals, it is *not* because they are champions of Palestinian national liberation. The Reagan plan gores their ox because it would deny Syria the return of the Golan Heights seized by Israel in the 1967 war. More generally, Assad & Co. have their own ambitions for a Greater Syria incorporating Lebanon and *all* of Palestine. Should any significant section of the Palestinian population fall under the sway of the Syrian Ba'athists, they would be suppressed as ruthlessly as the Palestinians in Hussein's Jordan.

Therefore, proletarian revolutionaries cannot support either the Arafat loyalists or the pro-Syrian dissidents. All of the present factions making up the petty-bourgeois nationalist PLO, including the "radical" PFLP and DPFLP, are beholden to one or another of the treacherous Arab bourgeois regimes with their constantly shifting alliances and enmities.

Unintentional satirical comment on the PLO mutiny is being provided by the fake-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). At first these fervent Arafat cheerleaders tried to ignore the whole thing. The 10 June *Militant* ran a giant centerfold interview with PLO UN observer Dr. Hatem Husseini, who brashly asserted that the organization was "more united and determined" than ever. Two weeks later the SWP blamed it all on the Western press:

> "Disputes within the PLO, involving longstanding differences, are being played up in the media. This is part of the attempt to discredit and divide the Palestinian liberation movement."
> —*Militant*, 24 June

Never mind that PLO commandos are killing one another and that Arafat was expelled from Syria practically at gun point. If the bourgeois media hype gets any worse, Arafat might have to ask for asylum at the *Militant* offices.

Far from encouraging the PLO mutiny, some American ruling circles are not at all happy about Arafat's declining fortunes, since the main beneficiary is the Soviet-backed Syrian regime. On June 25 the *New York Times*' well-connected military analyst, Drew Middleton, reported:

> "The worst development, some intelligence sources said, would be the ouster of Mr. Arafat by left-wing organizations such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, backed by Syria with the blessing of the Soviet Union. The sources said a consequence could be a more aggressive P.L.O. in which the number of fully armed battalions could be increased with Soviet help to at least five, from the present three."

The recent Shultz/Gemayel/Begin agreement to turn southern Lebanon into an Israeli protectorate and the presence of American troops in Lebanon paves the way for a Pax Americana in the Near East, backed up by Israeli armed power which will now be resupplied with American F-16s and other modern weapons. Israeli/imperialist troops out of Lebanon! The only kink for Reagan's imperialist ambitions in the region is the refusal thus far of Syria to go along with the deal by withdrawing its 40,000 troops from Lebanon along with its Soviet-supplied missiles. Should the Soviet Union become directly involved in an imperialist-designed military provocation in the Near East, the urgent requirement for the international proletariat would be unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union.

Frey/Time

PLO exits Beirut: then came the Israeli-instigated massacre of Palestinians at Shatila and Sabra.

The workers and oppressed masses in the Near East will gain nothing by supporting the Syrian army, and will suffer bloody repression at its hands. The road to liberation for the displaced Palestinians can only lie in workers revolution throughout the region—from Tel Aviv to Damascus. The recent antiwar protests in Israel as well as significant strike activity there shows that the country is not a Zionist monolith but is rent by deep class and social divisions. Revolutionary communist (Trotskyist) parties are urgently needed in the Near East, seeking to mobilize the working class at the head of the oppressed masses to overthrow capitalism. Given Israel's dominant role in the region—with up to 30,000 occupying troops in Lebanon—it is especially incumbent on the Israeli workers to demand: Israel out of Lebanon and the Occupied Territories! Self-determination for both the Palestinian Arabs and Hebrew-speaking people can be achieved only within the framework of a Socialist Federation of the Near East, born of a common class struggle of Arab and Hebrew workers against their own rulers.■

Birmingham Bomber Jailed: Put Him Away for Good!

J.B. Stoner: Racist Terrorist

ATLANTA—It was a testament to "justice" in racist, imperialist America and the state of Alabama, where George ("Segregation Forever") Wallace has returned to the state house over which the Confederate flag still flies. Twenty-five years after the bombing of the Bethel Baptist Church in Birmingham, one of America's bloodiest race-terrorists, "J.B." Stoner, began serving the minimum sentence of ten years for his heinous crime.

Turning himself in earlier this month after four months as a fugitive, this unrepentant racist killer told reporters, "I am a white political prisoner." And in a gracious demonstration of "Southern hospitality," Wallace's prison authorities treated Stoner like a war hero. The 3 June *Atlanta Constitution* described how "State corrections officials were polite and even shook hands with their newest charge as they subjected him to a pat-down search." Prison authorities assured: "Stoner would be given a cell to himself and measures taken to ensure his safety." But if Stoner were integrated into the mainstream of Alabama prisons, with their large black population, the cause of genuine justice would be quickly served.

The cordiality of the state of Alabama toward this fascist murderer was reflected in the Southern bourgeois press which has treated him as something of a folk hero. Typical was an *Atlanta Constitution* (6 June) headline, "Stoner's Life on the Run Pleasant." Well, he certainly wasn't troubled by those former employers of the racist killer Gary Rowe, the FBI. No doubt Stoner exploited a KKK and fascist underground whose "close working relationship" with Southern police is notorious. Stoner's bombing was one of *60* to rock that city during the civil rights movement, so that it acquired the nickname "Bombingham." The *Atlanta Journal* ran an article the day after Stoner turned himself in: "Bombing a passionless memory now." Not for its victims, blacks, Jews and other minorities, the labor movement and every decent American that opposes fascist terror and racist murder!

There is one Birmingham bombing in particular, burned into the consciousness of this country, that no "New South" claptrap is going to render a "passionless memory." It was a little past ten in the morning when Ella Demand dismissed her Sunday school class. Cynthia Wesley, Carol Robertson and Addie Mae Collins, all age 14, and 11-year-old Denise McNair went downstairs to a lounge to put on their choir robes when an explosion ripped through the Sixth Street Baptist Church. Horrified black residents rushed to the church past riot police with dogs and shotguns mobilized to keep them back. They watched as the mutilated bodies of the four girls were carried from the rubble. Twenty-one other members of the congregation were seriously injured. The date: 15 September 1963.

Five hundred National Guardsmen were sent by Governor George Wallace to Birmingham that night to intimidate and terrorize angry blacks. By daybreak police had murdered two more black youth, one while riding his bicycle. The bombers were known to the police and within a few days Robert Chamlis, a former Klansman, and two other men were indicted. But the state presented a case so weak that charges were reduced to illegal possession of dynamite, and even these were thrown out on appeal. Chamlis was reindicted in September 1977 for the bombing, the same month Stoner was charged with the 1958 Bethel Baptist Church bombing, and Chamlis was found guilty in a trial later that year. But Patsy Sims in her book *The Klan* (New York: Stein and Day, 1978) asserts that state troopers had information at the time of the original indictments that would have led to the implication of an out-of-state man as the ringleader in the bombings: "One lawman told me that J.B. Stoner was *the* man behind all the bombings."

Biography of a Racist Murderer

Born in Walker County, Georgia in 1924, Benjamin Stoner was a vicious racist from his youth. By the age of 16 he had worked out a method to communicate with Nazi propagandist Lord Haw Haw. He moved to Chattanooga at age 18 and joined the Ku Klux Klan there. Three years later he formed his own fascist group, the "Stoner Anti-Jewish Party." In *1946* he told an Atlanta newspaper the purpose of this group was "to make being a Jew punishable by death," and criticized Hitler as "too moderate" in dealing with Jews!

His anti-Semitic pronouncements were so extreme that they resulted in his expulsion from the Association of Georgia Klans in 1950. But Stoner never broke off his relationship with the KKK. In 1952 he moved to Atlanta, linking up with Edward Fields. Together they formed the National States Rights Party (NSRP) in the late '50s, as the self-styled political arm of the KKK. The NSRP organized lynch-mob rallies throughout the South as Stoner traveled from St. Augustine, Florida to Bogalusa, Louisiana in the company of racist demagogue "Connie" Lynch. A typical rally occurred in Anniston, Alabama where Lynch told his audience: "If it takes killing to get the Negroes out of the white man's streets and to protect our constitutional rights, I say 'Yes, kill them'!" A carload of men left that rally and gunned down a black man on a stretch of highway where a Freedom Riders bus had been burned in 1961.

Bogalusa was in central Louisiana, known as Klan country. When CORE tried to organize a voter registration drive, armed Klansmen patrolled the streets while on the edge of town Stoner and Lynch would work up crowds with their race-hate. But here courageous black residents fought back, organizing the armed Deacons for Defense and Justice. The Spartacist League (SL), although in existence for a bare two years as an independent organization, sought to mobilize national support for the efforts of the Deacons, writing:

> "The Deacons organization is a tremendous step forward for the Negro struggle, not only because it saves lives, but also because it raises the level of consciousness of the civil rights movement by encouraging independent action and discouraging reliance upon the institutions of the bourgeois state."
>
> —"Toward Arming the Negro Struggle," *Spartacist* No. 5, November-December 1965

Stoner has also had a long relationship with Jerry Ray, brother of James Earl Ray, the assassin of Martin Luther King, and was at one time the attorney for James Earl Ray. Sims' book, *The Klan*, marshals substantial evidence that Stoner may have been involved in a conspiracy to kill King and in James Earl Ray's escape from prison.

AP

Birmingham, 1963: bombing of Baptist Church kills four young black girls. "J.B. Stoner was the man behind all the bombings," according to one Alabama lawman.

Stoner has used the NSRP as a platform to run for public office a number of times with increasing and ominous success in statewide races during the '70s. In 1970, with Jerry Ray as his campaign organizer, Stoner ran for governor and got 17,000 votes. In 1972 he polled 40,000 for U.S. Senate and in 1974, 70,000 votes for lieutenant governor. As there were plenty of right-wing and racist candidates in each of these races, a large vote for Stoner meant at least passive support for a notorious and self-declared *race-terrorist*.

Stoner's National States Rights Party was associated with the most notorious racist killers of this past generation, including former Michigan Klan leader Robert Miles, imprisoned for the 1971 Pontiac school bus bombings; and Byron de la Beckwith, the murderer of civil rights leader Medgar Evers. The NSRP is engaged in brokering the unity of all fascist forces in the country. It is aligned to the United Racist Front formed by Virgil Griffin, the North Carolina Klan leader who rode in the lead car at the 1979 Greensboro massacre.

The NSRP's second in command, Edward Fields, heads the Klan organization in Marietta, a racist suburb of Atlanta. The custodian of those KKK headquarters is none other than Jerry Ray. Stoner's law partner is NSRP supporter James Venable, leader of the National Knights of the KKK located in Stone Mountain, Georgia. And Marietta, known as "Lockheed country" after its major employer, is in the Sixth Congressional district whose House representative is the fanatical Birchite witchhunting demagogue, Larry McDonald.

Black Democrats and the NAACP have responded to the resurgence of the Klan in Georgia by pushing a measure introduced by Atlanta state representative Tyrone Brooks to create an "anti-terrorist task force" as part of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation (GBI). The measure passed early this year and, as is always the case with "anti-extremist" legislation, deference is paid to the fascists while zeal is exhibited toward the targets of the fascists: the left and labor movement. Already, the Revolutionary Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party have been singled out.

That the creation of the GBI "anti-terrorist task force" has done nothing to stop the growth of the Klan was ominously demonstrated in late May when 100 members of the Knights of the Invisible Empire led by Bill Wilkinson paraded through the streets of the integrated Atlanta suburb of College Park. The KKK got a city permit to march through the efforts of the ACLU which appealed the city council's denial to federal district court. The ACLU, so solicitous of "rights" for fascists, is also campaigning to prod the state to investigate Klan murders of Mexican workers in Georgia. But as has been demonstrated for over a century, Klan mobilizations are not a question of "free speech" but of firebombings, lynch terror and racist murder.

The strategy to stop the fascists was demonstrated in Washington, D.C. on November 27 when the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization, initiated by the Spartacist League, kept the Klan off the streets of the nation's capital, a Southern and predominantly black city. This was the most important victory against racist terror in the U.S. in decades. But that demonstration only started the work necessary to sweep the race-terrorists off the streets once and for all. This perspective was summed up in a popular chant at that demonstration: "1,2,3,4—Time to Finish the Civil War, 5,6,7,8—Forward to a Workers State!" It will take a workers revolution in this country to avenge that murder of four black girls in September 1963 and the countless victims of racist terror, so that black people can walk the streets of this country without fear and in dignity and freedom. ■

Atlanta Spartacist League Forum/Video Showing

November 27: Labor/Black Mobilization Shakes Washington, D.C.

"We Stopped the Klan!"

Thousands Take the Street, Drive Out KKK Terrorists!

Speaker: **Ed Kartsen**, Chairman, November 27 Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK; New York City Transit Worker

Saturday, July 9, 7:00 p.m.

Saint Anthony's Educational Center, 951 Gordon St. S.W.

ATLANTA

1973: Popular Front Brought Bloody Coup...
1983: Now "Unity" With Pinochet's Henchmen

General Strike in Chile

On June 14, hundreds of thousands of Chileans joined in a national "day of protest" against the decade-old dictatorship of General Augusto Pinochet. The demonstrations extended from banging pots and honking horns in middle-class neighborhoods to bonfires and barricades in the impoverished *poblaciones* on the outskirts of Santiago. More than 1,300 people were arrested and three killed as the Carabineros clashed with protesters in the center of the capital. "People of all ages and classes joined in defying the government," reported the liberal *New York Times* with satisfaction. When the government responded by arresting Rodolfo Seguel, president of the Copper Workers Federation (CTC), and other miners' leaders, it was met with a call for an unlimited general strike beginning June 23. The work stoppage was largely limited to copper miners (who had already been out for a week) and the truck owners, and on June 26 the action was called off on orders from the Catholic church hierarchy.

The military regime, as usual, blamed everything on "the Communist Party and its known and permanent strategy of violence and subversion." Pinochet proclaimed, "We are going to send the politicians back to their caves to end this problem." While the reformists (Socialists and Communists alike) are tied to a wretched "multisector front" dominated by former Pinochet supporters, their Christian Democratic allies were angling for a coup by "democratic" officers—a petition calling for a "change in command" is now circulating in the barracks (*Clarín* [Buenos Aires], 23 June). But even though the May/June actions have been led by forces seeking a "negotiated transition," this crisis must be seized upon to build a revolutionary opposition rooted in the Chilean proletariat. The Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency demand, as we have ever since that tragic September 11: "Smash the Junta—For Workers Revolution!"

The bloody defeat of the Chilean proletariat ten years ago raised once again fundamental lessons of the communist movement. Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular (UP) coalition of mass reformist workers parties allied with tiny middle-class liberal formations was a classic "popular front." And as in the 1930s (in France, Spain and Chile notably), this class-collaborationist bloc paved the way to disaster by subordinating the workers to "democratic" bourgeois politicians like Christian Democrat Frei and "constitutionalist" officers like Pinochet. The UP literally disarmed the Chilean masses militarily and politically, preventing any serious resistance to the coup. The 1973 defeat was severe, but not a holocaust as in China 1927 or Germany 1933, after which the proletariat did not raise its head for a generation. As a Spartacist League/U.S. Political Bureau meeting stated a few months after the coup:

> "The urgent and central political task within the Chilean and international ostensibly revolutionary left is to assimilate concretely the lessons of popular frontism with or without revisionist 'structural transition to socialism' or petty-bourgeois guerrillaist rhetoric. Our international tendency is uniquely qualified programmatically to assist in such a regroupment perspective. Objectively, the stage in Chile is being set for a giant civil war, perhaps within a few years, because the underlying enthusiasm and capacity of the proletariat have not been exhausted. But without the painstaking and patient construction of a Bolshevik party by work from both without and within the country, this momentous opportunity can be let slip."
>
> —"Perspective for Proletarian Revolution in Chile," *WV* No. 41, 29 March 1974

As the Pinochet regime finally begins to totter, this task has never been more urgent.

UPI

Hoy

El Teniente miners (left) vote for a general strike. Chilean soldiers (right) comb through working-class barrios May 14.

Split in the Ruling Class

The June 14 protest came in response to the army crackdown against a similar action a month earlier (see accompanying article). In late May a National Workers Command (CNT) was formed, headed by CTC leader Seguel. The objective of the CNT action was proclaimed to be "total recuperation of [the people's] dignity and full democracy." While the day began with some bomb explosions of suspicious origin, the protest was utterly peaceful, if not to say impotent. Copper workers refused to eat in company cafeterias, schoolchildren stayed home, etc. Once again government repression hit the poor neighborhoods hardest. Seguel talked of Gandhi, while CNT leaders "privately blamed leftist youths [for the downtown clashes with police] who they said were outside their control" (*New York Times*, 15 June). The next day plainclothesmen arrested the 29-year-old CTC chief, soon to be followed by the rest of the copper union leaders.

This finally provoked a strike, as workers at the El Salvador, El Teniente and Andina mines walked out. The unions at Chuquicamata, the largest open-pit copper mine in the world, buckled under to government pressure. As the strike continued, CNT leaders called for a national work stoppage; they were joined by small businessmen who are on the verge of bankruptcy as a result of Chile's staggering depression. The Christian Democrats indicated their approval, and the American embassy protested against the arrest of Seguel. From the beginning it has been clear that the current unrest reflects a split in the Chilean ruling class. While the work stoppage petered out, influential imperialist mouthpieces insist that Pinochet's days are numbered.

The organizers of the May and June actions were clearly rightist in orientation. While three union leaders associated with the Communist Party were arrested, the Copper Federation is controlled by Christian Democrats. CTC/CNT leader Seguel even brags that on 11 September 1973 he hung out the Chilean flag in support of the Pinochet coup. The other leading group is the Democratic Workers Union (UDT), an outfit associated with the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), a CIA "labor" front formed by the anti-Communist American AFL-CIO and leading multinational corporations. These company unionists were actively involved in the U.S. campaign of "destabilizing" the UP regime, as were the truckers whose lengthy 1972 and 1973 lockouts were financed directly by the CIA. By forming a political bloc with these paid agents of imperialism, the "Socialist" and "Communist" sellouts are once again preparing to sabotage the workers' struggles if they go beyond the limits of (bourgeois) "democracy." Genuine revolutionaries would have intervened in the recent protests organizing independent actions and *warning the masses against "unity" with such criminals who howled with the wolves for the Pinochet bloodbath.*

Who Supported the Copper Miners?

The fake-lefts are predictably enthusing over a "New Generation of Labor Leaders Defying Pinochet" (*Guardian* [New York], 29 June). Others are touting Seguel as a "new Walesa." Certainly this Christian Democrat who hailed Pinochet is just as reactionary as the head of the Polish company union for the Vatican and Western bankers. But how has it come to pass that these are the most prominent Chilean union leaders today? What we are witnessing is the heavy legacy of the UP popular front, ten years later. In the last months of the Allende regime, the leftist government repeatedly acted to hold back militant workers (as in the *cordones industriales*), to give back plants seized from the capitalists, to enforce a "gun control" law through searching factories and leftist party offices. This not only greatly demoralized the most class-conscious proletariat in South America, but in the case of the famous El Teniente copper strike, the popular front forced many into the arms of the right. This betrayal is vividly recalled by every copper miner in Chile today.

The May-June 1973 miners strike was called to demand payment of a cost-of-living adjustment, due under a "sliding scale" won initially from the imperialist copper corporations and maintained by the state mining company CODELCO in 1972. As Nixon & Co. tightened the screws on Chile, "making the economy scream," rather than proceeding to expropriate the bourgeoisie the Unidad Popular tried to squeeze better-paid sectors of the working class. When the miners struck for their rights, they were denounced as "privileged" and "economistic" including by much of the "far left." The foaming Stalinists even called the strikers "fascists." Yet the miners in the past had been the vanguard of the Chilean labor movement, as they are once again today. They had voted for leftist union leaders, even supporting a tiny left-reformist split from the Socialist Party which refused to join the UP. The strike leader, Guillermo Medina, though a former Christian Democrat, was elected as a maverick with leftist support, and some Socialist union officials voted for the strike. But when Allende declared military rule in the mining town of Rancagua and tried to force the strikers back to work, this changed dramatically.

While the entire Chilean popular front was denouncing the miners, the Spartacists supported their just action

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Pinochet to the Wall, Workers to Power!

JUNE 13—The May Days in Chile marked the first coordinated national mass protests in the country since the bloody overthrow of Allende's left-wing Unidad Popular (UP) regime a decade ago. The old images return: once again the stadiums are filled with prisoners, once again they are banging empty pots and pans. Enraged sectors of the petty bourgeoisie are in the streets again, this time against Pinochet. Yet the fundamental force in the May protests was not the lawyers, students and housewives from the *barrio alto*. It was the working class, from the powerful copper miners to the hundreds of thousands of unemployed who set up barricades in Santiago's shantytowns. The political leaders, from the reactionary right to the pseudo-socialist left, are seeking to put together a new class-collaborationist alliance to hold these masses in check. They know that once the working class arises it will shake this shoestring country from the Atacama Desert to the Antarctic. But the only way to avenge the tens of thousands dead, the hundred thousand sent to concentration camps, the million Chileans forced into exile, the only way to wipe the *milico* butchers off the face of the earth forever, is through *workers revolution*.

May 11 opened a new stage in the struggle against the Pinochet dictatorship, the stage of open mobilization. The regime responded with its accustomed brutality, arresting, beating, killing. But already a new day of protest has been called for June 14. As one leader of the protests remarked, "Under the terror, the Chilean masses have lost everything, even their fear." A correspondent reports: "Audiences watching the American film *Reds* routinely break into cheers and whistles when the sound track plays the Internationale, the anthem of the world communist movement" (*Miami Herald*, 29 March). Today the junta has become almost completely isolated from the civilian population, supported on its bayonets alone. Chile's so-called "economic miracle" produced by the notorious "Chicago boys" has devastated the country: official unemployment well over 30 percent, spiraling bankruptcies. With massive discontent at every level of the population, Pinochet's agony has begun. This opportunity must be seized to bring down the dictatorship through revolutionary action. The Spartacist tendency has called ever since that infamous September 11, "Down with the junta—Workers to power!"

A moment is approaching that millions of Chileans have been yearning for, as the jobless scratched through garbage piles for a scrap to eat, as they have suffered through ten years of brutal repression under the military boot. The day of reckoning would come, days of vengeance when the tyrants who goosestep past the burnt-out Moneda Palace could be brought to revolutionary justice. But the reformist misleaders of the left and labor movement are putting together one of the most hideous "popular fronts" in history, including not only Socialists and Radicals (supported by the Communists), but also the Christian Democrats who cheered the '73 coup, the National Party which spearheaded the rightist mobilizations, and even some of the fascist Patria y Libertad terrorists! During the time of Allende, powerful workers struggles which took over factories and farms were blocked by the UP popular front, paving the way for the bloody takeover by "constitutionalist" General Pinochet. Today the "democratic" and "multiparty" alliances threaten to strangle a brewing mass insurrection. It is urgently necessary to forge a Trotskyist party, drawing the tragic lessons of the popular front, to lead the Chilean proletariat to victory. The alternative is another catastrophic defeat, as today's "democrats" once again become the bloodhounds when things get "out of hand."

Sygma

Santiago, May 14—Shaky Pinochet regime responds to May mobilizations with mass arrests, torture, killing.

May Days in Santiago

The May 11 protests were called by the Confederation of Copper Workers (CTC), representing 22,000 workers of the state-owned CODELCO mining corporation. In the last couple years a new leadership, politically close to the Christian Democrats, has taken over the CTC, growing out of the two-month copper strike of 1981 and replacing the previous unconditional *pinochetistas* at the head of this strategic union. A national congress of the CTC in April originally called for a national work stoppage against the "complete economic, social, cultural and political system... which is surrounding us and crushing us." At the end of their congress, the miners marched through the capital, defying busloads of police. The regime, caught off guard, hesitated briefly and then responded the only way it knows how. Attempts by several hundred protesters to march on May 1 were broken up by bands of government thugs in plainclothes. And in the next days tanks surrounded the El Teniente, Chuquicamata and El Salvador mines as the army threatened dire consequences in the event of a strike. On May 7 CTC leader Rodolfo Seguel rescinded the call for a strike, urging "peaceful but active protests" instead.

But the whole country was in a state of expectation, and even though the action was called off it could not stop the outpouring of rebellion on the 11th. The CTC tops had called for a classless "civic protest," including the banging of pots and pans, that symbol of the right-wing "destabilization" of Allende's UP. And the middle class expressed its growing desperation: parents kept children home from school, key intersections were tied up in the evening with everyone honking their horns, when darkness fell students poured out of the universities to hold lightning rallies. When police tried to scatter them it led to running battles all over downtown Santiago and government forces were not able to regain control until dawn. But the hard core of the protests was in the slum neighborhoods, where barricades went up in full daylight and the riot police launched murderous charges. Thousands took part in the actions; two were killed and 350 arrested in the capital and hundreds more in the provinces. Among those detained were three priests and 34 seminarians.

While the protests ranged from the slums to the suburbs, the dictatorship knew who was their real enemy: the repression was concentrated overwhelmingly in the workers districts. The following day there was a funeral for one of the victims of the cop terror in the barrio of La Victoria. Fifteen hundred people joined the funeral procession shouting anti-government slogans. Then in the early morning hours of May 14 the military struck hard. At 4 a.m. dozens of army trucks carrying heavily armed combat troops pulled up to the La Victoria and João Goulart shantytowns. Streets were cordoned off as loudspeakers ordered all males over the age of 14 to come out. Some 3,000 men were picked out and hauled off to the soccer stadiums where they stood for hours in the rain for "identity checks." Several hundred were then removed to police stations to face beatings and torture at the hands of the CNI (Pinochet's secret police, formerly the DINA). But the repression no longer intimidates, and new anti-government actions have already been announced.

May 11 came after a geometric escalation of protests against the military regime over the last six months. In December 1982 a series of demonstrations by the National Union Coordinating Committee (CNS) brought hundreds into the streets of Santiago, resulting in the deportation and banishment (to remote areas of Chile) of several CNS leaders. In January 10,000 Christian Democratic Party (PDC) supporters paraded on the anniversary of the death of PDC leader Eduardo Frei. And on March 25 thousands surged through downtown Santiago in a demonstration announced over Radio Moscow's "Escucha Chile" (Listen Chile) shortwave radio program. Some 250 Communist Party (PCCh) youth battled it out with the cops, throwing bricks and receiving blasts from water cannons which were used for the first time since 1973.

Bourgeois Opposition Grows

Behind the explosion of opposition to the Pinochet regime is a depression rivaling that of the 1930s. But while it is fed by the worldwide capitalist crisis, the policies of the Chilean dictatorship have turned this into a catastrophe. The "economic miracle" of the "Chicago boys," disciples of monetarist madman Milton Friedman, have devastated Chile. Last year, according to official figures, the country's gross national production plunged by *14* percent, compared to a 1 percent decline in South America as a whole. According to government statistics, 30 percent of the workforce is jobless and another 5 percent are working on government starvation wage ($27 a month) projects. In a

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Panorama

¡Ni olvido, ni perdón, Pinochet al paredón! (Neither forgive nor forget, Pinochet to the wall!)

Pinochet...

(continued from page 7)

country of 11 million people, more than 350,000 are homeless. Beggars are everywhere, the desperately poor cluster around soup kitchens as unemployment reaches 90 percent in some of the Santiago slums. Production has fallen to below 1972 levels, while those workers who have jobs are earning only 40 percent of what they were making ten years ago in terms of real wages (adjusted for inflation). Chile under Pinochet has become an unmitigated economic disaster area.

If Milton Friedman returned to Chile today he would be lynched by the most "respectable" citizens, once his avid supporters. Conservative wheat farmers issued a manifesto in Temuco last December calling for a debt moratorium, government takeover of the banking system and fixed interest rates. Last month the rabidly right-wing small truck owners threatened to repeat their shutdown/lockout which paralyzed transport and helped bring down Allende in 1973, unless the government reverses its economic policies. Even Roberto Thieme, one of the top leaders of the fascist Patria y Libertad terrorists, has denounced Pinochet for selling out to the international bankers. And former junta General Leigh, too, has become a born-again democrat.

Concluding that the present ruling clique is incapable of competently managing the affairs of the bourgeoisie, late last year truckers leader Villarín got together with Christian Democratic spokesman Lavandero to launch the "Project to Develop a National Consensus" (Proden). This right-wing coalition called on Pinochet to step down as head of government (while remaining in command of the armed forces) as a new military junta together with the bourgeois parties would prepare for elections two years hence. In March the Proden gave rise to a broader "multiparty" coalition based on the so-called "Democratic Manifesto." This document calls for rescinding the state of emergency, reestablishing individual liberties, disclosing the fate of the "disappeared," legalizing political parties and sealing a pact between the state, employers and workers. The Manifesto does *not* call even for the end of the military regime, and its talk of a "social pact" is nothing but a device to save the *milico* butchers from a richly deserved fate—out of fear of a pópular uprising. Yet not only arch-reactionaries signed this disgustingly *anti*-democratic manifesto; the *multipartidaria* also includes bourgeois liberal social democrats (formerly Radicals) and reformist socialists of the Altamirano, Almeyda and Ampuero fractions of the splintered Socialist Party (PS).

For a Chilean Trotskyist Party

The days are numbered for the Pinochet regime. Will the regime crisis be transformed into a revolutionary crisis of Chilean capitalism? Certainly the "*prócer*" (Führer) Pinochet shows the same qualities as a Nicholas Romanov or Louis XVI: having forgotten nothing and learned nothing, his answer to all challenges is... more clubs and more bullets. And while the masses are starving, while the Moneda remains a burnt-out shell, Pinochet is building a palatial new bunker preparing, perhaps, for a fiery *Götterdämmerung*. Meanwhile, the Argentine junta, which already suffered a disastrous defeat through its Falklands/Malvinas adventure, is now facing a swelling tide of outrage over the ghosts of the "disappeared." In Bolivia the (not very) "popular democratic" government is being challenged by the very working class it claims to represent. Thus the opportunity is posed throughout the Southern Cone, that the overthrow of the bloody rule of the *milico* butchers could open the road to workers revolution. But it requires the intervention of a Bolshevik vanguard, built in the struggle to reforge Leon Trotsky's Fourth International, to mobilize the proletariat on the program of permanent revolution.

Today the most *radical* elements of the Chilean left are calling for a new edition of the UP, which prepared the way for Pinochet (Allende's last minister of defense) by demobilizing, demoralizing and directly repressing the combative workers. But the major parties are promoting an even more sinister popular front with the very counterrevolutionaries who worked together with the CIA to prepare the 1973 bloodbath, who for years cheered the "patriot" Pinochet... until their own profits were affected. The Communist Party of Chile is one of the most abysmally reformist parties in the firmament of Latin American Stalinism. For *seven years* after the generals and admirals took power, the PCCh continued to preach the "peaceful road" lie. In late 1980 these gravediggers of the revolution reluctantly came out for "armed struggle" to "restore democracy." Now, in the midst of the anti-Soviet war drive, this empty gesture is being used to keep the Communists out of the multiparty fronts. But this has not stopped the groveling Stalinists from supporting them. In January, PCCh leader Corvalán issued a call for:

> "...an understanding with all opposition forces of the left, center and right to reconstruct the country... even though this implies that the left will not participate in the government."
> —*El Puelche*, April 1983

The Socialist Party has again split into a myriad of squabbling clienteles: MAS, USOPO, CNR, Consensus Group, 24th Congress, Spark, Commander, Vanguard Tendency, Workers Front, etc. The right-wing elements last year sponsored the Convergencia Socialista regroupment with ex-Christian Democrats of MAPU and IC, based on a "pluralist" platform rejecting an "exclusively Marxist vision." They have also joined the "Democratic Manifesto" grouping despite the exclusion of the CP. But even the most left-talking sectors of the PS are holding up bourgeois democracy as the alternative to Pinochet "fascism."

What about the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR), at one time the nemesis of the CP which even blamed the Pinochet coup on supposed MIR "ultraleft" excesses. Under the UP the MIR followed a policy of "critical support" to Allende, providing a squad of bodyguards to the "*compañero presidente*" while fostering land takeovers which went beyond the narrow limits of the land reform inherited from the Christian Democrats. As guerrillaists they had no confidence in the power of the working class: during the crucial months of 1972-73 the MIR was pushing its empty *comandos comunales* ("professional" barrio militias) and stood largely outside the mushrooming *cordones industriales*, district factory committees representing embryos of dual power. After the coup it sponsored some ill-fated adventures while insisting on the suicidal policy of keeping all its militants inside the country. Today the MIR has issued a disgusting appeal for petty-bourgeois exiles to return to Chile using various kinds of imperialist aid ("Carta abierta al exilio chileno," January 1983), and MIR leader Andrés Pascal Allende sent a positively groveling letter to the president of the Christian Democrats, praising the PDC leader's "high civic profile," praising Christian Democracy's supposed aspiration for "real mass democracy in Chile" (!) and proposing points for a social pact (*AIR*, January-February 1983).

The struggle to expose and politically defeat the reformist betrayers of the Chilean proletariat, who delivered it bound hand and foot to the military and now promise to do the same for the Christian Democrats, requires the leadership of a Trotskyist vanguard. Drawing the lessons of the UP popular front, it prepares the road to a workers' victory. The reformist misleaders justify their class collaboration with endless arguments about the need to "restore democracy." Suffering through the long night of military bonapartism, the Chilean masses certainly yearn for "bread, justice and freedom." They can and must be mobilized around democratic demands, but these can be won only through revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie. In a military confrontation between bourgeois democracy and bonapartism, the working class fights on the side of the former, with the Spanish republic against the Francoists, with Kerensky against Kornilov. But the working class defends democracy, and *its* democratic rights in particular, with its own revolutionary methods and against all the parties and politicians of the class enemy.

Not a treacherous social pact to provide immunity for the torturers and killers, but people's tribunals to mete out justice to the junta criminals and their accomplices! Smash the CNI/DINA secret police, stronghold of the Pinochet dictatorship! For the formation of soldiers and sailors committees in the armed forces, to mobilize the worker-peasant ranks against the Prussian-minded officer caste, uniformed guard dogs of the bourgeoisie! For an agrarian revolution—the peasants must seize the landed estates! No negotiated "return to the barracks" with carefully orchestrated "free elections" (manipulated by the CIA), but a revolutionary constituent assembly. None of these demands can be achieved except through a mass workers uprising, to overthrow the butcher junta and establish a workers and peasants government. Moreover, a victorious workers revolution would immediately pass on to socialist tasks, including expropriation of the capitalist class. Today it is vital to begin organizing in clandestinity the future workers militias, to rebuild the *cordones industriales* as potential soviets, and to forge the nucleus of a Leninist-Trotskyist party in struggle against all variants of popular frontism.

In 1970 when the rest of the left was hailing Allende, we wrote prophetically:

> "It is the most elementary duty for revolutionary Marxists to irreconcilably oppose the Popular Front in the election and to place absolutely no confidence in it in power. Any 'critical support' to the Allende coalition is class treason, paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism, is ready."
> —*Spartacist* No. 19, November-December 1970

After the fall of the UP, with its tragic toll of thousands of the best fighters for the workers' cause, the shameless Moscow Stalinists blamed "ultralefts" while their Castroite allies lamented only that the masses were not armed. But now the PCCh and MIR are united in calling for "armed struggle"... and in desperately seeking an alliance with the Christian Democratic friends of the CIA and ex-friends of Pinochet! In demonstration after demonstration, the reformists chanted, "The people united will never be defeated," a cynical apology for their own role in preparing the bloody defeat of September 1973 by "uniting" the working people with their exploiters. Now once again we warn: popular front means workers' blood!

Shortly after the fall of the UP and the assassination of Salvador Allende, Chilean Stalinist poet Pablo Neruda also died when troops raided his home. His magnum opus, the *Canto General*, had been put to music and was to have been performed in Santiago that month. In that poem Neruda referred in bitter terms to an earlier period when the northern deserts and frozen southern islands were populated by concentration camps full of communists. The hangman then was named González Videla, who like Pinochet was brought to power by the popular front (in 1946). Neruda wrote:

> "González Videla is the rat who sweeps his tail full of dung and blood, over my land which he sold out. Every day
> "He pulls the stolen money out of his pockets and thinks whether tomorrow he will sell territory or blood.
> "He had *betrayed* everything. He rose like a rat on the shoulders of the people...."

But Comrade Neruda—who betrayed, who sold out? González Videla and Pinochet were doing their duty to their rapacious class in bloodily suppressing the workers. It was the Stalinists, the reformists and popular frontists, who betrayed. The task of the Trotskyists is to expose that betrayal, break their stranglehold and lead the struggle for workers revolution. "*¡Pinochet al paredón, obreros al poder!*" ■

CORRECTIONS

The article "Avenge Black South African Martyrs" (*WV* No. 332, 17 June) incorrectly reported that 1,200 leaflets were distributed for the June 8 protest outside the South African airline office in San Francisco. In fact, 12,000 leaflets were distributed.

In the article "Racist Courts Give FBI/KKK Informers License to Kill" (*WV* No. 331, 3 June), a paragraph was garbled through a paste-up error. It should have read: "The judge went further, aping J. Edgar Hoover's tribute in stating that Gary Rowe was 'a good informer, perhaps the best informer in the whole area.' This is the man who planned, organized and *led* most of the major KKK terrorist actions in Alabama during the time he was on the FBI's payroll!"

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Ann Arbor
c/o SYL
P O Box 8364
Ann Arbor, MI 48107
(313) 662-2339

Atlanta
Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

Berkeley/Oakland
P O. Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 835-1535

Boston
Box 840
Central Station
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Chicago
Box 6441
Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 427-0003

Cleveland
Box 91954
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 621-5138

Detroit
Box 32717
Detroit, MI 48232
(313) 961-1680

Houston
Box 26474
Houston, TX 77207

Los Angeles
Box 29574
Los Feliz Station
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 663-1216

Madison
c/o SYL
Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701
(608) 251-3398

New York
Box 444
Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk
P O Box 1972, Main P.O
Norfolk, VA 23501
(804) 543-4300

San Francisco
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.
P O Box 75073
Washington, D C 20013
(202) 636-3537

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Vancouver
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C. V6C 2L8
(604) 681-2422

Central America...

(continued from page 1)

ese forces. The imperialists were defeated militarily in the field. But the rad-libs and reformists like to pretend that they coaxed U.S. rulers to "abandon" Vietnam with their "peace crawls" in New York and Washington. Now once again it is defeat of the U.S. and U.S.-backed regimes which is posed in Central America. So one of the endorsers of the July 2 demonstration, CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador), asks us to "remember how the U.S. finally had to leave Vietnam in disgrace, with embassy staff and 'allies' rushing to helicopters on the U.S. embassy roof to escape." We sure do remember! And we long to see just such a hasty exit from the American embassy compound in San Salvador!!

Fear of losing again—the so-called "Vietnam Syndrome"—continues to haunt all wings of U.S. imperialism. Ever since Reagan announced in May there is "no thought" of sending U.S. combat troops to Central America, there has been a campaign to win over the hearts and minds of Congress to do exactly that. At the June Williamsburg economic summit Reagan declared that it couldn't be "ruled out." Army chief of staff Edward C. Meyer, with plenty of caveats about the "lessons of Vietnam," said he'd be willing to send in the troops, but "there will have to be a consensus within the U.S. populace." Washington is well aware that the entire South American continent is a tinderbox and the intervention of Yankee troops in Central America could easily trigger resistance and upheaval from Chile to Mexico. So the U.S. government is trying to soften up the U.S. populace precisely for that possibility.

Which Side Are You On?

It is not an accident that it is the Spartacist League (SL) which has raised the call for "Military victory to Salvadoran leftists!" While the Marcyites and the rest of the reformists were looking to please the anti-Reagan, anti-Soviet popular front we raised the slogan: "Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in El Salvador!" The pop-frontists take a side: at the 3 May 1981 march on the Pentagon, last March 27 in Washington, they set up goon squads and called the capitalist cops to prevent demonstrators from joining with the Trotskyist revolutionaries of the SL. Big for Bella, ready for Teddy, clean for Conyers—the reformists could not tolerate our slogans, our open defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism, or the fact that we carried the Cuban, NLF and FMLN flags in solidarity with those targets of U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive. They could not tolerate that we openly sided with the U.S.' *enemies*.

Oer Spiegel

Victims of U.S.-backed death squads: liberals want to cut a deal with Salvadoran butchers, but a negotiated solution will only lead to a bloodbath.

Because the U.S. position has deteriorated dramatically in Central America, the reformists must even more openly take the side of U.S. imperialism. Lenin could have been describing these American social-patriots when he wrote about the traitors of the Second International who voted war credits to their "own" bourgeoisie in World War I: "In the civil war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie they inevitably, and in no small numbers, stand side by side with the bourgeoisie, with the 'Versailles' against the 'Communards'" (Preface to *Imperialism*).

Class Struggle at Home

Not "dovish" peace-crawls which pressure for a sellout, but revolutionary struggle is needed now. We must organize concrete acts of working-class solidarity here in the heart of the imperialist monster. This is why class-struggle unionists of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union have been fighting for hot-cargoing of goods bound for El Salvador and a coastwide port shutdown (see articles, page 12). During the Vietnam War the SL called for political strikes against the war. The fundamental defeatism of the reformists, who see no possibility of mobilizing the working class, led them to rely on the Democrats, the very party responsible for the genocidal war in Vietnam—and subsequently, willy-nilly, to adopt the imperialist doves' fear and loathing of the Vietnamese Revolution.

Now the Democrats smell "Vietnam-style" defeat in El Salvador. "We are backing sure losers," Democratic Party spokesman Dodd replied to Reagan. In the next breath he underlined, "We will oppose the establishment of Marxist states in Central America. We will not accept... the creation of Soviet military bases in Central America." And only a week after Reagan's "get tough on Communism in Central America" speech, Salvadoran FDR leader Guillermo Ungo announced: "The United States has the right to stop the spread of communism" (*Baltimore Sun*, 3 May). That's supposed to be the "opposition" to Reagan and his puppets! The Dodds and Ungos view negotiations as the last, best hope of heading off a military victory by the leftist insurgents. The reformists and rad-libs join the Democrats and their bourgeois counterparts in Central America in calling for a negotiated sellout of the Salvadoran rebel fighters in the field. We say: Forward to military victory against the U.S.-backed junta! Keep the butchers on the run!

"No more Vietnams" means for the Democrats no more social revolutions, no more "going Communist," no more "Soviet bases." The Vietnamese not only defeated the U.S. war machine and shattered the morale of the U.S. military, but they made a social revolution against capitalism in their country. In so doing, they "alienated" liberal public opinion, particularly as the anti-Soviet war drive heated up under Jimmy Carter. His "human rights" campaign specifically and vindictively targeted Vietnam. "Boat people," "reeducation camps" and "Soviet yellow rain" (a.k.a. bee shit) were all supposed to outrage public opinion in the "free world" and reverse the image of U.S. imperialism from terror-bombers to defenders of the victims of "totalitarianism."

When Vietnam intervened in Cambodia in 1979, China played the role of cat's paw for U.S. imperialism and threatened to teach the Vietnamese a "bloody lesson." The Pentagon no doubt itched to more directly get in on the action—but it could not. Nor could the U.S. intervene when Cuban troops backed up the Angolan MPLA against the South African invasion of Angola in 1975-76. The bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive seeks to do away with the "Vietnam syndrome" and free the U.S. imperialists to intervene where and when they want to.

Unfortunately, the imperialist propaganda that behind every movement for social justice in the world lurks a Kremlin plot to spread "Marxist states" is not true. Soviet arms are not flowing into El Salvador—although they are sorely needed. Nor are the Sandinistas getting what they need to kill the Somocista invaders. Certainly the Vietnamese received insufficient military aid from the USSR (compared to what was given to capitalist Egypt, for example). The Stalinist bureaucracies which sit atop the deformed and degenerated workers states will go (and have gone) to almost any lengths to contain the global class war in their pipe dream of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism.

U.S. imperialism is hell-bent on reclaiming the one-sixth of the globe ripped from the capitalist world when the workers of Russia made a revolution in 1917. But the frightened U.S. left has been in rapid flight to the right since Reagan's election. Unable and unwilling to stand up to the anti-Soviet war drive, the reformists now find themselves organizing a social-patriotic show for the bourgeoisie to bury the spectre of Vietnam and sell out the heroic fighters in the hills of Central America. The Spartacists say: Salvadoran butchers on the run—Leftist rebels need Russian guns! Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs—Nicaragua needs MIGs! ■

SL/Lanka Publications Fund

The Spartacist League of Lanka (Ceylon) has announced a campaign for funds to support its public press. The SL/Lanka publishes *Lanka Spartacist* (in Sinhalese) and *Illangai Spartacist* (in Tamil) and intends to raise 5,000 rupees. The Lanka comrades recently issued No. 3 of *Illangai Spartacist* which will be circulated not only on the island but among Tamil militants abroad. In recent months in Europe and the U.S., hundreds of militant Tamil nationalists have demonstrated alongside comrades of the international Spartacist tendency to protest the Jayawardene government's continuing brutal military occupation of the Jaffna peninsula.

The Lanka comrades' struggle for Tamil national rights is key to our international revolutionary perspectives. Our Trotskyist propaganda must reach not only vanguard elements among the embattled Tamil national minority concentrated in the North and East of the island, but especially the Tamil plantation workers whose grueling labor brings in most of the country's hard-currency export earnings. These workers, whose parents and grandparents were mainly brought to Ceylon from India by the British imperialists, are denied basic citizenship and real union protection. They are virtually ignored by the parliamentarist "left" which has for decades marched to the Sinhala-chauvinist tune of the capitalist "opposition" party. These Tamil workers, many of them women, are strategic to the agriculture-based economy. They are also a living link to the tens of millions of Tamils in India, that prison house of oppressed nationalities and starving people. Proletarian revolutionary struggle in Lanka can be the springboard for socialist revolution throughout the Indian subcontinent.

Sinhala-language Lanka Spartacist (right) and Tamil-language Illangai Spartacist (left).

Support the important work of our comrades in South Asia by contributing to the SL/Lanka publications fund. Payable to/mail to: Spartacist League, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. Earmark checks "Lanka publications."

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WASHINGTON, D.C.

Chile General Strike...

(continued from page 6)

("Defend Chilean Miners' Strike," *WV* No. 23, 22 June 1973). We have discussed the 1973 copper strike in detail in our review of the sophisticated Stalinist propaganda film, "The Battle of Chile." We pointed out that "*the profits from El Teniente went not to the workers but to buy the armed forces new airplanes and guns which were later used to massacre leftists by the tens of thousands*" ("How *The Battle of Chile* Disarms the Workers," *WV* No. 202, 21 April 1978). And in the crucial last months of 1973 we repeatedly put forward a revolutionary program of *extending* strike action, factory and hacienda takeovers, calling to turn the *cordones industriales* into genuine soviets, to break with the bourgeoisie and fight for workers' action to smash the impending coup, for a workers and peasants government. We repeatedly recalled our 1970 warning that the popular front in power was "paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism, is ready." (These articles are collected in our Spanish-language pamphlet, "Chile: Lecciones del Frente Popular," *Cuadernos Marxistas* No. 3.)

Only the Trotskyists, who defended the Chilean miners both against the UP and Pinochet, have the moral authority to speak to the copper workers today and warn them that their present Christian Democratic union tops will block any genuinely militant struggle against the hated Pinochet dictatorship. It is necessary to forge a revolutionary leadership of the Chilean workers movement. This cannot be done through joining the various "left" blocs, including such bureaucratic shells as the "CUT [United Workers Federation] in exile," but only through intransigent struggle against all brands of popular frontism and reformism. Against the ex-MIRistas of the Bloque Popular Unitario (BPU), who turn disgust with the treachery of the reformists into "anti-party" sentiment, we seek to forge a Chilean Trotskyist party that can be an authentic vanguard of proletarian revolution. ■

Port Shutdown...

(continued from page 12)

to union-busting throughout the Bay Area ports and coastwise. A serious fight must begin to get rid of these treacherous misleaders who once again have proven to be labor cops for the bosses.

The walkout was marked by exemplary militancy in the ranks, who were eager for a fight. As a dozen huge container ships lay idle in the Bay, 700 longshoremen picketed the Levin Metal Corporation terminal in Richmond, stopping a security car carrying scabs from entering the terminal and turning away trucks. Two dozen other ILWU members with picket signs used a rented fishing boat to set up a floating picket of a cargo vessel, which was honored by the Masters, Mates and Pilots union. The notorious Richmond cops, who delight in beating and killing black people, didn't show up all day, despite the issuance of injunctions and restraining orders to stop the picketing. The idea of going up against 700 militant and mainly black longshoremen obviously scared the hell out of these racist killers. This example of the power of organized labor points the way to putting an end to cop terror in the heavily black city of Richmond.

The Local 10 bureaucrats were forced into calling the port shutdown by an angry and militant membership who want to fight to keep their jobs. The union bureaucrats have been temporizing with the Levin Metal Corporation's refusal to use ILWU longshoremen for six months. Token picketing earlier this year had been called off after injunctions were issued: The practice of "ghost workers" was tolerated, whereby ILWU longshoremen dispatched to the Levin terminal would be paid for standing around all day while the anti-union company used its own employees to load the ship.

WV Photo

Longshoremen's mass picket in Richmond shows the way to beat the maritime bosses, but ILWU tops sold them them out.

Last Saturday, in response to membership pressure and in an attempt to refurbish their image after being handed a stunning defeat over their attempt to purge Stan Gow from union leadership, the Local 10 officers organized a "mass picket" by 200 ILWU longshoremen of the Levin terminal. However the picket line was set up at noon, four hours after work had started on the ship, and any attempt to stop the loading of the ship was expressly forbidden by Local 10 secretary-treasurer Bill Bancroft who was on the spot. The 200 longshoremen had come for action and they became furious at Bancroft when they learned there was to be none. On penalty of fines they were forced to remain there impotently watching the ship being loaded by non-ILWU workers for six hours. The long afternoon was punctuated by angry shouting matches between the outraged longshoremen and Bancroft. The next day, fearful of an explosion by the ranks, the decision was announced that the port would be shut down Monday.

While the membership was enthusiastically and eagerly doing battle with the bosses, the union bureaucrats were in negotiations behind their backs selling out the port shutdown. ILWU International president Jimmy Herman and the union's Coast Committee were huddled in a meeting with the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) where they jointly agreed that the port shutdown was an "illegal work stoppage." After getting all their lines from the union lawyers, the Local 10 officers went into negotiations with Levin Metal Corporation and the deal was struck. At 7:30 p.m. Local 10 president Carr and his mouthpiece Bancroft arrived back at the picket line and announced that Levin had "agreed" to use a token of four ILWU longshoremen at the terminal. This complete sellout, which formalizes the anti-union "ghost worker" practices, was praised by Carr and Bancroft as a "victory" and, over shouts of outrage by the furious longshoremen, the shutdown was declared over. Pandemonium broke out and hundreds of disgusted workers began leaving the terminal.

This utter betrayal by the International and Local 10 officers is of a piece with their sniveling, groveling capitulation to Reagan and Kirkpatrick over the U.S. war in El Salvador and their refusal to take action to defend anti-apartheid fighters in South Africa. It underlines what became clear by their trial of Stan Gow: that they do not speak for the union members but instead act as the political police of the bosses. These labor traitors must be thrown out and replaced by a class-struggle leadership that will use the power of labor to defend the interests of the working class here and internationally, in the struggle against the union-busting maritime bosses as well as in the struggle against imperialism by our class brothers in El Salvador and South Africa. One longshoreman said to a *WV* salesman, "These guys are rotten, but we got them when they tried to get Stan." The membership's victorious defense of Stan Gow showed that the officers can be beaten. The port shutdown showed that the members are willing and eager to engage in class struggle against the bosses. The supporters of Stan Gow must now take a step forward and join with him to help in the construction of a class-struggle leadership in the ILWU. ■

Bureaucrats' Bay of Pigs...

(continued from page 12)

appointed himself hanging judge and stage-managed the proceedings. Mr. Bancroft is pretty proud of his years of training in the bosses' law, law that has victimized many a longshoreman. He proceeded to eliminate "all this mundane and petty bullshit"—like Gow's right to present his witnesses and ask his questions, and have his lawyer present, or even a tape recorder. He ordered out all but one of Gow's witnesses, members of the Local 6 Militant Caucus, and made the first of several threats to call in the SF cops to enforce his "justice."

As events of the next week showed, Bancroft was only warming up. Prosecutor Carl Smith could scarcely contain himself to get out one of his first questions to Gow: "Do you belong to any political organizations outside the union?" Smith had apparently forgotten the more classic McCarthyite query, "Are you now or have you ever been...?" We don't know which cop agency Smith asked the question on behalf of (even the trial court thought it was out of line), but Gow has never made a secret of his support for the revolutionary program of the Spartacist League (SL). Much to the bureaucrats' chagrin, it's precisely that program that has exposed their role as the "progressive" cops for the capitalists inside the labor movement.

Even in rigged trial courts, life is no bed of roses for the embattled fakers of the Local 10 leadership. They wanted Gow banned from union office for the next five years. But despite their efforts to conduct a trial more appropriate to some caricature of a mobster-infested Teamster local, they had to settle for a 30-day suspension and a six-month probation. Clearly the members of the trial court, who have to work the docks daily, were queasy about giving the bureaucracy everything it demanded.

When the verdict against Gow was announced, Militant Caucus members went to work mobilizing for a big turnout at the membership meeting the following Thursday. They covered the hiring hall with leaflets ("Dump the Verdict! Defend Stan Gow!" reprinted in *WV* No. 332, 17 June), pointing out the link between the witchhunt and the officers' support to the Democrats' austerity policies and the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. One thing really galled the bureaucrats—that they hadn't backed Gow down. Just two days before their purge trial, he was out organizing to hot cargo the South Africa-bound *Nedlloyd Kimberley*, protesting the lynching of three black ANC fighters by the apartheid police state. The official Local 10 South Africa Liberation Support Committee and its head, *People's World* supporter Leo Robinson, could only suggest phone calls to the South African consulate! But the largely black dockers saw who was fighting for the victims of Reagan's favorite "free world" racists, particularly when Carr gave orders to work the ship and ignore the "illegal" picket set up by Gow and other ILWU militants.

Carr, Bancroft & Co. are dumb as well as vicious, and it seems they are going blind too. Sensing the swell of membership support for Gow, their fury grew white hot. With no way to answer the militants, they tried to silence them. The day before the Local meeting, Bancroft called his friends in the SFPD again and had Local 6 Militant Caucus member Jackie Clark arrested. The boys in blue also threw other ILWU members out of the hall. Bay Area papers began to cover this unprecedented scandal. As Clark told the *San Francisco Examiner* (16 June), "I've been going into that hall for three, four years now and talking to people about political issues. I've handed out leaflets many times, and I've never been told to leave. Calling the police is not the way trade unions run their business."

The bureaucrats will let damn near anyone into the hall, except opposition-ist union members. But arresting a Local 6 general exec board member like Clark and claiming she's an "outside agitator" isn't very smart. Clark has been fighting her firing by R.J. Reynolds/Heublein for honoring IBEW pickets, while Bancroft's history runs more toward crossing picket lines (like those of construction workers at the University of California). His "outside agitator" bust against Clark backfired like the rest of the purge campaign. Most dockers don't like the cops, and Bay Area blacks are seething with anger over brazen cop murders like in Richmond—they don't want them busting into their homes or union halls.

The militants' hard work paid off—nearly 500 showed up for the Local meeting. According to Gow, the officers tried to create a stampede to end the meeting early by directing their supporters to line up to have their union books stamped. But the chief dispatchers walked up to the mike and proposed a $25 fine on anyone who didn't return to the meeting. Thus the bureaucrats were forced to sit through an hour-long discussion in which the purge attempt and the sellout policies behind it were decisively repudiated.

The commotion in the hall dropped to silence as Gow made his appeal, and burst into applause as he finished. His trial counsel, Roy Bowie, did the job a union defense needs—getting the workers on their feet to denounce the

San Francisco Examiner

Tues., June 14, 1983 ☆☆C S.F. EXAMINER B7

Dock union punishes El Salvador ship picket

By Norman Melnick
Examiner staff writer

A 24-year member and officer of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union says he is facing a 30-day suspension because he picketed a ship bearing cargo for El Salvador.

"I think this is a measure of accommodation to the Reagan administration," said Stan Gow, an avowed socialist who has been on the executive board of ILWU Local 10 for the last nine years.

Gow, who will be 55 tomorrow, said the local's trial board found him guilty of being "a discredit to the union."

"How can I be a discredit to the union?" he asked last night. "I should think that the ILWU, which has done good things in the past, would support me, but maybe this is what is happening in the union. I think they want to have no problems."

Said ILWU President James R. Herman: "I have no comment because this is a local matter."

Local 10 President John Carr would not confirm the action or make any comment on the matter.

Gow said he appeared at the Seventh Street pier in Oakland the night of March 29. He and a half-dozen other ILWU members picketed a ship whose destination was El Salvador.

Gow said he handed out leaflets containing the signatures of 23 of the 1,600 members of Local 10 calling for a 24-hour Pacific Coast work stoppage by ILWU members. Three of the 23 were executive board members, including himself, said Gow.

Watkins arrived and was quoted by Gow as stating "This looks like a demonstration picket line." Gow said: "I'd like it to be more than that. Then someone else made a comment similar to mine, and (Watkins) went inside to talk about the picketing and 45 minutes later he left."

Gow said most of the ILWU members ignored his picket line and went to work that night, "except those who called up Watkins to make sure it wasn't an official union action."

Earlier, Gow said, he had informed the Local 10 president that he intended to picket the ship. Gow said Carr told him that he would recommend that union members go through the picket line since it was not sanctioned.

The picketing broke up shortly after Watkins left, Gow said.

But he didn't stop there, Gow admitted. He said he introduced the matter again at the ILWU convention in Portland in April. His motion received only one delegate vote — his.

He said he conducted "a very heavy fight" for his motion. "I think it was highly called for. Opposition to this war (in El Salvador) is something that calls for labor union action."

On May 12 he was informed that charges had been brought against him and last Saturday, at a five-hour hearing before a trial board of 20 ILWU Local 10 members, he was found guilty of conduct unbecoming a union member, he said.

He said the pickets who had joined him in Oakland were not allowed to testify. Nor was the lawyer he hired allowed to be in the same room with him, he said.

Gow said he was the only one charged. "Frankly, I think my just having taken some action when they didn't want any action, they just wanted to take paper action. In a sense, it was like a purge." (The ILWU is opposed to the present government in El Salvador.)

B8 S.F. EXAMINER ☆☆☆ Thurs., June 16, 1983

Union policy dispute ends with an arrest

By Norman Melnick
Examiner staff writer

An officer of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union was arrested yesterday in the escalating dispute between the union and a faction favoring a work stoppage over the El Salvador issue.

Jackie Clark, 33, a member of the general executive board of ILWU Local 6, was jailed at the instigation of Bill Bancroft, secretary-treasurer of ILWU Local 10. He said she had been repeatedly told to get off Local 10's premises at Fisherman's Wharf and had disregarded the order.

"I asked Jacqueline and the others to leave," Bancroft said, "and they said nope, and I said I'm going to call the police and they said do what you have to do. I called the police."

Said Clark: "I've been going into that hall for three, four years now and talking to people about political issues. I've handed out leaflets many times, and I've never been told to leave. Calling the police is not the way trade unions run their business."

Clark was to be arraigned today in San Francisco Municipal Court on a charge of trespassing.

She and two other members of Local 6 were at the ILWU hiring hall at 400 North Point St. to protest a union trial board's decision to discipline Local 10 executive board member Stan Gow.

Gow, 55 yesterday, had tried to stop loading operations on a ship bound for El Salvador in March and was found guilty Saturday of conduct unbecoming to a union member. The trial board recommended a 30-day work suspension and six months' probation.

Whether these go into effect will be decided at a meeting tonight of the 1,800 members of Local 10.

Bancroft said Clark and the others showed up at the North Point hiring hall Tuesday night and handed out fliers to Local 10 members. The fliers, published by a longshore group called the Militant Caucus, accused the ILWU of staging a "witchhunt purge trial" against Gow. They said "the Local 10 bureaucracy (was trying) to railroad Stan Gow out of the leadership of the union."

I asked them to leave," said Bancroft. "They refused, the police were called, they issued a citation to Jackie and told her if she returned she would be arrested."

Clark and her cohorts, including Gow, were back at the hiring hall bright and early yesterday.

When the police were called, the other Local 6 demonstrators left. Only Clark and Gow stayed. Bancroft said Gow had a right to distribute fliers because he is a Local 10 member. "Those rights don't extend to people who are not a member of Local 10. We don't allow non-Local 10 people to get involved in our politics."

Bancroft said the issue of El Salvador was a "smoke screen."

He said the ILWU opposed by resolution the present government in El Salvador and backed the guerrillas there. The ILWU also opposed the shipment of arms to government troops there, he said.

"But that's not the issue here," he asserted. "The issue is whether Stan Gow will be able to impose his will on the membership. Twice now his motions to call a work stoppage have been voted down, by our local's executive board and by the ILWU convention in Portland (Ore.) in April.

"Which means that we are not going to close down our ports unless the membership mandates it. If in fact he had been successful in shutting down that ship (back in March) ILWU members would have lost almost $250,000 in a pay guarantee for that week. And that's the real issue. He set up an illegal picket line allegedly endorsed by Local 10 when in fact it wasn't."

Clark, jailed for two hours, was free on $250 bail.

Valerie West, her attorney, said her client had "every right" to be at the Local 10 hiring hall. "That has always been the practice of the union. Jackie feels that it is very important for the union to take action on El Salvador."

She said that her client and the others also wanted Local 10 members to be aware of tonight's meeting.

B14 S.F. EXAMINER ☆ Fri., June 17, 1983

Members back ILWU maverick

The membership of Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union reversed a trial board's decision last night against Stan Gow, accused of "unbecoming conduct" for trying to stop loading operations on a ship bound for El Salvador.

Bill Bancroft, secretary-treasurer of Local 10, withheld details of the meeting. The trial board found Gow guilty last Saturday and recommended a 30-day suspension and six months probation.

Gow favors a 24-hour work stoppage at West Coast ports to protest shipment of goods to the government in El Salvador.

He could not be reached last night.

Charlotte Gow, his wife, said the vote in her husband's favor was 10-1.

Sat., June 18, 1983

Union members throw out longshoreman's conviction

By Lester On
Tribune Staff Writer

A longshoreman's conviction by a union trial committee for organizing a protest against the El Salvador government has been tossed out by members of Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

In a rebuke to the leadership of Local 10, the members voted Thursday night to reject the conviction of Stanley Gow, 55, of Oakland, for his part on March 29 in organizing the protest at the foot of Seventh Street in Oakland.

Bill Bancroft, secretary-treasurer of Local 10, confirmed the reversal Friday, saying "the membership is the ruling body in our union."

On March 29, Gow and about 10 other longshoremen from another local picketed a ship, the Lafayette, which was carrying general cargo to El Salvador.

A trial committee of Local 10 voted 16-4 last Saturday to convict Gow of conduct unbecoming a union member and of bringing his local into jeopardy by his action.

Gow, a socialist and a member of the "Militant Caucus," was suspended from his job for 30 days and placed on probation for six months.

However, Gow appealed and the conviction was thrown out Thursday night in a raucous meeting attended by several hundred members of Local 10 in its headquarters at 400 North Point St. in San Francisco.

Gow said he organized the protest because he sides with the rebels in El Salvador. One of Gow's supporters, Jackie Clark, of Local 6, was arrested by San Francisco police Wednesday when she tried to pass out leaflets at 400 North Point.

THE TRIBUNE SATURDAY

frameup they knew was aimed at them too. The bureaucrats spoke, but Carr was a mere shadow of the arrogant witchhunter who only days earlier taunted Gow: "You're dead!" Bancroft spoke too, as did Leo Robinson, who remembers how the Stalinists helped the FBI sic the Smith Act on Trotskyist Teamsters in Minneapolis decades ago (although now that Leo has counted the votes, he says he was "mistaken").

The ranks weren't buying "progressive" purges though. First there was a voice vote, and the guard claimed it was unclear. So the bureaucrats took a show of hands. About 40 people meekly raised their hands for the motion, but then about 400 Local 10 members rose up, jumping out of their seats to vote against the purge as chants of "No! No! No!" rang out. The verdict was thrown into the trash. While the fakers and their friends slunk away, the members thronged around Gow to congratulate him on their victory. A "Longshore Militant" leaflet entitled "We Won!" laid it out:

> "This victory was a powerful example of the initiative and resources of the workers when they stick together and organize to fight in their own interests. If the officers can be beaten once they can be beaten again. It's a question of program, leadership and organization. "Another valuable lesson of this whole fight to stop the witchhunt against Stan is learning who your friends are and who your enemies are when the chips are down. And not just the open enemies, but the hidden enemies as well. We'll have more to say on this score later."

There's a changed mood around the Local 10 hall these days. *WV* salesmen report that *People's World* hawkers scurry away when confronted about their support to the bureaucrats' witchhunt. Seeing our coverage of the purge attempt, members proudly boast, "We took care of that." The majority black membership of Local 10 doesn't buy Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive, and they want to put a stop to imperialist butchery in Central America and South Africa. One black member in particular respected Gow's action under fire against the *Nedlloyd Kimberley*: "All the guys have been talking about it. We just couldn't let them do that to him. Wrong is wrong is wrong." Already the Local 10 misleaders are feeling the sting. Their attempt to short sell the fight to protect longshore jobs against scabs in Richmond is meeting heavy resistance.

The anti-Communist historian Theodore Draper once wrote that John F. Kennedy's Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba was "one of those rare politico-military events—a perfect failure." Well, Herman, Carr and Bancroft—errand boys for the sinister warmonger Jeane Kirkpatrick and her boss Reagan—managed to achieve their own "Bay of Pigs." It's a defeat they can't forget. As the "Longshore Militant" leaflet concluded:

> "In his 24 years in the ILWU Stan Gow has never stopped fighting against the bosses, racism and imperialism. That's why the International and Local officers—acting as political policemen for the bosses and the government—went after him. They know they are sitting on a powder keg. The task now is to consolidate this victory and translate it into action against the PMA bosses and their imperialist government." ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Victory for Longshore Militancy and Democracy

Bureaucrats' Bay of Pigs

SAN FRANCISCO—At the June 16 membership meeting of SF Longshore Local 10, members handed a stinging rebuke to the liberal witchhunters who run the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), and struck a substantial blow for the right to organize concrete labor solidarity actions with their class brothers around the world. At issue was the purge attempt aimed at Stan Gow, "Longshore Militant" editor and Local 10 executive board member, for his attempt to stop the loading of the freighter *Lafayette* with death cargo bound for Reagan's butchers in El Salvador. The ILWU Local 10 leadership charged Gow with "conduct unbecoming a union member," but Local 10 members were not about to sit still for International president Jimmy Herman's plans to make the ILWU safe for his imperialist masters. Hundreds overwhelmingly rejected (by a 10-to-1 margin) a Local trial court's verdict against Gow, and in the process handed the bureaucrats the biggest defeat they've suffered in years.

Gow was made the target of this purge attempt for the "crime" of trying to put teeth in one of the officials' empty solidarity resolutions. For two and a half years, the ILWU's paper pledge to "hot-cargo" military goods to El Salvador has been one more dead letter of liberal "solidarity." Along with members of several different ILWU locals, Gow picketed the *Lafayette* on March 29. Several weeks later, after the Longshore Coast Caucus where the bureaucrats nearly lost a bid to table Gow's motion for a one-day port shutdown to stop Reagan's lifeline to the Salvadoran butchers, the fakers in the leadership went into the witchhunt frenzy that produced the charges. Herman, Local president Carr and their Stalinist cheerleaders wanted to run Stan Gow out of the union to make sure that Reagan/Kirkpatrick got their death cargos worked.

Many longshoremen remember that their union once defended victims of the anti-Communist witchhunts of the 1950s. The jailing of ILWU president Harry Bridges for opposing the Korean War was met by port shutdowns in San Francisco and Hawaii. But for the sellout bureaucrats today, fighting for class-struggle tactics and international solidarity is "conduct unbecoming a union member"! The membership threw this out, and there's also an older layer, including founders of the union reaching up to the highest levels, with whom this crude purge attempt didn't sit well.

The charges against Gow were an affront to decency, and the "trial" was run to match. Local 10 secretary-treasurer Bill "Bankrupt" Bancroft

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2,000 Longshoremen Stabbed in the Back by ILWU Tops

Bay Area Port Shutdown Sold Out

SAN FRANCISCO/OAKLAND, June 27—A solid port shutdown by 2,000 International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) dock workers and ship clerks, that completely paralyzed all shipping operations in the San Francisco Bay Area for over ten hours, ended abruptly tonight with a stab in the back by ILWU International and Local 10 officers. The walkout had been triggered by a union-busting operation being carried out by the Levin Metal Corporation which was refusing to use ILWU longshoremen to load cargo at its Port of Richmond terminal. What could have been a chance to stand up to the maritime bosses and teach them a lesson in workers power was instead turned into an utter capitulation by the union tops on the key question of non-union labor. ILWU members must decisively reject this sellout, which is an open invitation

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WV Photo

Militant 700-strong longshoremen's picket shuts down scab operation in Richmond, California.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 334 15 July 1983

Reagan's Racist Immigration Scare

"The crops are all in and the peaches are rotting,
the oranges are piled in their creosote dumps.
They're sending us back to the Mexican border,
to pay all our money and wade back again....
You won't have a name when you ride the big airplane,
all they will call you will be 'deportee'."
—"Song of the Deportees," by Woodie Guthrie

Citizenship Rights for All Foreign Workers!

Down with Simpson-Mazzoli Bill!

WV Photo

Now it's coming straight from the White House. Ronald Reagan in person is whipping up the racist scare over brown-skinned hordes from south of the border, as he desperately tries to build support for his unpopular Cold War drive in Central America. Brandishing the spectre of "a string of anti-American Marxist dictatorships," he told an audience of Southern racist politicians, "the result could be a tidal wave of refugees—and this time they'll be 'feet people' and not 'boat people'—swarming into our country seeking a safe haven from communist repression to our south." Meanwhile, the bipartisan Simpson-Mazzoli immigration "reform" is being rushed through Congress, which in exchange for a vaguely defined amnesty will drastically cut legal immigration and mandate South African-style "employee identity controls" threatening all workers, particularly Hispanics and blacks. The Spartacist League calls on labor, minority organizations and all defenders of democratic rights to demand: *Down with the Simpson-Mazzoli slave labor act! Stop the racist deportations! Citizenship rights for all foreign workers!*

With his "feet people" demagogy, Reagan only made explicit the appeal to modern-day "yellow peril" racism and anti-communism which has been at the heart of the "illegal aliens" scare campaign over the last several years. Attorney General French Smith talks about "regaining control of our borders," right-wing media headline a "silent invasion" and the liberal *New York Times* editorializes about "Time to Turn the Illegal Tide." Facing the worst economic crisis since the 1930s, the American ruling class wants to scapegoat undocumented foreign workers for the mass unemployment of the capitalist depression. But to the bourgeois politicians, their campaign against Latin American immigration *is* closely linked to their fear of revolution in "America's backyard." Hundreds of thousands of Salvadorans, Haitians and Mexicans are fleeing from reactionary terror and imperialist-imposed austerity/

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Supreme Court Executioners Condemn Blacks

Speedup on Death Row

Donning their black robes, a 5-4 majority of the Supreme Court has announced their solution to the "problem" of Death Row prisoners demanding a hearing from the high court: the busy justices will let the lower courts use "expedited procedures." Amid the welter of legal gobbledy-gook, judges can now simply deny a stay of execution, ignoring appeals, and thus "expediting" the electric chair, the hangman's noose, the gas chamber, the firing squad and the newly introduced lethal injection.

The Court decision threatens to open the floodgates to a legalized racist bloodbath. The present Death Row population is about 1,200, *double* that of 1979, and 42 percent of them are black—a reflection of racist "justice" in Reagan's America. Although the 1977 execution of Gary Gilmore ended a ten-year moratorium on executions, only five people have been executed since then—including the grisly death-by-injection of black prisoner Charlie Brooks, Jr. in Texas last December (see "Executioners Go to Work in Reagan's America," *WV* No. 321, 14 January).

At the heart of this as well as a number of other extremely reactionary Supreme Court decisions (e.g., expanding police powers for search and seizure) is the growing *bonapartism* of the American capitalist state. Capital punishment has been reinstituted to mainly protect the representatives of

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Sherman/Newsweek

P&FP Apologists for Morenoite Thuggery

WV Photos

No Morenoite hammers today! A little assertion of workers democracy (left) turns Morenoite bullies (right) into well-behaved boys and girls.

P&FP to Spartacist League

PEACE & FREEDOM PARTY
Emma Mar,
STATE CHAIR

June 21, 1983

Los Angeles Spartacist League
Box 29574, Los Feliz Station
Los Angeles, California 90029

Dear Spartacist League Members:

On June 12, several men and a woman claiming to represent the Spartacist League were permitted to distribute Spartacist literature outside a conference called by the Peace and Freedom Party to explore the possibility of a national presidential campaign in which many left groups could participate. The Spartacist League had been invited, but did not reply to this invitation except that a "Worker's Vanguard" reporter did register as an observer.

Subsequently, this group approached some conference participants sitting in committee, shouting as they came, making express and violent threats to an individual belonging to the Internationalist Workers' Party, and directing violent gestures at that individual while in extremely close proximity to him. Other members of our committee nonviolently intervened to insure the safety of the person under threatened attack. Shortly after this, your group harassed a second member of the Internationalist Workers' Party, who had to be escorted into our meeting room to insure his safety.

The Peace and Freedom Party is a multi-tendency organization which includes individuals with diverse viewpoints. Our conference included even more groups with very diverse views. Both the Peace and Freedom Party and its Search Committee for a United Left Presidential Ticket function on the basis of mutual respect between participants, even those who are in political opposition to each other on significant questions.

The Peace and Freedom Party is a neutral ground requiring respect for every individual, for our own organizational integrity, and the organizational integrity of all other organizations. We oppose any violence by any group or individual to another.

In committing a violent harassment of our committee and one of its members, you have violated our neutrality and the organizational integrity of the Peace and Freedom Party.

We ask you to refrain from any similar acts.

Sincerely,
Emma Mar

"For Socialism, Democracy and Feminism"

Spartacist League to P&FP

Oakland, CA
14 July 1983

Dear Ms. Mar:

On June 12 the Spartacist League (SL) did indeed send a small team of comrades and supporters to the site of a Peace and Freedom Party (P&FP) conference held at Oakland's Laney College. There our comrades distributed a SL leaflet exposing a potentially lethal gangster attack last October 2 by hammer-wielding Internationalist Workers Party (IWP) members against our Los Angeles organization and its supporters. Our comrades also gave every IWP member attending the P&FP conference, and especially IWP *caudillo* Leon Perez who instigated and led this murderous attack, a clear, blunt and emphatic warning that the SL does not tolerate such gangster behavior.

There were no acts of physical violence on June 12. Our comrades would not permit it. We assure you that had the IWP or anyone else attempted to provoke such violence, the SL comrades present would have halted it swiftly and surely.

No SL member or supporter entered the P&FP conference hall. Every IWPer was approached outside the hall before your conference was scheduled to start. Each of them was given notice that the SL will not tolerate hoodlum attacks upon its members. Of course our comrades did not observe all of the niceties of "civilized discourse" in talking to the various IWPers. But we do observe that following these conversations Leon Perez and his followers were a very well-behaved group of boys and girls.

Unable to resort to hammers on June 12 the IWP gangsters scream "thuggery" and falsely accuse the SL of attacking the P&FP conference. This does not surprise us. As the P&FP may to its regret learn, these U.S. followers of Argentine fake-Trotskyist and crook Nahuel Moreno, in a sorry and sickening imitation of their role models, the bloody Argentine generals, have difficulty distinguishing between political polemic and physical assault.

You need not take our word for this. Last February Earl Owens, a prominent Bay Area IWPer, resigned from the IWP. Earl Owens is no friend of the Spartacist League. In the paragraph we quote below from his resignation statement he supports the anti-democratic exclusion of the SL from left meetings on the basis of our political opinions and the false charge that we do not abide by "meeting rules." But even Earl Owens, historically known as a walking culture medium for every deviation known to Marxism, cannot stomach the murderous gangsterism of Perez & Co. Owens' letter states:

> "Comrades, how was the decision made to use *weapons* against the Spartacist League? It is a necessity for revolutionaries to defend their meetings. The Spartacist League has clearly broken with Trotskyism but still remains a working class tendency. Their refusal to abide by meeting rules and their use of slander may require their exclusion from meetings. But it's one thing to give them a 'swift kick in the ass' and another to use weapons. The use of weapons by one radical tendency against another is a gift to FBI provocateurs. What better way to deal with radicals than to have us kill each other!"
>
> —"Open Letter to the Internationalist Workers Party," 21 February 1983

Unfortunately your letter reflects the IWP's outlook insofar as you too seem to have difficulty distinguishing verbal warnings from acts of physical violence. Your complaints about our comrades' behavior were more succinctly expressed by one of your supporters on June 12. In inimitable California psycho-babble she objected to our "violent body language" and blunt words. The tiny Bay Area based Workers' Government Party accurately describes in its June newsletter our confronting Leon Perez: "Spanish was added to English by the SL for the 'benefit' of one IWP member who, apparently, appears in the photograph of the hammer attack published by SL. Again there was verbal—not physical—challenge and warning to IWP to 'cease and desist'."

By wringing your hands over our exemplary treatment of the IWP you bloc with murderous political gangsters who stoop to using hammers on the heads of political opponents whom they would silence and whose revolutionary criticism they are unable to answer. As the result of the IWP's attack one of our comrades required hospital treatment of head and shoulder injuries. It is a piece of luck that fatal or crippling injuries were avoided.

Leon Perez and the IWP need to be taught some lessons in workers democracy, on where they are and who we are. We do not intend to stand by while IWP scabs, thugs and finks launch murderous assaults on our party. Our aim on June 12 was to prevent future attacks by deepening the understanding of IWP members about our commitment and capacity to defend workers democracy, and about our opposition to violence within the workers movement. What we did on that day at your party's conference was a service to the entire workers movement and even to the P&FP.

Sincerely,
Karen Wyatt
For the Spartacist League

P.S. Your letter claims SLers "were permitted to distribute Spartacist literature outside a conference called by the Peace and Freedom Party...." We remind you that you rented only a hall at Laney College. The campus is an area open to the public. It is our democratic right to distribute our literature outside your hall or anywhere in these public areas that we please. We didn't need nor did we seek your "permission" to exercise this right. ■

Letter

Klaus Barbie: The Israeli Connection

Dr. Israel Shahak
Jerusalem, Israel
29 May 1983

Dear Friends of *Workers Vanguard*,

In addition to what you write about the Nazi criminal Klaus Barbie (20 May 1983) he had in Bolivia another role, according to reliable reports in the Hebrew (and some of the French) press: He was an agent for sales of *Israeli* weapons to the Bolivian regimes!

This fact explains two interesting phenomena: the Israeli government was, for so many years, completely silent about the comfortable life of this Nazi butcher in a state in which it enjoyed influence second only to the USA!

Similarly, all the major Jewish organizations in the USA were silent for so long, about that Nazi seller of the Israeli arms! They are even now, quite silent about so many Nazi criminals in Paraguay, *for exactly the same reason*. But now, after several years, the notorious "Anti-Defamation League" of the B'nai B'rith, all of a sudden, accuses Nicaragua of anti-Semitism!

It should be clearly understood from the above examples, that both the Israeli government and the Jewish organizations enslaved to it (and through it to Reagan's policies) are using the accusations of anti-Semitism and the memories of the Holocaust in the most cynical way, to support not only dictatorial butchers like Somoza, but actually to shield the worst Nazi criminals.

Sincerely yours,
Israel Shahak

P.S. About this cooperation of Jewish-American organizations with the notorious "Office for Combatting Terrorism" of the USA State Dept., you can see "News and Views" of the World Jewish Congress (in the USA), their Governing Board meeting pp. 12-17. I.Sh.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 334 **15 July 1983**

First They Murdered Her Unborn Child, Now They Arrest Her

Stop L.A. Cop Vendetta Against Delois Young!

LOS ANGELES—Only five days after a Superior Court jury convicted mad-dog racist killer cop Robert Armstrong—the sheriff's deputy who last year shot a nine-month pregnant black woman, killing her unborn child—of second-degree murder, the cops came back for their victim. On June 20, three L.A. County marshal units arrived in force at the home of Delois Young, clapped her in handcuffs and dragged the 22-year-old woman off to jail. Their excuse for this display of brutal racist violence? They claim Delois Young has a couple of outstanding traffic tickets. And why had she missed her traffic court date? Because she was in the hospital suffering from the gunshot wounds she received at the hands of Armstrong and the trigger-happy L.A. cops on 16 April 1982!!

The arrest of Delois Young is a continuation of the cops' vicious racist vendetta against this woman whom they shot in her own home, and left to die. But she lived to testify against the cop who shot her and took the life of her full-term fetus. So the cops have her on their hit list to finish the job, even though the state and D.A.'s office whitewashed the case against her assailant in blue. Armstrong had been "investigated" at least twice before the Young shooting, once for shooting a teenage burglary suspect in the face, and also for breaking the arm and leg of a man picked up for "creating a disturbance."

Economist

LAPD: trigger-happy and racist.

Armstrong wasn't even charged with murder one, so he can get a sentence as light as probation. But for the L.A. cops even this slap on the wrist is cause for a vendetta. They are accustomed to an open license to kill blacks with impunity. Despite the regular slaughter of blacks and Latins here, not one on-duty cop has been prosecuted and convicted for murder *in 13 years!* Less than two months ago, a five-year-old black child, Patrick Mason, was shot down in his mother's bedroom in Orange County, and the child-killer cop got off completely free.

Delois Young and her family have been targeted ever since her older brother, O.C. Laskey, was murdered by the cops six years ago. After a domestic argument with his wife, Laskey was holed up in their home with their five kids. But when the cops were summoned, he agreed to surrender and release the children. After he had handed the last child out the window and turned away, he was killed by a sheriff's deputy with a bullet through the *back* of the head! Since then the victimization of the family has continued apace. The night before Delois Young was scheduled to testify against Armstrong her stepfather, Nathaniel Neal, was followed home and arrested by sheriff's deputies on a dubious traffic offense. In another incident, Delois and her husband were rounded up as "usual suspects" by the Pasadena police for questioning about an auto theft. The LAPD pulled them off the road and asked them if they were the parents of the unborn child murdered by Armstrong. This campaign of police harassment and terror has driven the Delois Young family from its home in the suburb of Duarte, outside Pasadena.

The Armstrong trial showed what L.A. blacks already knew—that in the April 1982 shooting of Delois Young the killer was simply following the cops' typical racist M.O. Armstrong had first "stiffed a call," that is faked a complaint to get around the little matter of a search warrant. He pretended to be a neighbor of the Youngs complaining about a family fight at their house. Then the cops came to "investigate" their own complaint.

Edwards/LA Herald Examiner

Delois Young and her husband, Joe Kent: victims of cops' vicious racist vendetta.

When they knocked at the door, the cops refused to identify themselves. Armstrong claimed he was a fugitive from the police. So Delois Young, who justifiably suspected that he was a burglar, went to get an unloaded .22-caliber rifle. She hoped to scare him away. Meanwhile, the cops had been pounding and kicking on the door. When Delois opened the door, with the .22 pointed at the floor, the cops burst through. She was blinded with a flashlight. Armstrong fired three shots at close range from his .38-caliber revolver loaded with "controlled expansion round" bullets, which mushroom on impact with the body. One shot missed, but another lodged in Young's chest, where it is still carried today; a third bullet smashed into the brain of her nine-month unborn child, killing him. The final shot was fired into her back after Young was lying in a prone position. While she lay bleeding on the floor for a half-hour before paramedics arrived, the cops prevented her mother, Verlean Williams, from assisting or comforting her.

Young and her family lived in a quiet working-class residential area that was racially integrated. Their next-door neighbors, the Rodriguez family, told the press "it could happen to anyone." But in Reagan's America, blacks, Latins and other minorities are targeted for systematic police violence, and such vile cop executions as this are a logical and integral part of racist capitalism. The integrated complex where Patricia Ridge and her son Patrick Mason lived was raided by the cops 430 times in the 27 months before the five-year-old boy was murdered.

For every cop like Robert Armstrong that is given even a slap on the wrist, hundreds of blacks and minorities are murdered and maimed. The assassins of five-year-old Patrick Mason, of football star Ron Settles, of Eulia Love, of Hollywood actor Raymond Vitte, all went free. Yet, as a friend of Delois Young said at the funeral of her child, "If it had been one of us, it'd been the electric chair—guaranteed!" (*Los Angeles Herald Examiner*, 24 April 1982). Armstrong and his accomplice Rene LaBelle, convicted for obstructing justice, have yet to be sentenced. They should be locked up for good. And Delois Young deserves every penny of the $10 million she is suing for.

But we have no illusions in bourgeois justice. And for blacks like Delois Young and her family, hounded by the vindictive cops, there is really no place to go in racist America. The capitalist state cannot be reformed. Least of all should there be illusions in black Democrats like Los Angeles mayor Tom Bradley, who has presided over years of racist murder by the L.A. cops and recently gave the keys to the city to an official of the butcher apartheid South African regime. What's vitally necessary is the independent mobilization of the masses of blacks, Latins and labor, organized and led by a revolutionary workers party, to wage a real struggle against racist cop and Klan terror. Only through such a struggle, culminating in socialist revolution, can there be any real justice for the Delois Youngs. ■

L.A. Black Activist Acquitted

Michael Zinzun Wins Against Cop Frameup

LOS ANGELES—A vicious, racist police frameup was stopped here June 27 when four felony charges, carrying a sentence of up to 15 years in prison, against Michael Zinzun were dismissed in a Pasadena court. The charges against Zinzun, a former Black Panther and founder of the local Coalition Against Police Abuse (CAPA), stem from an incident in February 1982, when a dozen cops charged onto the block where Zinzun lives, allegedly responding to a "man with a gun" report. No man was found, and the cops then turned on the assembling crowd, harassing them and beating two men. Zinzun protested the cop brutality, urging people to remain at the scene, as their eyewitness testimony could be useful in a possible police brutality complaint. Five days later the cops returned, arresting Zinzun on misdemeanor charges of "inciting to riot."

That wasn't all. After three weeks Zinzun was notified that the charges against him had been upped to four felony counts, under an archaic 110-year-old law that makes it a crime to talk back to a cop, on the grounds that this would "deter or prevent a police officer from executing his duty." The presiding judge at the first hearing, who had signed the original warrant based on misdemeanor charges, didn't even know the charges had been upped, and had never heard of the 1872 law until the D.A. informed him in court. Zinzun told *WV* of the racist authorities' incredible political maneuvering and behind-the-scenes contortions to set him up in court. The case went through six judges and nine district attorneys before the charges were finally thrown out!

This cop vendetta against a well-known black opponent of police terror was orchestrated from the top. Since its inception in 1976, the Coalition Against Police Abuse has been one of the prime targets of the LAPD's Public Disorder Intelligence Division (PDID) hit list. The PDID has a long and sordid history of prolonged undercover operations against leftists, minority and even liberal organizations in Los Angeles. In particular, Zinzun has been singled out by the Pasadena police. In the early morning hours of last May 18, ten cops raided the Pasadena community center where Zinzun lives, confiscating four legally registered guns and rifling through his political files.

We are glad to see this vicious racist cop frameup chucked out of court. In calling for defense of Michael Zinzun, we have warned that CAPA's reformist strategy of relying on "community control" and civilian police review boards will do *nothing* to stop the daily terror and murder that blacks and minorities face in this city and all over racist, capitalist America. Labor/black mobilization is needed to muster the forces that will bring down the criminal system that spawns the uniformed killers of Ron Settles, of Patrick Mason and the unborn child of Delois Young.

Moonies in Honduras: Death Squads and Contras

Anyone who thinks that Sun Myung Moon is running just another religious cult like the Hare Krishnas should take a look at the Moonies' activities in Honduras. Washington officials have acknowledged that this Central American country is the axis of U.S. policy in the region, a giant "weapons platform" for attacking leftist insurgency in El Salvador and seeking to topple the radical-nationalist Nicaraguan Sandinistas. Honduran strongman General Gustavo Alvarez Martínez is the key link between the U.S. embassy in Tegucigalpa and CIA-backed counterrevolutionary mercenaries who have been sowing terror in northern Nicaragua. Alvarez is also reported to head the assassination squads which have sprung up over the last two years in this former backwater, the quintessential banana republic. And Reagan's man Alvarez, godfather to death squads and *contras*, is chief of the Moon operation in Honduras. The Moonie cult is far more sinister than glassy-eyed white youths selling flowers on street corners: they are would-be shock troops of anti-Communist reaction. The Spartacist League was not exaggerating when we said, in announcing our $20 million suit against Moon's *Washington Times* newspaper: "Moonie Libel That Kills" (*WV* No. 332, 17 June).

Moon's top assistant, Colonel Bo Hi Pak, a former South Korean army officer identified by the *New York Times* as "the South Korean C.I.A.'s channel to Mr. Moon and the Unification Church," appeared in Honduras last November. He promised to counteract the bad press Honduras has been getting, and waved around copies of the *Washington Times* to show he could deliver. Pak, who served the sinister schemes of the late Korean dictator Park Chung Hee, found a kindred spirit in armed forces chief Alvarez. The Moonies' Honduras operation really got going in January when Pak met with Alvarez, the country's figurehead president Roberto Suazo Córdova, and members of the business elite to form the Association for the Development of Honduras (APROH). In February Pak announced that a New York-based Moonie front, CAUSA (Confederation of Associations for the Unification of American Societies), had opened a branch in Honduras and General Alvarez would be its local president. Pak then arranged a five-day conference in San Pedro Sula for Honduran educators, union leaders and small businessmen.

Obviously, Moon does not intend to turn Honduras' leading citizens into flower children. In this CIA-infested land, he has something else in mind. APROH dues of $6,000 a month indicate this is not supposed to be a mass movement, and its statutes make clear the organization's goals: "Convinced that Honduras is a priority objective in the expansionist plans of international communism, military and business leaders have joined together to avoid the fall of our country and to preserve its democratic and free enterprise systems" (*Guardian*, 13 April). There's no doubt that Reagan's Honduran lieutenants will do anything to preserve "free enterprise." As to their defense of "democracy," newspapers have reported at least 23 government critics have been killed and dozens kidnapped since Suazo took office in January 1982. According to the *Los Angeles Times* (22 April), the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in Honduras, tradeunion officials, opposition politicians and relatives of the "disappeared" insist that the government is behind the violence. "Gen. Alvarez has gained power to the point where he is now seeking the physical elimination of what he believes to be the opposition," said a leftist union leader whose name is on the death list.

LeMoyne/Newsweek

Lane/Newsweek

Republic of Nicaragua

Honduran strongman Gustavo Alvarez (bottom right), chief of the local Moon (left) operation and godfather to bloodthirsty Nicaraguan contras.

These charges have been substantiated at the highest level, by former Honduran military intelligence chief Colonel Leonidas Torres Arias who has sought refuge in Mexico, reportedly with two years worth of confidential files, after being cashiered last fall. The *Washington Post* (15 October) reports that Torres Arias pointed the finger at Alvarez' "Special Investigations Staff" (SIS) and cited a number of well-known "disappearances" it carried out under direct orders. A former *contra* captured by the Sandinistas in Nicaragua reported that the SIS chief is a go-between supplying funds to the Somozaist mercenaries operating out of Honduras. As to the Moonie connection, the well-informed British publication *Latin American Weekly Report* (11 March) writes:

> "Although Aproh purports to be a broadly based organisation, it is supported by prominent conservative figures close to the regime, while wealthy businessmen, such as Miguel Facussé, are said to have contributed towards its US$500,000 war chest, which government critics fear will be used to promote right-wing paramilitary activity. Alvarez, who was recently made Aproh's president, is said to see the organisation as a civilian support base for his desired national security state."

But there is reported opposition to Bo Hi Pak's Honduran operations from the Catholic church, "reinforced by a recent memo from the Vatican which described the Moonies' origins and connections, and warned local Catholics to keep their distance from Causa." Moreover, says *LAWR*:

> "According to sources in Tegucigalpa, the US embassy is also perturbed by Bo's role in the South Korea-Moonie link-up, the promotion of which it sees as yet another effort by Alvarez to break away from his US patrons. Alvarez's links with Argentina are well known, and last year, as well as the highly publicised visit of Israeli military commanders, top Honduran soldiers visited their colleagues in Taiwan and South Korea in moves to diversify their military dependence from Washington."

Moon's activities elsewhere in Central America are just as deadly. In Honduras, the native bourgeoisie has been notoriously weak since real power was in the hands of the banana companies. The arrival of CAUSA and the Moon/Alvarez APROH is aimed at fortifying and whipping into line the domestic capitalist class in a country which is crucial for counterrevolution in Central America. According to Pak: "Honduras is triply blessed: Roberto Suazo Córdova, Gustavo Alvarez and Ronald Reagan." Next door in El Salvador, in contrast, the local bourgeoisie is well-entrenched and has a long history of suppressing popular uprisings. The Salvadoran ruling class was proud of the fact that it slaughtered 30,000 of its own peasants and workers in the bloody *Matanza* (massacre) of 1932 without having to bring in the U.S. Marines who were waiting off shore "just in case." On El Salvador, the Moonies are acting as fingermen and propagandists for the ultrarightist butchers headed by "constituent assembly" president Roberto ("Blowtorch Bob") D'Aubuisson. In the United States Moon's minions lobbied for the Salvadoran junta and even toured a pro-junta Roman Catholic bishop on a crusade against communism.

In the Bay Area, according to the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the Moonies are working closely with the United Salvadoran Patriotic Forces, an ultrarightist group which has admittedly "turned over to Salvadoran government officials the names and photographs of Bay Area Salvadorans who oppose the junta." "That's an official death warrant," said a local Salvadoran who had been subjected to this treatment (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 18 April 1981). The Catholic hierarch sponsored by the Moonies and Salvadoran ultrarightists in the Bay Area was Bishop Pedro Aparicio. Back in 1979 when the "human rights junta" installed with the approval of the Carter administration began talking of land reform in El Salvador, Aparicio (himself a large landowner) preached to the peasants:

> "...don't be fooled by those who come to offer you land because the truth is... that our country does not permit such donations... not even so that everyone might have his own little house."
>
> —*La Prensa Gráfica* [San Salvador], 24 December 1979

Liberal San Francisco archbishop Quinn read the riot act to Aparicio for consorting with the Moonies. Earlier the same Moonie-allied Salvadoran ultrarightists, in evident solidarity with the rape and murder of four U.S. churchwomen in El Salvador in 1980, had picketed Quinn's office with signs calling for "Death to the Communist Priests and Nuns of San Francisco." A year later, when the president of the Salvadoran butcher junta, Napoleón Duarte, visited the U.S., Bo Hi Pak presented him with an award for his "determined fight in favor of democracy and human dignity." On 27 September 1981, at an SF protest outside a banquet honoring Duarte, the Moonies provoked a bloody cop rampage in which demonstrators and bystanders alike were beaten and 15 people sent to the hospital. The deputy police chief

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Mitterrand's Popular Front Fuels Bonapartist Reaction

Smash Rightist Mobilization in France!

In the last several months France has been swept by the most threatening right-wing mobilization since de Gaulle's 1958 coup and the movement against Algerian independence in the early '60s. The spectacular failure of Socialist president Mitterrand's program of "Keynesianism in one country" and the subsequent recourse to ever more severe austerity measures have demoralized the working class, antagonized the petty bourgeoisie and drawn increasing opposition from the big bourgeoisie, which has encouraged fascist and right-wing violence against the government. We reprint below a leaflet distributed by the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), section of the international Spartacist tendency, on May 10, the second anniversary of the electoral victory of Mitterrand's popular front.

Since this leaflet was written, the rightist demonstrations have led to a dangerous bonapartist mobilization. Especially ominous was the march in early June by 1,500 police, denouncing the government for being "soft" on crime and demanding the resignation of the Justice and Interior ministers. Organized by an ultra-right police "union," the cops cheered on the fascist leader Le Pen. This demonstration took place only 100 meters from the Elysée Palace, the French equivalent of the White House. One passerby exclaimed, "Keep going, don't be afraid! Take power! It is only a hundred meters more!" The police threat was so open that Mitterrand was forced to go on television and condemn the action as "seditious." Meanwhile, elements from private armies such as the now-banned SAC, the Gaullist equivalent of Napoleon Bonaparte's Societies of December 10, have been prominent in the rightist actions.

Behind the violent rightist demonstrations of students, peasants, shopkeepers and police stands the French bourgeoisie, which wants a "strong state" regime to break the power of the working class. Hit hard by the world economic crisis, French capitalism—far weaker than its West German, American and Japanese competitors—cannot afford the Mitterrand "experiment." And the popular-front government's recourse to austerity only fuels the forces of petty-bourgeois reaction. Ever since the suppression in 1871 of the Paris Commune, France has been beset by an alternation of bonapartist and impotent parliamentary regimes.

In the present situation the danger is growing of another Clichy—the 1937 massacre when the police shot down anti-fascist demonstrators. The Clichy massacre sealed the fate of the Blum popular front, leading to the rightist Daladier ministry and paving the way a few years later for the Vichy regime of Marshal Pétain, which loyally collaborated with the Nazi occupation. But the threat of a new Daladier and Pétain cannot be answered by political support to Mitterrand & Co. The popular front breeds bonapartist reaction, which can only be swept away by workers revolution.

UPI

Violent right-wing student actions spearhead growing bonapartist threat as French popular front provas bankrupt.

The Working Class Has the Power to Repulse the Reactionary Mobilizations!

The fascists who led the reactionary student demonstrations howled: "Go break some [Algerian heads] at Aulnay!" There was the same racist rot at the May 5 demonstration of 20,000 artisans and merchants demanding that the CRS [paramilitary riot police] "beat up niggers not Frenchmen." On May Day, marching at the call of the pro-Pétainist SNPMI [National Union of Small and Medium Manufacturers] under a banner calling for "A Clean France," thousands of small businessmen and petty bourgeois took up the call for murder initiated by the fascists: "We'll get the commies' hides!" For the first time in a long time, the Nazi thugs are leading significant layers of the petty bourgeoisie. And if the current reactionary mobilizations evoke anything, it certainly has nothing to do with May '68, when nearly ten million workers were on a general strike. On the contrary, they recall February '34, when the agitation of several thousand armed fascists and royalists imposed a reactionary government. Today, for the time being, these ultra-reactionary demonstrations do not call for overthrowing the government by extra-parliamentary means, but the fascists' goal is clear: strangle political liberties, destroy the workers organizations and crush the working class, immigrants and everyone the fascists consider "inferior." *Don't leave the streets to the fascists! There must be a powerful working-class response NOW to the reactionary mobilizations!*

The fascist scum are not satisfied with mere demonstrations. And today they can only feel strengthened in forming new shock troops against the working class and immigrants, expanding their reactionary terror. The workers movement must prepare to form workers and immigrants defense groups to stop and crush the fascists. *For workers self-defense militias!*

In the universities during the student demonstrations against the Savary plan [the government's educational "professionalization" scheme], the right and far right found nothing in their way to prevent them from controlling the streets. This "reform" is explicitly aimed at adapting the university to the needs of capitalism in crisis by increasing selectivity. As partisans of the working class in the student milieu, we fight against all manifestations of class privilege in the university, for higher education open to all, including immigrants, and for truly adequate state scholarships for all students. And we are for throwing all cops and guards off campus. However, the so-called student "union" front groups for the Socialist Party (PS) and the fake-Trotskyists of the LCR [Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire—followers of Ernest Mandel] and the PCI [Parti Communiste Internationaliste, formerly OCI, followers of Pierre Lambert] on the one hand and the PCF [French Communist Party] on the other have joined hands to limit the student mobilizations to the stupidly subreformist framework of mere opposition to competitive examinations. Unfortunately for them, they were entirely outflanked by the far right because they fully accept an incredibly corporatist framework for student struggles (as they have done for years); any student, even a right winger, can oppose entrance exams to the second year on the grounds that, being sufficiently privileged to get into the university, they have the right to stay there and be part of the "gilded youth." The "masses" that the "student unions" were hoping to lead were simply taken over by the far right. And the LCR and PCI simply played into the hands of the right!

Workers and immigrants have nothing to hope for from Mitterrand's popular-front government. On the contrary, he has been paving the way for the fascists! These creeps were perfectly conscious when on May 5 they chanted: "Allende, we got you—Mitterrand, we'll get you!" In fact it was the Mitterrand government which, when unskilled auto workers launched a struggle [last spring], used the racism spawned by capitalism in crisis to wage a disgusting campaign to make the immigrants, who were in the forefront of the workers' struggles, scapegoats for unemployment and the crisis. This is the government which organizes daily repression and terror by [Interior Minister] Deferre's racist cops against immigrants. The cops, official thugs of the bourgeois state, are only doing their job when they terrorize immigrant neighborhoods and break strikes by force. If today they confront the fascists in the streets, they will later serve them, working hand-in-glove against the workers and immigrants. As for the PCF leadership (which was responsible for the racist atrocity of Vitry in December 1981), its "Produce French" campaign merely feeds the flames of chauvinism pitting French workers against their foreign class brothers. *For workers mobilizations against racist attacks! Cops out of the immigrant neighborhoods! Full citizenship rights for immigrants!*

Le Bolchévik

Rouen, Decambar 1981: Ligue Trotskyste de France organized hundreds in anti-fascist action. Banner reads, "Popular Front Disarms the Working Class."

It isn't just Mitterrand's racist campaign which fills the fascists' sails, it's his anti-Soviet campaign as well. Reactionaries of all stripes applauded the expulsion of 47 Soviet diplomats [last April]. And from Afghanistan to Poland, while reinforcing the war arsenal of French imperialism, Mitterrand waves high the banner of the Cold War. What did he just do during his recent visit to Peking if not reinforce imperialism's links with the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy, its main anti-Soviet ally in Asia, supporting it at the very moment it was dangerously threatening Vietnam! *Down with the Cold War campaign of Reagan and Mitterrand! Unconditional military defense of the USSR and Vietnam! China must not do the dirty work of imperialism!*

What pushes the petty bourgeoisie into the fascists' arms is the basic policy of the popular front—a class-collaborationist policy of loyally administering capitalism. The government's

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Dedicated Spy Who Defended the Soviet Union

IN HONOR OF DONALD MACLEAN

We are reprinting below for the interest of our readers an article by Soviet historian Roy Medvedev, author of Let History Judge: The Origins and Consequences of Stalinism. *This article was first published in the* Washington Post *(19 June 1983). For further information on the men and women who struggled courageously to defend the homeland of the October Revolution from imperialist attack, see our two-part series, "Heroic Soviet Spies" (WV Nos. 165 and 166, 8 and 15 July 1977).*

By Roy Medvedev

MOSCOW—Several weeks ago some friends of Donald Maclean gathered at a private apartment in Moscow to honor his memory on the ninth day after his death, as is the Russian custom. Among them were several scholars and specialists on international relations, two former members of the Comintern and myself. Maclean's circle of friends in Moscow was not large, but those who knew him best respected him and considered him a sincere person whose fate was not only unusual, but tragic.

Only a few of the people who worked with Donald knew the details of his biography. The short obituary in Izvestia paid tribute to him as a scholar, the author of a number of studies of England's foreign policy, a doctor of science and a prominent member of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations.

But that does not explain why leading newspapers in England and the United States devoted major articles to the death of a scholar who was never very well known in the U.S.S.R.

A Scotsman, Donald Maclean was born to a wealthy, aristocratic family, and dozens of influential relatives congratulated his father (who later became a member of the British Cabinet) on the birth of a son. But when, at the age of 70, Donald Maclean died in Moscow in total isolation, none of his relatives had been with him during illness and none was present at his funeral.

AP

Moscow, 1963: Donald Maclean (left) and his wife at the funeral of Guy Burgess, who organized his last-minute escape from Britain.

For Britain he was a spy, a traitor to his country and class, condemned in absentia to 30 years of imprisonment. For the U.S.S.R., he was one of the best spies who ever worked for Soviet intelligence.

For 20 years the Soviet media have been singing the praises of Soviet spies and members of the secret police. They have made a hero of Richard Sorge, one of the first to predict the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union, who was hanged in Tokyo in July 1944. Long articles appeared about Donald Maclean's former friend Kim Philby, who had also occupied posts in Britain's diplomatic service. But no articles appeared about Maclean, nor is it likely he would have agreed to any such publicity, though entire books had been published in Britain about the Maclean-Philby affair.

I happened to meet Maclean in the late 1960s. I had written a large manuscript about Stalin [later published in the West under the title "Let History Judge"] which I was showing to individual historians, old Bolsheviks and other writers in exchange for their comments and to gather facts and testimony to add to a future book. One of my acquaintances asked for permission to show the manuscript to Mark Petrovich Frazer; Maclean was going by that name in Moscow.

My acquaintance told me a little about Maclean's life. His childhood had been typical for boys of his circle. In the 1930s, he began to study at Cambridge, a university accessible only to a few at that time but rife with political passions even so. Britain still possessed her empire, and the ruling class was not yet contemplating independence for the colonies. World War I was still a fresh memory, as was the Depression of 1929-33.

Many saw a way out in radicalism or fascism. Still others, including some members of the intelligentsia and the aristocracy, read Marx and Lenin with hope. To them it was Soviet Russia that had provided "a ray of hope in the kingdom of darkness" hy overthrowing capitalism.

• •

Donald Maclean's personal crisis came during the Spanish Civil War. At that time a Communist Party cell was active in aristocratic Cambridge. Young Donald requested permission to join the party, but he was asked to wait. Some time later he was asked to meet "a certain person," introduced to him as a senior member of the Comintern [the Communist International]. "You can do more good for the communist movement and its standard hearer, the Soviet Union, by serving our common cause in secret, and not by joining the party," the man told Donald. "It would be best for you to put some distance between yourself and the communists and make a career for yourself like other young men of your background."

Donald agreed with this logic. He was still very young and only vaguely realized the price he would have to pay for his choice. He sincerely believed in socialism and did not want to continue the life of a well-heeled aristocrat. Within his own society he was a "dissident," but English society was tolerant to dissent and he would not have been faced with imprisonment even if he had openly come forward with a gospel of Marxism.

Now, however, Donald had become an agent of a foreign power, a spy, and English society—like any other society—could not forgive him this. True, he had not been bribed, but had been recruited through appeals to his convictions. He received not a single cent for his work as a spy, but that did not justify his actions in the eyes of British society.

Donald's career developed quite successfully. He openly "came to his senses" and began to work in the Foreign Office. For a long time he worked in the British embassy in Washington and was involved in the activities of the Anglo-American Combined Policy Committee on Atomic Matters. Thanks to Donald's reports, the Soviet leadership learned of the American effort to create an atomic bomb at various stages of its development. That was why President Truman's announcement at the Potsdam conference of the creation of an atomic bomb made no impression on Stalin whatsoever.

• • •

Naturally, I was interested in learning Maclean's opinion of my manuscript.

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Hutchinson

Ramsey and Muspratt

Ramsey and Muspratt

From left: Kim Philby, Donald Maclean, Guy Burgess. British upper-class youth recruited to Communism at Cambridge, went on to perform great deeds in defense of the Soviet Union.

and I soon delivered it to him at his apartment near the Kiev train station. He liked my manuscript, and we discussed it for a long time. He said he had learned a great deal from it. But, as I realized later, he was most interested in the very concept of the manuscript.

In analyzing Stalin's crimes, I did not deny the value of socialism and communism—an approach which Maclean found congenial with his own view. When he had fled to the Soviet Union in 1951, warned by Kim Philby of the impending danger of his exposure, he found Soviet socialism to be very different from what he had imagined in the '30s. But even though he may have grown increasingly disenchanted with Soviet socialism, it is unlikely that he regretted the past or accepted the values of capitalism. In an utterly sincere step he became a member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Maclean and I subsequently met on several other occasions. He showed me his library and offered to help in translating certain English texts. "Samizdat" was at its peak, and he wanted to read many other manuscripts circulating in Moscow. Maclean never spoke of the details or the techniques of his work as a spy—perhaps he was not permitted to do so. On a few occasions he made reference to certain historic events which he seemed to have influenced.

For example, in the summer of 1950 the North Korean army began its offensive on the south and quickly crushed the troops of Syngman Rhee, pushing them to the sea and seizing 90 percent of the territory of South Korea. Truman suddenly ordered that a 50,000-man American contingent make an amphibious landing in the deep rear of the army, and on the following day the Eighth American Army launched an attack from its base in Pusan. Cut off from their bases, the troops of Kim Il Sung found themselves in a hopeless position and were crushed. American and Korean troops, together with units of certain allied countries, moved north toward the Chinese border.

It seemed that the days of the Korean People's Republic were numbered when Stalin insisted on Chinese interference. Mao hesitated, afraid that the Americans might move the war onto Chinese territory and even use the atom bomb on Chinese troops and industrial centers.

At that time an English delegation headed by Prime Minister Clement Attlee was visiting the United States. Donald Maclean, head of the American desk of the Foreign Office, was a member of that delegation. Neither Attlee nor their American colleagues had any secrets from Maclean. He managed to get a copy of an order from Truman to Gen. MacArthur not to cross the Chinese border under any circumstances and not to use atomic weapons. America feared a lengthy and hopeless war with China.

Stalin immediately passed on the information to Mao Tse-tung, and the Chinese reluctance came to an end. On Oct. 25 a vast army of "Chinese people's volunteers" crossed the Korean border and attacked American and South Korean troops. The bloody war entered a new stage and ended three years later with the establishment of a demarcation line along the 38th parallel.

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In Moscow, Maclean did not seek meetings with the dissidents, although he observed their activities and struggle with interest. He never refused to make small contributions when collections were made in support of the families of the arrested. On one occasion he learned that the daughter of a family he knew had been arrested for distributing leaflets (handprinted sheets from a school notebook). That year elections

Camera Press

Churchill and Truman sought to use nuclear blackmail against Stalin's Russia. Soviet intelligence was forewarned by Donald Maclean that U.S. and British imperialism had secretly developed the A-bomb.

were being conducted for the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. A Soviet citizen, Maclean went to the voting place and, inside the booth, wrote on the form: "While girls like Olga Ioffe are kept in mental institutions, I cannot participate in the elections."

Maclean was pleased when his book on British foreign policy was published in England without any concealment of his authorship. He announced to everyone he knew that he would no longer go under the name Mark Petrovich Frazer, but would again be Donald Maclean. About two years later the book was published in Russian in the Soviet Union. I received a copy with the author's compliments and inscription.

In Moscow Maclean's family life was not a happy one. He did not like to discuss the matter, but it was not difficult to guess that his frequent drinking bouts were the cause of the friction. He was an alcoholic and underwent treatment for the disease. Evidently, the nerve-wracking experience of previous years was not without effect.

Did Maclean maintain any contacts with the KGB? His closest friends were convinced that, if such ties remained, he used them only to get the material privileges and perquisites without which life in the Soviet Union is very difficult. In the past Maclean had evidently held some sort of rank in the intelligence service, that of colonel perhaps. But now he was a retired colonel and had no desire to remain in active service. Besides, he had never had any connections with those branches of the KGB that work in domestic matters.

Maclean had received the position of "adviser" to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs while Stalin was still alive. In essence, this was a sinecure. Later he began to work in the Institute of World Economics and International Relations in the Soviet Academy of Sciences. It was there that he defended his doctoral dissertation.

Nevertheless, it was only thanks to the assistance of the KGB that he and his wife Melinda received good apartments in Moscow. If the KGB had not vouched for him, he would not have been able to make trips to certain countries of the Soviet bloc—to Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria.

On several occasions he explained to me how to reveal an "informer" or learn if the secret police was following you and how. He even used one woman as an example, pointing out the clues that showed her to be a KGB informer.

Maclean could not have become a Soviet dissident, but neither did he wish to make any sort of career for himself in the U.S.S.R. He preferred to be an ordinary scholar. In the 1950s, Maclean still maintained friendly relations with a number of historians and specialists on international relations.

He became a regular in the group that formed around the journal International Life, and he enjoyed the complete trust of its members. I am not going to name any names here. In the 1960s, the circle of his acquaintances shrank considerably. He broke off relations with some persons, and others passed on to a better world. In the '70s, his circle of acquaintances was reduced still further. By that time his sons had grown up and were studying in Moscow University, and not infrequently brought home young friends who were opposed to the government. Maclean listened to their conversations with interest, but this was already a different generation, with its own ideas about political and moral values.

• •

Donald had a dacha not far from Moscow, in the resort area of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He lived there from spring till late fall, cultivating his orchard, flower beds and garden like a true Englishman. Often his daughter came to stay with him. He particularly loved his little granddaughter, who would stay with him for weeks at a time.

Gradually Donald's family began to fall apart. First his eldest son Fergus left for England. Then Donald's wife left to live with her mother. Together with her second husband, Donald's daughter left for the United States, taking his beloved granddaughter with her. Finally, his youngest son Donald also left, and Maclean was left alone in the world. When he learned of his illness, he withdrew into himself and stopped seeing even his closest friends. I learned of his death from the newspaper Izvestia.

Maclean lived a little over 30 years in the Soviet Union—precisely the amount of time he would have spent in solitary confinement in an English prison. In his youth he had passionately longed for social justice, and he did not betray his ideals in old age. Fate, however, had prepared heavy trials for him, and he was not up to enduring them all. This was more his tragedy than his guilt, for he lived in a very complex time and found himself in extremely complicated conditions.

Various people will probably try to draw conclusions from his tragic experience. The history of intelligence gathering is also history, and sometimes very instructive. In the foyer of his apartment Maclean had hung a sign with large letters: "Opportunists, Dishonest People, and Anti-Semites leave this apartment!" It was a strange sign for a man who had been one of the most important Soviet spies and KGB agents. But it was a very natural sign for the man whom we knew simply as Donald Maclean. ■

ИЗВЕСТИЯ
СОВЕТОВ НАРОДНЫХ ДЕПУТАТОВ СССР

—translated from *Izvestia*, 12 March 1983

Д. Д. Маклэйн

После тяжелой болезни на семидесятом году жизни скончался Дональд Дональдович Маклэйн — член КПСС, видный ученый-международник, доктор исторических наук, ведущий исследователь Института мировой экономики и международных отношений АН СССР.

Д. Д. Маклэйн родился и получил образование в Англии.

Всю свою сознательную жизнь Д. Д. Маклэйн посвятил служению высоким идеалам социального прогресса и гуманизма, мира и международного сотрудничества. Исключительно велики его заслуги в борьбе против фашизма.

Работая более двадцати лет в Институте мировой экономики и международных отношений АН СССР, он внес большой вклад в изучение проблем мировой политики. Его работы по вопросам внешней и внутренней политики Великобритании получили широкое признание в научных кругах нашей страны и за рубежом. Много сил и внимания он отдавал подготовке и воспитанию молодых научных кадров.

Выдающиеся заслуги Д. Д. Маклэйна перед партией и государством отмечены орденами Красного Знамени, Трудового Красного Знамени и медалями.

Человек высоких моральных качеств, убежденный коммунист, чуткий и отзывчивый товарищ, Д. Д. Маклэйн неизменно пользовался всеобщим уважением и искренней симпатией. Светлая память о нем навсегда сохранится в наших сердцах.

ГРУППА ТОВАРИЩЕЙ.

D.D. Maclean

After a grave illness in the seventieth year of life Donald D. Maclean died—a member of the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union], distinguished international scholar, doctor of historical studies, leading researcher of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

D.D. Maclean was born and raised in England.

D.D. Maclean devoted his whole conscious life to the service of the high ideals of social progress and humanism, peace and international cooperation. Exceptionally great was the service he rendered in the struggle against fascism.

Working over 20 years at the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, he made a great contribution to the study of world politics. His works on the questions of foreign and domestic policy of Great Britain brought widespread recognition in the scientific circles of our country and abroad. He gave much strength and attention to the training and education of the young scientific cadre.

For his outstanding service to the party and government D.D. Maclean received the Order of the Red Banner, the Order of the Red Banner of Labor, and medals.

A man of high moral character, dedicated communist, a warm-hearted and sympathetic comrade, D.D. Maclean was invariably held in general esteem and sincere warm feelings. Long may his memory be preserved in our hearts.

A GROUP OF COMRADES

Immigration Scare...

(continued from page 1)

starvation conditions. And while the image of a tidal wave of "wetback communism" is a Reaganite hallucination, many of these victimized and superexploited workers can be won to revolutionary politics.

The Senate Judiciary Committee report on the Simpson-Mazzoli bill laid out the ruling class' rationale:

> "If immigration is continued at a high level, yet a substantial portion of these new persons and their descendants do not assimilate into the society, they have the potential to create in America a measure of the same social, political, and economic problems which exist in the countries from which they have chosen to depart."
>
> —U.S. Senate Report, "Immigration Reform and Control," April 1983

And what are those problems? The Committee stipulated that "Communists, anarchists, saboteurs, and those seeking to overthrow the government will be excluded from each category of legalization." The racist anti-Communist character of U.S. immigration policy was made clear during last year's "Operation Jobs" dragnet: some 50 Polish immigrants picked up in Chicago were granted special refugee status, while several thousand Latin Americans were summarily deported. More recently, last May the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) arrested scores of Mexican workers in factory raids around San Jose, California. The press reported that they were replaced by "legitimate refugees," who turned out to be anti-Communist Indochinese.

America's Reserve Army of Labor

The drum beaters for the Simpson-Mazzoli deportation legislation are filling the media with myths of a flood of illegal aliens "stealing" American jobs, "freeloading" on social services, etc. There has indeed been a dramatic increase in immigration to the U.S. during the '70s, much of it legal entry by right-wing fugitives from revolution: more than 280,000 Cubans and almost half a million Indochinese since 1975 alone. There has also been a sharp increase of Hispanic immigrants concentrated in the largest metropolitan centers, though the numbers are probably closer to 6 million than the 20 million claimed in the scare campaign. As for the use of social services, Los Angeles County last year asked the federal government for over $200 million in compensation for services provided for "illegals." But a study by the federal Department of Labor showed that less than 1 percent of undocumented workers received welfare, 1.5 percent received food stamps and 4 percent had ever gotten unemployment payments; in contrast, 73 percent had income taxes withheld and 77 percent paid social security (*Economist*, 8 May 1982). Obviously, an undocumented worker would be crazy to submit to a welfare investigation. More than "paying their way," foreign workers are being robbed!

The vast bulk of "illegal" immigrants come to the United States because they are needed by the capitalist economy, whole sectors of which are dependent on low-wage labor without legal rights. Stoop labor in the fields for agribusiness, sweatshop workers in garment, restaurant dishwashers, hotel maids—millions of Latin American and Asian workers receive at most the minimum wage of $3.35 an hour because to demand more would mean instant deportation. This is genuine superexploitation, and a classic example of what Karl Marx called the "industrial reserve army" which holds wages down by increasing competition for jobs. When the economy is in crisis, the capitalists seek to remove "surplus" labor from the workforce—in this case, sending them back to the "Third World" countryside. The same process can be seen with Turkish and Yugoslav workers in West Germany, Africans in France, West Indians and Asians in Britain. But the U.S. presently lacks the mechanisms for such mass expulsions. The call for immigration "reform," like social service cutbacks and industrial union "givebacks," is a broader attempt to exploit the labor force more profitably.

Meanwhile, there is a vast population living on the margin of "legal" society, in daily fear of lightning Gestapo raids by the hated *migra* cops or identity checks on the streets. Take a look at a typical month in Los Angeles (as reported in the Spanish-language daily *La Opinión*), where out of an estimated 2.1 million Mexican Americans and 350,000 other Hispanics, over a million may be "illegals." Following a Supreme Court decision removing restrictions on factory raids, they have increased noticeably. On May 26 INS agents surrounded the entrances to a Baldwin Park garment shop, seizing anyone of Latin appearance. A pregnant Mexican woman was seriously cut on the head while producing her legal papers; her Salvadoran husband was jailed on $5,000 bail. Two days earlier *migra* agents kidnapped three Guatemalan children in their home in order to lure the parents to INS offices to be deported. On June 10 a raid on a home in Santa Ana found 68 illegals jammed into a dark garage, and the L.A. district attorney announced he is not filing charges against off-duty cops who murdered a Latin youth at a ball game in a Pasadena park last summer. On June 20, an undocumented worker was run down and killed by a police cruiser in Stanton, the town where the 5-year-old black child Patrick Mason was murdered in his bedroom by a killer cop.

Along the 2,000-mile frontier is the domain of the notoriously corrupt and brutal Border Patrol. Last year more than 800,000 people were sent back to Mexico, and so far in 1983 the rate has been up by almost 50 percent. The border police are now using sophisticated equipment including infrared night sensors, dune buggies and helicopters, making the Chula Vista area look like the U.S. army's attempt to block the Ho Chi Minh trail. They are equally unsuccessful, and obviously such numbers would not get through unless they were wanted. Often workers are brought across by *coyotes* (smugglers) who supply them to labor contractors; jammed into vans, then dumped in chicken-wire coops in the middle of some ranch, they will work for a grower and then, frequently, be seized by the INS just before payday.

Across the border are the giant holding pens of Tijuana and Ciudad Juárez, both with populations over a million, spread out in vast working-class barrios that resemble a moonscape, with dirt streets, not a blade of grass and no running water for drinking or sewage. Many of the residents work in the *maquiladoras*," American-owned light-industrial assembly plants on the Mexican side of the border which are exempt from import-export duties (and free of unions). Others are waiting for harvest season to head north again. All of them, on both sides of the border, are an integral part of the American capitalist economy. And instead of joining the bosses' clamor for immigration controls, as the sellout labor bureaucrats do (along with their calls for protectionism), socialists and militant unionists must organize these workers in struggle against their common exploiters.

Young Spartacus

New York City, 30 April 1982: SL demands "Free Haitians from Reagan's Concentration Camps!"

Down with the Simpson-Mazzoli Deportation Bill!

Now the U.S. ruling class wants to "reform" this regime, drastically reducing legal immigration to 425,000 a year (down from over 800,000 in 1980), increasing the police powers of the INS and mandating a "national worker identification system" of "counterfeit-proof" IDs which even right-wing columnist William Safire has labeled "totalitarian." The Labor Department's role as slave labor contractor would be expanded, reviving the *bracero* program of the 1950s—now renamed "guest worker" (the H-2 program)—to import more than 300,000 field workers, often as strikebreakers. And there will be penalties for employers who knowingly hire undocumented foreign workers. In sum, as we wrote last December, "If fully enforced it would lead to a South African-style 'internal passport' system ...if they don't start tattooing Social Security numbers on our wrists."

In exchange the bill offers an amnesty, touted by Senator Alan Simpson as the most "generous legalization in history of immigration law in any nation." Claims are made that it would cover anywhere from 2.3 million people up. Under the present Senate version of the bill, applicants who have been in the country since before 1 January 1977 would be eligible for permanent resident status (the "green card"), *provided* they could prove they were here and that they won't become "public charges"—i.e., receive welfare, unemployment compensation, etc.—an absurd condition in a time of mass layoffs. In addition, they must obtain "good conduct" certificates from the local police. Those who entered the country before 1 January 1980 can apply for temporary residency, under the same conditions. However, the names of those who apply for legal status and are rejected will be handed over to the INS for deportation. Refugees from rightist terror regimes in Latin America will be prohibited from applying for asylum, and the cut-off dates would exclude most of the black Haitians and Salvadorans who have fled to the U.S. in the last three years.

How then must the Simpson-Mazzoli bill be fought? In announcing a June 11 protest in Los Angeles, long-time Stalinist hacks Bert Corona and Frank Wilkinson declared that "the bill can be blocked with amendments" and it "can and will be stopped in the House." The Republican Senate already passed the legislation in May by a 76-18 vote, as it did last year, so these reformists are relying on the Democratic-controlled U.S. House of Representatives. This program was voiced at the L.A. march in the frequent chant, "*Congreso escucha, el pueblo está en lucha*" (Listen Congress, the people are in struggle). But the Democrats are supporting Simpson-Mazzoli. A combination of labor and business interests blocked the act in the last session, and now that the latter have been pieced off with lighter employer sanctions, the bill will probably pass. Only militant working-class struggle can defeat the deportation legislation. When Chicago was hit with a series of *migra* raids recently, the Spartacist League (SL) called a demonstration on June 17 demanding, "For Labor Action to Stop the INS Raids! No Deportations!"

Immigration and Workers Revolution

The *bipartisan* assault on "illegal" Latin American workers is in part one of the domestic consequences of the anti-Soviet war drive. A July 11 TV documentary in the "Frontline" series pointed out that 6,000 Salvadorans were deported back to their war-torn country last year, many of them to face death at the hands of rightist terrorists. Poles who arrive in the U.S. illegally are routinely awarded special "extended stay" status, already granted to several thousand applicants. But only 28 out of some 25,000 Salvadorans apprehended over the last two years have been granted political asylum, and 30 out of 30,000 Haitians! Ronald Reagan stands by his butchers, so that Nazi war criminals, Cuban *gusanos*, Vietnamese drug pushers and Nicaraguan torturers are received with open arms while their victims are systematically excluded. Nativist fascists have seized on the "illegal alien" issue as well, as the Ku Klux Klan threatened to march in Washington last November 27 against the "amnesty" provisions of the Simpson-Mazzoli bill. But they were blocked by more than 5,000 overwhelmingly black workers, youth and leftists who came out to the call of the SL to "Stop the KKK."

The Spartacist League has uniquely fought for full citizenship rights for undocumented workers. In the mid-1970s we denounced the shameful actions of Cesar Chavez of the United Farm Workers, who called on the INS to arrest Mexican field hands being used as scabs. The SL called instead for the organization of farm workers on both sides of the border. In March 1981 in Los Angeles we called the first demonstration in the U.S. protesting the deportation of Salvadorans. In April 1982 the SL, along with militant unionists from telephone and longshore, held emergency demonstrations in L.A. and across the country protest-

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Hunger Strike at El Centro

Free Salvadorans From U.S. Concentration Camps!

LOS ANGELES—Guards at the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) detention center in El Centro, California have responded to a recent hunger strike by detainees with daily beatings and torture of Central American refugees confined there. The hunger strike, which lasted nearly three weeks, was called to protest the abominable concentration camp conditions at this holding pen:

The L.A. Spanish-language daily *La Opinión* (22 June) reported that a delegation from the Ecumenical Project of Los Angeles visited the detention camp and found Carlos Bance Tibaral, a Guatemalan accused of being the leader of the hunger strike, thrown into solitary confinement for five days. Mario H. Pérez, a Salvadoran, was put in a refrigerated starvation cell for 24 hours. Two other Salvadorans, Eduardo Antonio Evora and Ulises Antonio Menjibar, were beaten and tortured. Evora suffered a broken bone, while Menjibar's nose was broken, for which he never received medical attention.

The Los Angeles-based "Santana Chirino Amaya" Central American Refugee Committee (named for a Salvadoran deported from the U.S. in July 1981 and found one month later decapitated in El Salvador) has publicized the hunger strike, which began June 2. The Committee reported that at least three Salvadoran hunger strikers have been deported back to El Salvador since the strike began. When the strike ended, only 25 of 40 strikers remained at El Centro. The only knowledge of the others is that they have been "relocated."

There are reportedly more than 500,000 Salvadoran refugees—more than 10 percent of the entire population of that country—in the U.S., almost all having arrived in the past three years. They seek to escape the ravages of the U.S.-backed genocidal military and death squads who have butchered more than 40,000 unarmed peasants and urban poor in the last half decade. Although more than 20,000 Salvadoran refugees have requested asylum in the U.S., only a handful have been granted it. "If we gave the refugees asylum, it would be an admission that the Government in El Salvador, which we support, violates human rights," said Peter Schey of the National Center for Immigrants' Rights (*New York Times*, 4 July).

The grisly spectacle of 1,000-plus Salvadoran refugees being put aboard Western Airlines and Mexicana flights every month, many of whom are literally being deported to their deaths, has sparked an outcry in the U.S. From Los Angeles to Chicago to Washington, D.C. hundreds are now finding refuge in churches as pastors and whole congregations of middle-class Americans are openly defying U.S. laws. But it is not a question of "moral witness." The U.S. government, which under both Democrats and Republicans has welcomed Cuban *gusanos*, Vietnamese drug pushers and now Polish defectors, has systematically excluded refugees from Pinochet's Chile and D'Aubuisson's Salvador. The source of the Salvadoran refugee question is Washington's policy of global counterrevolution, which is trying to drown leftist insurgency in Central America in blood.

When Reagan spins his demagoguery about "feet people," it is necessary to answer this cynical defense of the death squads head on. Revolutionaries, class-conscious unionists, black militants—anyone fighting for social justice—must take the side of the Salvadoran workers and peasants struggling against Reagan's butchers. The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League, which were the first to protest Salvadoran deportations from the U.S., have consistently fought for military victory to the leftist rebels. The struggle against Reagan's racist immigration policies must be part of the struggle for workers revolution in Central America and at home. Asylum for refugees from Salvadoran terror! No deportations! ■

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ing the racist roundup of foreign-born (mainly Mexican) workers in Reagan's cynical "Operation Jobs." In particular we called on the labor movement to wage a determined fight against racist immigration policies, for jobs for all and citizenship rights for all foreign workers: everyone who has made it into this country should have the right to stay here! And we linked struggle against deportations in the U.S. to the war in Central America: on June 11, SL demonstrators at the anti-Simpson-Mazzoli demonstration in L.A. raised a banner proclaiming: "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents! Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador!"

The immigration question is inherently international. The Communist Party reformists, who here appeal to the Democrats, in Mexico look to the ruling "Institutional Revolutionary" Party (PRI) to pressure Washington over immigration issues. Yet for the populist PRI, Mexican immigration to the U.S. is an important escape valve to relieve social tensions at home. While the Trotskyist SL calls for a battlefield victory to Salvadoran guerrillas, the reformists support the Mexican government's call for a "negotiated solution" to forestall the threat of workers revolution in Central America. The pseudo-Trotskyist Partido Obrero Socialista (POS), followers of Argentine adventurer Nahuel Moreno, had condemned the reformists for their support to a negotiated sellout in El Salvador. But over Mexican immigration to the U.S., the POS called on the PRI to "come out in defense of Mexican-origin workers and our Latin brothers" against the Simpson-Mazzoli act (*La Opinión* [Los Angeles], 25 March). Proletarian opposition to the victimization of undocumented workers is one thing, but this nationalist appeal amounts to support to the *counter*revolutionary purposes of the capitalist rulers of Mexico.

Because immigrant workers as an "industrial reserve army" are often used as scabs, "pure and simple" trade unionism cannot transcend anti-immigrant chauvinism reflected in the AFL-CIO's endorsement of Simpson-Mazzoli. The bosses also use immigrant labor to further divide the labor movement, pitting white *and* black workers against immigrants. It will take a revolutionary party and a class-struggle leadership in the unions to unify the labor movement behind the internationalist perspective which includes organizing the unorganized on both sides of the Mexican border and fighting for citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers.

Communists are the most militant opponents of the racist immigration policies of imperialist capitalism. Even social-democratic "models" like Sweden only offer "voting rights" to their foreign "guest workers" (a reformist demand raised by the Morenoite Internationalist Workers Party in the U.S.). As Marxian materialists we understand that national borders will remain as long as the nation-state persists, that is, until we have achieved a classless socialist society. Thus we reject the utopian demand of "open borders," which among other consequences would mean an unbridled invasion of Mexico by U.S. capital. V.I. Lenin, leader of the Russian October Revolution, declared in his April 1917 speech on the national question, "Only when the socialist revolution has become a reality, not a method, will the slogan 'Down with frontiers' be a correct slogan." Among the first decrees of the victorious Soviet state in Russia was the "Declaration of Rights of the Toiling and Exploited People" (January 1918), which proclaimed the right of citizenship for all workers living on Russian territory, and of asylum for foreigners persecuted on grounds of political or religious offenses.

Under socialism there will be no more "illegal aliens." National borders will disappear and all they will call you will be "comrade." ■

Reagan Targets Anti-Apartheid Poet

Asylum for Dennis Brutus!

CHICAGO—The racist U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has been trying since 1981 to deport black South African poet Dennis Brutus, currently a tenured professor at Northwestern University. Brutus, a well-known anti-apartheid activist, is appealing for political asylum in the U.S. against the Reagan administration's attempt to ship him to Zimbabwe, where his life would be in immediate danger from the long arm of the racist South African police-state regime.

Brutus, who was born in the then-British colony of Rhodesia and raised in South Africa, helped organize the 60,000-member South Africa Sports Association as a young athlete there, protesting the color bar in sports. It was outlawed in 1962, Brutus' poetry was banned in South Africa, and in 1965 Brutus himself was "banned" under the "Suppression of Communism Act." Now classified by the INS as an "excludable subversive," Brutus has lived in the U.S. for over a decade on a series of visas granted in the name of "cultural exchange." Only a month after Reagan's inauguration, Brutus was notified his visa wouldn't be renewed and he was ruled deportable. Reagan is, in effect, handing Brutus over to Botha's torturers as a gesture cementing the U.S./South Africa racist, anti-Soviet alliance.

The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League demand political asylum for Dennis Brutus! From the assassination of anti-apartheid fighter Ruth Furst in Mozambique to Pretoria's terror raids and bombings in Maputo and Lesotho, and their recent lynching of three heroic African National Congress fighters, the savagely racist South African regime has shown it will stop at nothing to crush its opponents.

Brutus is an advocate of liberal "divestment" schemes. But no "progressive" portfolio management is going to smash apartheid or the U.S./South African anti-Soviet axis. Instead, the black workers of South Africa must take the industrial wealth that they have created. The increasingly powerful black proletariat holds in its hands the means to break the shackles of apartheid. Smash apartheid—For workers revolution!

WV Photo

Brutus' lawyers will present his defense before the INS in Chicago on July 18. The Partisan Defense Committee has sent a telegram demanding political asylum for this courageous anti-apartheid fighter, and we urge our readers to send similar telegrams to: Judge Irving Schwartz, Immigration and Naturalization Service, 219 South Dearborn, Chicago, Illinois 60604.

Hands Off Grenada...

(continued from page 12)

to arm a force of Surinamese exiles to invade that country. In Grenada, the plan centered on economic destabilization. Both plans were supposedly nixed by Congressional intelligence committees. A senior Senate Intelligence Committee member cynically remarked, "We are out of the business of overthrowing governments. We may cause a little economic trouble, a little publicity and [give] aid [to opposition groups], but we don't overthrow governments" (*Washington Post*, 27 February). Tell that to the Sandinista militiamen fighting the U.S.-trained and equipped counterrevolutionaries in the jungles of Nicaragua!

In early June, Grenadian prime minister Maurice Bishop came to the U.S. to "establish some form of official contact" and to "deepen and strengthen the people-to-people relations." In Washington, Bishop appealed to the Organization of American States to intercede on Grenada's behalf. Not bloody likely. This is the OAS which Fidel Castro rightly called a "Yankee ministry of colonies," which expelled Cuba for standing up to Uncle Sam, that provided cover for the 1965 U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic! Snubbed by Reagan, Bishop found an enthusiastic reception at Hunter College in New York City, where he spoke before nearly 3,000 people, mostly Caribbean blacks. He drew rousing applause on quoting from a secret State Department report that warned that black radical Grenada could have "dangerous appeal to 30 million black people in the U.S."

A major point of contention between the Reagan administration and Grenada is the new international airport. Bishop waxed lyrical in his description of the undertaking: "This airport is an ancient dream of the people of our country." In fact, the expanded airport is crucial to Grenada's tourist industry, making access by jet plane possible for the first time. But for Reagan, said the Grenadian prime minister, it is a "strategic jump-off point from where we can launch an attack on the great big powerful mighty United States. It looks like we have become a superpower."

Bishop told his audience at Hunter College of an ABC television crew which traveled to Grenada to investigate Reagan's charges that Grenada was building a sophisticated military base. "So we said, 'Okay, let's go down to the airport and take some photographs'.... They discovered that at the beginning of the strip...is where the medical school with 700 American students live and study. And they discovered that these medical school students, American students, were running up and down the strip jogging every day and every night!... Two days later ABC comes back. Same crew. So I say, 'What's the problem now, fellows?' They say, 'All right. We agree that it is not a sophisti-

WV Photo

During recent U.S. visit Grenadian prime minister Maurice Bishop sought to turn away Reagan's wrath.

cated air base; we won't say that again. We're sorry about that.' But, they now discover that we have sophisticated communications facilities. So we say, 'All right. We don't know anything about them; we don't know where they are, but feel free. Go around the country. If you can find them, we also would like to see them." So much for Reagan's satellites.

Although high on Reagan's hit list and touted by everyone from the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) to Herbert Daughtry's National Black United Front as a black radical mecca, Grenada is hardly revolutionary. Bishop's left-wing populist New Jewel Movement (NJM) came to power in a 1979 coup, overthrowing the brutal and corrupt right-wing dictatorship of Sir Eric Gairy. Sir Eric, installed at "independence" by the British colonial rulers, maintained "law and order" with a cutthroat band of ex-criminals called the Mongoose Gang. Upon ousting the hated tyrant Gairy, the NJM set up the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG), undertaking a number of social programs to reduce the island's astronomical unemployment.

Members of the social-democratic Second International and "comrades" of such open anti-Communists as "State Department socialist" Michael Harrington and El Salvador's Guillermo Ungo, the NJM's model is Michael Manley's People's National Party (PNP) in Jamaica. It was the anti-working-class austerity policies of the bourgeois-populist PNP that generated mass opposition to Manley, combining with U.S. "destabilization" actions to bring in current Jamaican prime minister Edward Seaga, known locally as "CIAga," in 1980 elections.

The NJM's support for the island's business interests is fundamental to Grenada's "mixed economy." Bishop has called for "stimulat[ing] the private sector generally" (*Granma Weekly Review*, 12 July 1981). After farm workers occupied the plantation of a leading Grenadian family, the NJM newspaper condemned the action: "This kind of crazy seizure of property was one of the factors that led to counterrevolution in Chile." The now anti-Trotskyist SWP may consider Grenada, together with Cuba and Nicaragua, as one of the "three revolutionary giants of the Caribbean." But many of the SWP's "fraternal" allies in the pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) are not so enthusiastic. A Jamaican leftist writing in *Tranchées* (July 1982), a West Indian USec magazine, observed critically, "It appears that the local bourgeoisie has been assured by Bishop's repeated commitment to respect private property, as well as by the presence of representatives of the capitalist class within the PRG."

While they are in no way socialists, these populists can be a thorn in the side of U.S. imperialism. The NJM, merely in order to achieve a measure of independence from neo-colonial domination, has been forced to adopt radical-nationalist tones and ally with Cuba. Yet only a socialist federation of the Caribbean, in cooperation with a revolutionary workers government in the U.S., can lift the weight of poverty and despair from the lives of the masses in the West Indies. As we wrote in *Young Spartacus* (December 1980-January 1981):

> "It is absurd to envision proletarian revolution within the confines of these impoverished islands which hardly have a proletariat. Lacking the strength of proletarian or bourgeois class rule, petty-bourgeois movements like Bishop's can dominate the lumpenproletariat only through bonapartist militarism. And tiny Grenada is no Cuba. Moreover, even in a Caribbean-wide framework, linking up the fragments of a working class from Trinidad to Cuba (and the U.S. colony of Puerto Rico), it will not be possible to escape from deep poverty and build socialism without proletarian revolution in the metropolitan imperialist powers, first and foremost the United States."

The "counter-projection" of Yankee power throughout the Caribbean is well under way. Reagan brandishes his Big Stick and complains about Democrats who want to "speak softly." A Caribbean fleet command has been established in Key West. The latest U.S. naval maneuvers in the region, involving 77 warships and 400 aircraft, were described as "offensive war games" (*Los Angeles Times*, 3 April). And in late 1981, American military forces staged an invasion of the island of Vieques, off Puerto Rico, as a trial run for an assault on Grenada. An attempted invasion (by U.S. Nazis and KKKers) of another small Caribbean island, Dominica, with a mildly leftist government, was broken up last year only as the invaders were embarking in New Orleans. To beat back such imperialist adventures requires revolutionary struggle throughout the region and in the U.S.

The Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency seek to build a genuine world party of socialist revolution. In the Caribbean this means welding the black, Hispanic and East Indian masses into a united proletarian-led movement that, together with its North American comrades, could sweep away imperialist domination from the area. Only the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution can provide the basis for integrated class struggle throughout the region. U.S. out of the Caribbean! Independence for Puerto Rico—Hands off Grenada—Defend Cuba! Forward to the formation of Trotskyist parties in the Caribbean, sections of a reborn Fourth International! ■

Speedup on Death Row...

(continued from page 1)

that state: from capitalist politicians to cops and prison guards. For example, Texas prisoner Thomas Barefoot, whose request for a stay of execution was denied, is accused of killing a cop in 1978. But the killer-cops like Anthony Sperl who broke into the home of five-year-old Patrick Mason and killed this black child in cold blood, one of the most revolting racist murders in decades, are protected and emboldened by these laws. Further, this most recent decision is a fundamental attack on habeas corpus, undermining basic human rights established in the Middle Ages to curtail the arbitrary brutality of a dying aristocracy.

The court thereby approved the pending execution of Barefoot, and in addition dangerously approved the method by which he was convicted—the prosecutor had two psychiatrists *who had not even interviewed the prisoner* testify that "he would present a danger to society if he was not executed"! As dissenting justice Harry A. Blackmun noted, this means that "the specious testimony of a psychiatrist...equates with death itself" (*New York Times*, 7 July). The next day even the *Times* felt compelled to editorialize that "the Court's majority seemed eager only to avoid blame for delaying executions." The bloody-minded high priests of American capitalist "justice" should have put on executioners masks to announce their verdict.

While the government plays up the horrible crimes of a few murderers in order to sway public opinion in favor of the death penalty as a "deterrent" to crime, we know that the terrible power of the state will be used in the main to go after the working class and particularly black people.

The case of Johnny Imani Harris, a black man now sitting on Death Row in Alabama for a crime he did not commit, is typical of the kind of victim they want. After moving into an all-white neighborhood in Birmingham and facing racist threats—such as a cross burned on his lawn—he was imprisoned for the standard Southern racist charge of "raping a white woman." Too poor to hire a competent lawyer, he was thrown into jail for five life sentences. Harris joined a prisoners' union to improve conditions in jail—and then he was framed up on the charge of killing a prison guard, for which he now faces the death penalty despite the fact that an eyewitness to the murder subsequently exonerated him! Free Johnny Imani Harris!

The threatening legal bloodbath has been encouraged by the racist mobilization of the Klan/Nazis in the streets today—facilitated not only by Reagan & Co. but also by the Democratic liberals like Jimmy Carter, who paved the way with attacks on busing for integration and other minimal civil rights gains. As communists, champions of democratic rights and opponents of all forms of social barbarism, we stand against capital punishment because the real threat to mankind is the murderous power of the imperialist state itself. The only solution to racist capitalist violence is the abolition of capitalism, by a workers government. Down with the death penalty! ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Ann Arbor
c/o SYL
P.O. Box 8364
Ann Arbor, MI 48107
(313) 662-2339

Atlanta
Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

Berkeley/Oakland
P.O. Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 835-1535

Boston
Box 840
Central Station
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Chicago
Box 6441
Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 427-0003

Cleveland
Box 91954
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 621-5138

Detroit
Box 32717
Detroit, MI 48232
(313) 961-1680

Houston
Box 26474
Houston, TX 77207

Los Angeles
Box 29574
Los Feliz Station
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 663-1216

Madison
c/o SYL
Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701
(608) 251-3398

New York
Box 444
Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk
P.O. Box 1972, Main P.O.
Norfolk, VA 23501
(804) 543-4300

San Francisco
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.
P.O. Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 636-3537

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Vancouver
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C. V6C 2L8
(604) 681-2422

Taylors...

(continued from page 12)

frame-up charges for defending themselves from an armed invasion by two unidentified plainclothes police. It's obvious they need the support of fellow unionists and all decent people in the form of massive labor/black action and financial aid for their legal defense.

Any union leader with even one (1) shred of decency would have wanted to organize labor action in defense of the Taylors, who are hard working UAW members like all of us. But what do we get from Hank Wilson and his bosses in Sacrifice House? Damned if they care if the Taylors fry, or rot in Alabama's jails! While saying (talk is cheap) he supported the Taylors and the motion, Wilson sank into an orgy of race-baiting against RMC member Frank Hicks to sabotage any organized union defense of the Taylors. Wilson's Health and Safety Rep. Curtis Newton added his 1/2¢, attempting to divide black and white workers by calling Hicks "Tarzan." The fact is that Wilson & Co. hate the Rouge Militant Caucus because it is integrated, and has led Rouge workers in action to drive out the two Klan-hooded foremen and helped build the 5,000 strong labor/black demonstration which stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. on November 27th.

Wilson sabotages the defense of the Taylors just like he strips us of any defense of our jobs in the DAP. His job for Ford depends on keeping us hogtied and at each other's throats.

What happened to the Taylors shows that blacks in America can't even mourn their mother in peace and dignity.

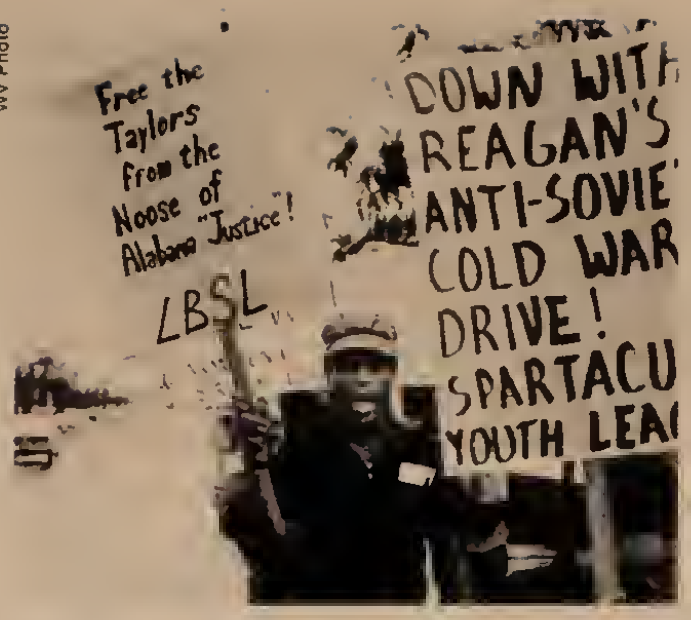
DEMONSTRATE FRIDAY GATE 4
2:30-3:30 pm

The Taylors' lives are in danger! Damn Wilson, Rinaldi and the rest of the sell-outs who would leave the Taylors at the mercy of Alabama "justice". Demonstrate for labor/black action—we must adopt and implement the motion for union action to save the Taylors now!

Rouge Militant Caucus, June 29

Down with the "United Front" That Would Let the Taylor Family Hang!

Due to the efforts of the Rouge Militant Caucus (RMC) and the decent, concerned Rouge workers who spread the word about the Friday July 1st Gate 4 demonstration, and circulated, or signed the petition for UAW action, important beginning steps have begun to mobilize the necessary union and black action that can save the beleaguered Taylor family from the racist legal lynching perpetrated by the state of Alabama. We would also like to thank the Detroit Labor/Black Struggle League (LBSL) and the Spartacist League—*Workers Vanguard* (SL), demonstrating their commitment for the cause of black liberation and workers revolution by joining this action.



Rouge demonstration: It will take integrated class struggle to defeat Jim Crow terror.

A stench of indecency has been uncovered and there are some things that should be crystal clear to those who have the following questions:

1. Why should Hank Wilson (or any other so-called "leader" in the UAW) oppose UAW action to defend UAW members from racist victimization? He and all the other sellouts in Sacrifice House are against any labor action to defend itself because they are the political police of U.S. capitalism in our unions, to keep us "under control"—any success we achieve for militant working-class action would give the workers confidence and strength to wage class struggle against their masters—and the Democratic-Republican parties. We need jobs, decent low-cost integrated housing, education for our youth; you name it—we need it. But all we get from the sell-out union leaders and their masters in the capitalist Democratic-Republican parties is concessions, unemployment, ghetto hell-holes, and police terror "curfews" that are going to keep more than just young people "under control" in this rotting capitalist system.

2. Isn't the RMC and the "United Front Caucus" the same group, don't they stand for the same thing? No way, no how.

Fact: at the June 25th Dearborn Assembly Plant (DAP) meeting, Judy Wraight seconded ex-foreman Al ("Boss Hogg") Morris's motion to "invalidate and adjourn the meeting," because there weren't "enough Executive Board members present." This flunky action proves that Ron and Judy will sink to the lowest measures to sabotage genuine labor action in alliance with "Boss Hogg" or Hank Wilson, who did finally adjourn the meeting in the middle of discussing the action proposal of the RMC to defend the Taylor family.

Fact: Judy Wraight, Ron Lare and their friends from the "Revolutionary" (?!) Workers League huddled near the guard shack *on the other side* of the street from the Save the Taylors demonstration refusing to join because they won't do anything that goes against the RULES as determined by Hank Wilson, Mike Rinaldi or the International. These blowhards are ever full of words, ink and paper but like every two-bit hustler that comes along they promise everything and deliver nothing.

Fact: Judy and Ron are pathetic excuses for "socialists" or "militants." They whine and complain endlessly about how "undemocratic" (tell us something we don't know) Hank Wilson is. Of late they've been falling all over themselves in swallowing Wilson's off the cuff bait that they should integrate Dearborn. Wilson suggested this as a stab at "white radicals" who so much as pay lip service (Ron and Judy) to struggling for black and working-class rights. Wilson cares no more for integrating Dearborn—a diehard racist enclave—than he does for defending the Taylor family. He has bigger fish to fry (giving up more concessions). And Ron and Judy just want to be little fish in his foul smelling pond. If Wilson gave these "militants" a little do-nothing "committee" (like the Civil Rights Committee they're begging for) they would simply continue their fight against concrete labor/black action against the bosses and their stooges. It would be Howdy Doody time.

3. Not to let sleeping dogs lie, for those that don't know Lonnie Spight, he's a supporter of the Communist Labor Party, whose only response to the question of if he supported union action to defend the Taylors was something we hear from committeemen: "I'll get back to you—leave me alone!" We cite these shameful actions of so-called leftists because as we have always maintained, that when the union misleaders get into trouble there are those pretenders to the banner of socialism that will do their favors to the union bureaucrats to keep the workers passive, docile and "under control."

Then we have these messengers for Libya's despot Colonel Qaddafi, the Workers League and its paper, the *Bulletin*. For those of us that have not avoided their salesmen like the plague, take note: on the morning of the rally, *Bulletin* salesmen at Gate 2 physically assaulted two *Workers Vanguard* salesmen, frothing at the mouth that defense of the Taylors was "opportunist."

Action always speaks louder than words. Those Rouge workers that did their part to establish the beginning of this necessary fight are to be congratulated, and ought to feel proud. Let us go forward and finish what we have started. To those that seek to sabotage and stand in the way of labor/black action to save the lives of the Taylor family for whatever opportunist reasons—get out of the way! Those serious fighters that understand the life and death consequences if the Taylors are allowed to hang are not to be trifled with.

Rouge Militant Caucus, July 12

Contributions for the legal defense of the Taylor family may be sent to: Montgomery Defense Fund, PO Box 3273, Pontiac, MI 48059.

Moonies...

(continued from page 4)

blamed it all on the thousands who came out to protest Duarte, violence-baiting the left, "the Revolutionary Communist Party, the Spartacus Group and several others" in particular. An SL spokesman wrote to the *San Francisco Examiner* protesting the cop slanders:

> "The provocateurs were the ultra right-wing cult followers of Reverend Moon who staged a pro-Duarte provocation.... *The real violence came from the San Francisco Police.*"
>
> —"SL Protests S.F. Cop Smear," *WV* No. 291, 23 October 1981

Thus the Moonies offer themselves up as shock troops for Reagan and the police to silence opponents of U.S.-backed right-wing terror in Central America.

Sun Myung Moon's pseudo-religious "Unification Church" proclaims: "Communism is a cancer. You can't live with it. You have to destroy it." That is just what the dangerous Moonie cult is attempting to do in Central America, allied with the death squads and *contras* responsible for killing well over *100,000* workers, peasants and leftists during the last five years. The Spartacist League (SL) has made the fight against counterrevolutionary terror in Central America its own. On March 25 we demonstrated outside the Honduran consulate in New York City demanding, "Crush the *contras*, workers to power!" Now the Moonies have tried to set up the SL for organizing the Labor/Black Mobilization that blocked the fascist Ku Klux Klan from parading their lynch mob terror in the streets of the nation's capital last November 27. The 5,000 black militants, unionists and leftists who responded to our call to stop the racist terrorists are slanderously accused of "provoking violence" against the police. The Marxist socialists of the SL are falsely branded as outlaws, to be denied democratic rights and shot down at will. *All* opponents of fascism and jackboot terror are on the Moonies' hit list. To anyone struggling for human freedom, from Honduras to Washington, D.C. we say: "Our fight against the Moonie libel is also yours." ■

France...

(continued from page 5)

anti-working-class austerity measures, required by the capitalist crisis, also hit the petty bourgeoisie, which will follow the anti-Mitterrand demagogy of a Le Pen [leader of the National Front fascists] or other would-be *Führers*, unless a powerful workers movement shows its determination to fight for power, winning the confidence of layers of the petty bourgeoisie in struggle. Only the working class can provide a radical solution to the crisis of decaying capitalism by seizing power, expropriating the bourgeoisie and installing a planned economy. But by supporting the government of austerity, the reformist leaderships of the proletariat paralyze and demoralize the workers. These cowardly bureaucrats talk of "mobilizing" to counterbalance the right, but in practice they break strikes, as in auto, they leave the streets to the fascists and do everything to avoid the general strike which is needed against the second plan of "rigor." The CGT [Communist-led union federation] leadership's "week of action" is intended to be nothing but a "safety valve" for the workers' anger. *Break the bureaucrats' stranglehold! Transform work stoppages called for by the CGT tops into real strikes against the government's austerity policies and a show of strength against the reactionary demonstrations!* We would wager, for example, that if there is a real strike on May 10 at Renault-Cléon, with thousands of workers marching in the streets, the fascist vermin will immediately crawl back into their holes!

The Ligue Trotskyste [LTF—French section of the international Spartacist tendency] has always refused to give even the slightest political support—in particular electoral support—to Mitterrand and his government of Cold War and austerity which is paving the way for the return of reaction. Those who backed Mitterrand claimed that his government would be "more sensitive" to workers' pressure than its predecessor. Mitterrand's second plan of "rigor" proves them wrong! The reformist bureaucrats and the "far left" which tails them have proposed a variety of utopian plans to improve the capitalist system ("make the rich pay," etc.). They are trying to detour the working class into the dead end of pressuring bourgeois parliament. In reality, for the proletariat the way out lies in extra-parliamentary mobilization, independently of and more precisely *against* the popular front in power.

The May '68 general strike demonstrated the immense power of the proletariat, but it was sabotaged and dissipated by the reformist leaders. For the working class to win there must be not only strikes against austerity and factory occupations but also the formation of democratically elected strike committees to wage successful struggles and replace the treacherous bureaucrats with a revolutionary leadership, a leadership determined to expropriate the bourgeoisie without compensation and install a real workers government based on organs of dual power, on workers councils. *Break with Mitterrand! For a May '68 that goes all the way! For a workers government!*

Ligue Trotskyste de France
10 May 1983

WORKERS VANGUARD

Detroit Auto Militants:

"Labor/Black Defense of the Taylor Family!"

DETROIT—United Auto Workers (UAW) militants here are fighting to save 11 members of the Taylor family—including five auto workers from Pontiac, Michigan—from the dragnet of Alabama-style Jim Crow "justice." Just before midnight on February 27 two white plainclothes cops shouting racist epithets burst into a Montgomery, Alabama home where some 30 blacks were mourning the recent death of their relative, Annie Bell Taylor. For the "crime" of defending themselves from this racist attack, which had all the appearances of a nightriding Ku Klux Klan raid, the Taylors face dozens of felony charges, including attempted murder, kidnapping and robbery!

On July 1 a rally for labor/black defense of the Taylor family was held outside Gate Four of Ford's giant River Rouge plant near Detroit. The rally was organized by the Rouge Militant Caucus (RMC) of UAW Local 600 and the newly founded Labor/Black Struggle League, a revolutionary integrationist organization initiated by the Spartacist League, which stands for class-struggle defense of black and working-class rights. Coverage and a photo of this demonstration were carried in the July 7 edition of the *Detroit News*.

Reprinted below are two recent leaflets issued by the RMC on the struggle to build a powerful labor/black mobilization to defend the Taylors.

* * * * *

Ford Rouge, July 1: UAW militants, SL and Labor/Black Struggle League demand union action to defend victims of Alabama Jim Crow "justice."

Labor/Black Defense of the Taylor Family!

At the DAP union meeting Saturday Hank Wilson joined with the State of Alabama which is trying to lynch the Taylor family. He adjourned the meeting to kill a Rouge Militant Caucus motion for concrete union action to save the Taylor family from Southern justice:

—for $1,000 donation from the General Council to the Montgomery Defense Fund.

—For a mass labor/black demonstration to defend the Taylors.

Everyone has heard about the racist victimization and brutalization of the Taylor family (including five UAW brothers from Pontiac Truck and Coach) at the hands of the Montgomery, Alabama police, when they went down South for the funeral of Annie Bell Taylor. These brothers and sisters are being persecuted by the State of Alabama for "attempted murder" and other

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For a Socialist Federation of the Caribbean!

U.S. Hands Off Grenada!

In his infamous "Star Wars" speech last March, President Reagan targeted the tiny Caribbean island of Grenada and its black population as dangerous Kremlin "surrogates": "The Soviet-Cuban militarization of Grenada, in short, can only be seen as power projection into the region...." To buttress his claims of a buildup of Soviet military strength in the Americas, Reagan displayed satellite photos of an airfield being built within easy striking range of important international shipping lanes. At issue is much more than cornering the market on Grenada's number one export, the U.S. imperialist chief proclaimed: "It is not nutmeg that is at stake in the Caribbean and Central America. It is the United States' national security." Thus Reagan catapulted this lilliputian island, one-tenth the size of Rhode Island, with its 110,000 people into a front-line target of the U.S.' multi-trillion-dollar, bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. And with this administration, these are not empty threats. The Spartacist League (SL) says: U.S. hands off Grenada! Defend Cuba and the Soviet Union against imperialism!

Ronald Reagan came to power determined to put an end to the "Vietnam syndrome"—the opposition to foreign military adventures resulting from the decisive rout of U.S. imperialism in Indochina—and to reassert U.S. hegemony throughout the world. In Latin America Reagan's policy was anticipated by a 1980 report of the Committee of Santa Fe, which has supplied top administration advisers on Latin American foreign policy. In the fevered minds of this gang of New Right braintrusters, "Even the Caribbean, America's maritime crossroads and petroleum refining center, is becoming a Marxist-Leninist lake." The Committee of Santa Fe also drew up a hit list: Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, Guyana and even Panama were listed as targets for a "counter-projection of American power."

Now with Reagan president, Washington is arming and directing Somozaist counterrevolutionary terror in Nicaragua. The U.S. Navy has been conducting combat maneuvers in the Caribbean on a scale and of a frequency unprecedented in peacetime. This year CIA plots to overthrow the governments of Surinam and Grenada were revealed. The *New York Times* reported last month that the CIA had proposed

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Webb/Magnum

Grenada targeted in Reagan's global anti-Soviet war drive.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 335 29 July 1983

U.S. Hands Off Nicaragua!

Smash Reagan's War Moves!

Der Spiegel

Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in Central America!

JULY 26—They're not "exercises," certainly not games, and far more than threats. The dispatch of two U.S. naval task forces, besieging Sandinista Nicaragua on both Atlantic and Pacific coasts, while several thousand American combat troops land in Honduras—these are, as even the *New York Times* acknowledges, *acts of war*. Proclaiming that "the Soviets and Cubans are operating from a base called Nicaragua" and that "this is the first real Communist aggression on the American mainland," Ronald Reagan has ordered the first engagement to turn U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet Cold War II into a shooting war. It's now a matter of time until the first American shots are fired.

Reagan's scenario is becoming ominously clear: seal off Nicaragua while a massive deployment of U.S. forces acts as a shield behind which the *contras* and Honduran army will take on the radical-nationalist regime in Managua. If things get sticky, a blip on the radar screen of one of the American spy ships would supply a "Gulf of Fonseca incident" to justify direct U.S. attack in the name of "resisting Communist aggression." One way or another, Washington is intent on strangling leftist insurgency south of the border in its own blood. These Yankee warmongers aiming the *New Jersey*'s 16-inch guns cannot be appeased—they must be *defeated* both on the battlefield in Central America and on the home front as well, by a powerful wave of workers action to bring Reagan down! U.S. hands off Nicaragua!

Four years ago, after a bloody struggle that cost 50,000 lives, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) led a mass uprising that toppled the murderous dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza. This put an end to 68 years of Yankee rule in Nicaragua, directly by the Marines from 1911 to 1932 and then indirectly by the U.S.-imposed Somoza dynasty which ran the country as a private fiefdom until 1979. The Nicaraguan people sacrificed almost an entire generation of youth who died to rid their homeland of the hated tyranny. Now simply in order to prevent the mercenary National Guard from reinstating their reign of terror, it is urgently necessary to complete the Nicaraguan revolution by expropriating the capitalists, the *contras*' "fifth column" inside the country, and to extend the revolution throughout Central America. Yet instead of linking up with El Salvador's leftist rebels, hoping to save its own

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Call for Emergency International Protests

Stop Anti-Tamil Massacre in Sri Lanka!

JULY 26—The bloody oppression of the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka is on the verge of turning into genocidal terror. Sri Lankan strongman President J.R. Jayewardene, emboldened by his phony referendum—"an election to end all elections"—last December appears to be moving toward the "final solution" to the Tamil problem. As we go to press, racist Sinhalese mobs, incited and protected by the government, are on the rampage from Colombo to Trincomalee. The Tamil-populated Northern Province, long under military occupation, has been sealed off from the rest of the country. Tamil leaders and religious activists being held under the semi-bonapartist regime's Prevention of Terrorism Act are daily being arrested, tortured and killed. All class-conscious workers, socialists and defenders of democratic rights must demand: Stop the terror against Tamils in Sri Lanka!

This drastic turn of events, setting the stage for a pogrom, incited and organized by the government, of the Tamil population in Sri Lanka, was triggered last week in the northern city of Jaffna, when a group of soldiers invaded a women's teacher-training school, raping several young women. Reportedly, two of the women committed suicide the next day. Outraged by this atrocity, Tamil youth erected barricades; two army patrol vehicles were ambushed, touching off a gun battle in which 12 soldiers and one army officer were killed. The government's reaction was to clamp a stranglehold on the Northern Province preparatory to unleashing a reign of bloody terror. On July 25 in Colombo's Welikada Prison, where most of the prominent Tamil political prisoners are held, 35 Tamil fighters were murdered at the hands of raging Sinhalese prisoners, who were clearly incited and probably armed by the prison authorities.

Jaffna is now reportedly a ghost town, as terrified residents huddle in their homes, merchants chain down their doors, and heavily armed police and army jeeps patrol the city and its outskirts. Since late June, two main Tamil papers, *Suthanthiran* and the

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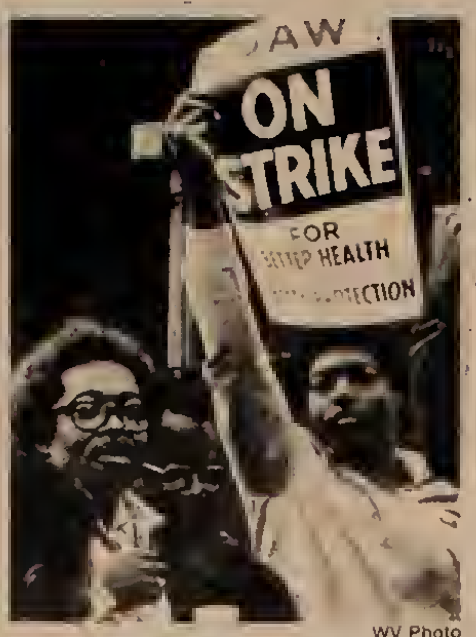
"Sacrifice House" Reopens Contract

Strike Chrysler! Take It, It's Yours!

DETROIT—Four years ago *Workers Vanguard* warned that "whatever scheme is cooked up to revive Chrysler, it is certain that auto workers will be its victims, not its beneficiaries." And now, with the banks, the U.S. government and the Chrysler executives reaping in hundreds of millions of dollars, Chrysler workers are seething. On July 21 Chrysler announced its largest quarterly profit in history—over $310 million, and the previous week set up repayment of over $800 million in loans granted during the "bailout" of Chrysler in 1979-80—*eight* years ahead of schedule. In exchange for stock options granted for guaranteeing the bailout loans, the U.S. government will reap some $250 million from Chrysler profits.

The 40,000 Chrysler workers left in the plants, a fraction of the over 100,000 working a few years ago, are slaving nine and ten hours a day, frequently six days a week. Chrysler's much touted "success story" comes straight from the blood, sweat and givebacks of those left in the plants, while everyone from Wall Street to Solidarity House and their fake-left apologists have written off the tens of thousands of workers who have lost their recall rights. Paying wages which are still $2/hour less than Ford and GM (where auto workers took a cut in real wages of over $3.5 billion last year) and with speedup and overtime, the bloodsucking bosses at Chrysler are raking in millions. We say: Chrysler workers, employed and unemployed—take it, it's yours!



WV Photo

Chrysler workers walk out last September against Fraser's giveaway.

Rushing to the bosses' rescue, to save Iacocca and his bloated profits from the anger of Chrysler workers, are the "investment bankers" from Solidarity House, "Bieber, Stepp and Associates." Only last fall, the UAW tops—with the support of the fake-leftists in the Communist Party, Communist Labor Party and "Spark"—guaranteed the bosses' windfall by squelching a strike at Chrysler. Bieber and Stepp are acting today as if they are vying for Doug Fraser's seat on the board. These gentlemen are perfectly agreeable to seeing the banks and government first paid off in full—and then a bone thrown to the workers.

The UAW bureaucrats have cooked up a deal with Chrysler to "reopen" the "economic" portion of the current agreement, granting a puny raise now (reportedly one dollar) in order to hog-tie Chrysler workers into another year of the giveback contract. And Chrysler is laughing all the way to the bank, since Bieber guarantees in advance that there will be no strike during their reopener! Chrysler workers: Rip up Bieber's rotten deal! Strike the plants, with mass pickets of employed and unemployed! For elected strike committees to rip it out of the hands of the company cops and Solidarity House! Parity and more now! Screw the banks, the government and Iacocca's fat bonus—divide every penny up among Chrysler workers! Every laid-off Chrysler worker gets his share!

A fight *now* by Chrysler workers could spark a widespread labor/black revolt in Detroit. Steel workers at Ford's River Rouge plant are facing a joint company/UAW bureaucracy squeeze to force givebacks at Rouge Steel. Solidarity House, Local 600 president Mike Rinaldi and steel unit chairmen Nick Nestico and Rick Martin *offered $4.50 per hour* in givebacks! Ford wants even more—and has started layoffs in the coke ovens/blast furnace unit. Detroit city workers are facing Mayor Coleman Young's Reagan-style austerity layoffs and are working without a contract. A fight at Chrysler which forges unity between the brothers and sisters left in the plants with those thrown on capitalism's garbage heap could lead to a wave of joint class struggle in the Motor City.

The bourgeoisie's "Reagan recovery" means they recover their profits while labor and blacks are driven further into misery. While the auto hosses expect to reap in $5 billion in profits *this year*, the auto workforce has plummeted from 1,031,000 to 685,000—by over one-third. Labor/black Detroit is turned into a hellhole, as plant after plant leaves the city. Last Friday workers at Jefferson Assembly—the last Chrysler plant remaining in Detroit—were threatened by management that the plant would be closed in the summer of 1984 if they didn't "act right" over the sellout. With one eye on Iacocca's bank balance, and the other on the fate of their brothers on the street, Chrysler workers aren't going to take it. A class-struggle leadership, forged through sit-down strikes and class-struggle tactics which weld the "permanently unemployed" to their brothers slaving in the plants, can bankrupt "Bieber, Stepp and Associates" and open the road to a workers government and jobs for all! ■

Jail Racist Killer Cops Armstrong, Labelle and Throw Away the Keys!

L.A. Protest: "Hands Off Delois Young!"

JULY 26—As *Workers Vanguard* goes to press, the racist courts have overturned the second degree murder conviction of L.A. cop Robert Armstrong who killed the unborn baby of Delois Young. The slap-on-the-wrist verdict was too much for the racist judge who reduced it to "involuntary manslaughter." If this killer cop does any time at all it won't be more than six months. This ruling says to the murderous LAPD that they can do anything to black people and get away with it. Protest this license to kill!

LOS ANGELES, July 23—Over 50 people rallied in Exposition Park here today in response to a Spartacist League call to demand "Hands Off Delois Young and Her Family!" and "Jail Racist Killer Cops Armstrong and Labelle and Throw Away the Keys!" In April 1982 sheriff's deputies burst into the home of Delois Young, a 22-year-old black woman, nine months pregnant, and shot her in the stomach at pointblank range, killing her unborn baby in a late night raid. Despite this cold-blooded murder, despite hard evidence that the cops set up the shooting in advance, they have been convicted only of second-degree murder and obstruction of justice.

Delois Young miraculously lived and testified against the cops who shot her and now faces an intensified racist cop vendetta that has been conducted against her family for years. Five days after Armstrong was convicted, the cops dragged her out of her home, in handcuffs, for "missing" her court date for traffic tickets. Young, who was in the hospital at the time recovering from her gunshot wounds, was later fined an outrageous $450.

Outraged L.A.-area residents, including trade unionists, many of them black, chanted "Hands off Delois Young—For labor/black defense." Other chants included "Jail the killers of Patrick Mason!" "Jail the killers of Ron Settles!" "Jail the killers of Eulia Love!" referring to others killed by the cops for their "crime" of being black in southern California. A former college football teammate of murdered Ron Settles who had picked up a leaflet for the demonstration this morning briefly addressed the rally. Other speakers included a militant phone worker, Manuel Delgadillo, Richard Bradley of the Spartacist League, and Jeanne Mitchell of the Spartacus Youth League.

The only rally in the area to be held in defense of Delois Young, the demonstration was endorsed by workers in a number of unions: ILWU, Letter Carriers, CWA, OCAW, Mailhandlers—in addition to the Black Student Alliance of UCLA, Michael Zinzun of the Coalition Against Police Abuse, Jesus Cortez, of the Comité por Casas, Richard Fraser, veteran Trotskyist and theoretician on the black question, and Donald R. Clay, pastor of the Tree of Life Baptist Church in Watts.

WV Photo

SL organized July 23 protest against L.A. court's "license to kill" for LAPD.

Phone worker Delgadillo reported that at a CWA Local 11502 meeting two days before the demonstration, members of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) and other anti-racist union militants were physically attacked when MAC raised a motion signed by over 40 union members to endorse the demonstration, to send a union contingent and donate $500 to Delois Young to defray her legal expenses. The racist goons had been given a free hand by local president Janice Wood but were forced to back down when angry members came to the defense of MAC.

When a motion to endorse the demonstration was raised at an OCAW local meeting in the area, a supporter of the Socialist Workers Party abstained. Such sectarian abstentionism was also demonstrated by the Morenoite Internationalist Workers Party (IWP), which refused an invitation to participate in and speak at the rally. As Spartacist League spokesman Richard Bradley summed up at the rally:

"Now, the reformist fake-left, like the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party...all preach reliance on the bosses' state, the capitalist state. Their reformist schemes like civilian review boards of the cops, community control and laws to 'ban the Klan' will not change a thing. There must be no illusions in the capitalist black front men like cop/mayor Democrat Tom Bradley who has presided for years over racist murder by the LAPD, who supports his police chief 'Choke Hold' Gates!"

Jail the Racist Killer Cops! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 335 29 July 1983

Defend Detroit Black Youth!

Down with Coleman Young's Racist Curfew!

Laundroche/The South End

Detroit cops' "riot control" means terrorizing the ghetto.

DETROIT—In ravaged Detroit 70 percent of black youth are *permanently* unemployed. Black Democratic mayor Coleman Young's answer: Lock 'em up! On June 20 Young imposed a 10 p.m. curfew (11 p.m. on weekends) as if he were a South African bantustan tribal chief. Black youth are being targeted and scapegoated for a rising crime rate that earned "Motor City" the nickname "Murder City." But it is the crisis of the American capitalist system that bulldozes auto plants and throws hundreds of thousands of skilled industrial workers on the scrap heap, which creates the desperate poverty that breeds crime.

More than *two-thirds* of Detroit's population has been forced onto some form of public assistance while the auto bosses and their "liberal" black mayor run this town into the ground. Now black youth with no future in capitalist America are to be locked up in sweltering ghetto homes like animals or face becoming victims of Young's police dragnet. In the first week alone 36 youth were jailed for curfew violations. Down with the racist curfew! Stop the detentions!

Detroit is a boiling pot of black anger. Young and his ruling-class backers who are worried about protecting downtown business interests openly express concern about another "'67." But this time it may not be an elemental explosion of ghetto rage which results in cop-riots and leaves black neighborhoods burned out. Today, Detroit's massive unemployment means that a spark of class struggle could draw the unemployed and masses of ghetto poor into a fighting alliance with labor. In this depressed but explosive city, it is not hard to imagine thousands of Detroit blacks marching down Jefferson Avenue to join their brothers occupying the Chrysler plant. That kind of labor/black struggle can turn back a decade of takebacks and plant closings, a decade of defeats and betrayals.

The bosses and their man in City Hall know what the stakes are and they are preparing. Even the most fatuous hypemen for the auto barons admit the present "recovery" is "fragile." Under the martial law-type curfew they are mobilizing a massive display of police power. Young plays on the largely black working class' genuine fear of violence and crime to whip up support for "emergency measures," marshaling the forces that will go from terrorizing black youth to crushing militant labor action. Speaking on behalf of his bourgeois masters, Young warns: "If you mess up, we will nail you." That warning and the licensed racist killers in blue are not just aimed at black youth but at their brothers and sisters, mothers and fathers, in the plants and on the welfare lines.

To make sure that black youth don't "mess up" in this town where there is no place to go and no money to get there, the city canceled the Hart Plaza concerts which drew 20,000 every week. Last week 1,000 youth seeking some temporary relief from the scorching heat were locked out of the air-conditioned Renaissance Center, while Young proposed an ordinance banning construction of video arcades in the city. The RenCen "renewal" for a white business enclave at the center of dying Detroit is a bust. The building itself is terminally under-rented and going bankrupt. Instead of locking out Detroit's black youth, *turn the RenCen into a free, 24-hour-a-day youth center with swimming pools and video games!*

But that is hardly the program of "progressive" Coleman Young. In addition to massive layoffs and paycuts for city workers, slashing the already miserable bus service, Young closed 14 public libraries. With the bipartisan war on blacks and labor, black Democratic "faces in high places" from ex-L.A. cop Tom Bradley to Harold Washington and Coleman Young administer Reagan reaction on the local level: slash social services, fire city workers, eliminate busing, and treat black youth like slaves deprived of even books to learn to read.

Coleman Young is providing handsomely for one group in Detroit—the cops. All his "emergency measures"

Porter/Detroit Free Press

Detroit curfew arrests, 1976: Coleman Young's answer to 70 percent black unemployment.

are for a beefed-up "efficient" police department. Young announced the formation of a "new felony prevention division" and a new "strike force" formed out of the brutal Tactical Services Section. These sound ominously like a reinstitution of STRESS, the notorious unit of police killers that routinely gunned down black youth in the early 1970s, using the "Stop The Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets" decoy squads. Gloating over the curfew, the racist Detroit police have named it STRESS II, "Shop The RenCen, Enjoy Safe Stores."

The cops are eager to bust the heads of Detroit workers and youth, and increasingly bonapartist in their demands for pay hikes and abolition of the residency requirement—enacted in 1974 against a racist mobilization by the police. They staged ominous "anti-terrorist" exercises this spring in Belle Isle Park, site of the concentration camps for blacks arrested in the 1943 Detroit race riot. In April, Young's cossacks brutally attacked a demonstration of small businessmen and youth organized by the reform-minded Michigan Avenue Community Organization, who were protesting the paucity of bank loans for small businesses. Meanwhile, Young and his most loyal henchmen on the City Council struck down a proposed ordinance to ban the Detroit police Red Squad, the local COINTELPRO operation aimed at socialists, black organizations and the labor movement.

Neither the cops nor the racist vigilantes of the Guardian Angels will stop crime. The police exist solely as the armed fists of this sick, decaying capitalist society which has produced the conditions where to live in American cities means to live in fear. The ACLU is challenging Young's curfew in the courts. But these "civil libertarians" support "gun control" which not only violates the fundamental democratic right of every citizen to keep and bear arms as even the Constitution stipulates, but ensures that the bloody bourgeois state, the fascists and the criminals will have a monopoly of the means of violence. Certainly working people and the poor who are most often its victims have a right to defend themselves against criminal and lumpen violence.

Today, as in the summer of 1976 when the curfew was first enforced, the traitors at the top of the UAW, AFSCME, Teamsters and the AFL-CIO have backed Young's curfew to the hilt. The labor bureaucrats are not only acting as political cops for the bosses within the unions, but eager allies for the ruling class in their war against minority youth, the unemployed and all the victims of this racist capitalist system. These last, best defenders of American imperialism squeal like pigs over the Stalinist bureaucracy's martial law crackdown on the CIA company union Solidarność in Poland, and enlist in Reagan and the Democrats' war—including martial law in Detroit—on black youth.

These labor traitors must be swept aside by revolutionary working-class militants who will fight to mobilize black youth, the unemployed and the employed in the struggle for jobs for all, for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay to spread the available work, for a massive public works program at union wages (not Michigan governor Blanchard's phony summer jobs program that pays $3.35/hour and created only 600 jobs for Detroit public school students), for free quality medical care and free decent public transportation.

A decade ago Young became the third black mayor of a major U.S. city. He hustled black votes on a program of abolishing STRESS and widespread police terror. After the 1967 ghetto uprising in Detroit, the auto bosses acutely felt the need for a black front man to hold the line in the Motor City against further outbreaks of the desperate black population. Coleman Young has faithfully served their interests. The black Democratic Party administration, from the City Council to the School Board, has stood by his side—against the city workers, auto workers, the unemployed and black youth. The record is clear: Coleman Young is a bitter enemy of black and working-class rights. In 1978 Young's cops protected a Nazi "bookstore" in Southwest Detroit; in 1979 he threatened to arrest anti-Klan protesters led by the Spartacist League and militant auto workers who stopped the KKK from "celebrating" the murder of five anti-fascist militants in Greensboro; he broke the strike of the largely black city workers AFSCME union in order to toast Reagan in the 1980 Republican convention, and now he declares war on black youth and arms the racist Detroit police to the teeth.

Militant black workers and youth in Detroit must draw the lessons of ten years of Coleman Young—the Democratic Party, like the Republican, is a bosses' party, a sworn enemy of black and working-class struggle. Young and the Democrats offer nothing to the black masses of Detroit, nothing except police terror and imprisonment in ghetto hellholes. Black and working-class liberation will come to Detroit through the forging of a multiracial revolutionary party which leads workers to power, and sweeps away the criminal capitalists. Down with Coleman Young's racist curfew! No to STRESS II! ■

DEMONSTRATE!

Down with Coleman Young's Racist Curfew!

STRESS I Killed 16 Blacks—No to STRESS II!

Wednesday, August 3, 1 p.m. Wayne State University

Mackenzie Hall (Cass Ave. & Putnam)

Initiated by the Spartacus Youth League and the Labor/Black Struggle League

DETROIT

For more information: (313) 961-1680

SWP Cancels 1983 Convention

Final Solution in Barnestown

Under the heat of the continuing crisis in the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Jack Barnes seems to have forgotten the ABCs of bureaucratic organization that put him where he is today. Accustomed to wielding his majority in the SWP and his tight administrative control of the apparatus as clubs against the few small voices of dissidence that emerged during most of his tenure as SWP leader, Barnes apparently forgot that the ability to isolate and intimidate critics even in a firmly bureaucratized party flows from the barrel of a cohesive party membership willing to abide by the accepted bureaucratic rules. **Now the abrupt cancellation of the SWP national convention previously announced for August 1983, and the related decision to stonewall internally about the fights at the May 1983 National Committee plenum, testify to Barnes' unenviable position as a bureaucratic hack whose machine seems to be coming apart.**

The SWP has long been the large reformist rump of the U.S. ostensibly Trotskyist movement whose authentic revolutionary continuity is today the Spartacist League. Once, under the leadership of Trotsky and James P. Cannon, the SWP was the revolutionary nucleus in this country. But the SWP was definitively played out as a revolutionary force by the 1960s. The SWP's 1963 "reunification" with the European Pabloists around Ernest Mandel was based on agreement to the liquidationist proposition that the emergence of a deformed workers state in Cuba under Fidel Castro proved that Leninist party-building and a proletarian-led revolutionary model were irrelevant formalisms. The forces within the SWP which opposed the party's rightward-moving centrism were bureaucratically expelled soon thereafter; these revolutionaries went on to found the Spartacist League. The SWP soon consolidated around a hard reformist appetite, displayed centrally in its main activity, the pursuit of a bloc with a wing of the "progressive" bourgeoisie (Democratic Party) on a social-patriotic, pro-imperialist program led ideologically by a wing of the ruling class which was becoming defeatist in the face of a losing imperialist adventure in Vietnam (and "led" organizationally by the Communist Party, the SWP and the smaller components of the popular-frontist milieu).

Rise of the Barnes Clique

As any party's adoption of a fundamentally different political program is generally associated with a new leadership, the decay of the SWP from demoralized formal orthodoxy in the 1950s to a flirtation with vicarious guerrillaist centrism and thence swiftly to pursuit of the reformist "main chance" was associated with the retirement of the Dobbs/Kerry layer from active leadership and the consolidation of control by Jack Barnes. Barnes was an organization man; he left the theorizing to Joseph Hansen while he and his closest cronies, mainly other arrogant young men like Barry Sheppard and Peter Camejo, concentrated on enjoying their organizational overlordship.

The SWP grew pretty rapidly from the right wing of the antiwar movement and the associated "sectoralist" radical currents and settled down to an anticipated eternally "deepening" radicalization. A few years ago the SWP "turned" to the unions, putting a hunch of determined young Barnesites "into industry" and shifting its verbal line in the direction of more missionary-position "Labourite"-style adaptation to the social-democratic bureaucratic layer in the unions (e.g., dropping the slogan for a separate "black party," supporting the Moral Majority clamor over "age-of-consent" laws, etc.). At the same time, Barnes' eccentric party insisted on a "talking socialism" posture in the unions which was virtually "dual unionist" on a tactical level.

Meanwhile, the whole terrain of bourgeois politics in this country was shifting very far to the right. One day the SWP woke up and found Reagan in the White House, the "Russian question" on everyone's lips and a refurbished American social-democratic organization, Michael Harrington's DSA, firmly occupying the only stable terrain for a reformist formation hoping for the nod from bourgeois elements in a period of mounting anti-Soviet war drive: the "State Department socialist" niche. Barnes responded eccentrically, e.g., underscoring the SWP's vicarious Castroism, propounding a line on Afghanistan which was objectively pro-Russian (though hastily discarding it when the SWP "Watersuit" got to trial), hinting of possible "projects" with the Nicaraguans, Cubans or Vietnamese. This Barnesite eccentricity was soon to drive a wing of the SWP into opposition when the emergence of Solidarność in Poland opened up a tantalizing prospect for a bloc of Cold War union bureaucrats and the "anti-Stalinist" ideologues of the ex-Trotskyist SWP.

Barnes' Party in Crisis

Meanwhile, Barnes was still tightening the organizational screws, mainly by a combination of "age purges" and general social disdain directed at older party members who, though no less reformist than the rest of the SWP and now quite powerless as a pole within it, might retain in their upper spinal column some genuine experience in Trotskyist union tactics or might constitute some alternative role model to Barnes' boys in the eyes of some among the membership. And he kept relying on his usual bureaucratic techniques to muzzle a small but vociferous layer of dissidents from various generally right-oppositional points of the political compass.

But the oppositional layers in the SWP had begun growing and interpenetrating faster than Barnes was able to stomp on them. Fueled by the intimations of political irrelevance, exemplified by the SWP's outflanking by the DSA, the crisis has now reached the point that administrative measures just don't seem to work any more. While Barnes scrambles to close any remaining loopholes in the draconian 1965 document ("The Organizational Character of the Socialist Workers Party") which formalized the bureaucratic expulsion of the Spartacist nucleus and brought the SWP's organizational practice into keeping with its anti-revolutionary program, large sections of Barnes' party are becoming too disgruntled to go along.

Enter Ernest Mandel, the perennial factional intriguer (and backstabber) whose formal "international" credentials may bring together, at least for a time, a broad spectrum in opposition to the Barnes regime: would-be hot-shot workerists whose ambitions center on a comfortable position as "house leftist" adviser to some petty-ante local union bureaucrat; aspiring international adventurers of the Camejo type; older veterans who have long since forgotten authentic Trotskyism but who still intended to die honorably without explicitly renouncing the politics of their youth; YSA kids bitter at being excluded from the real internal life of the party that dictates every policy of the youth group; even Barnesites who want to stop the massive hemorrhaging of the SWP membership.

Barnes seems to be finding out the hard way that the "normal" methods of bureaucratic suppression don't work when an internal crisis reaches a certain critical mass. Last year we reported in some detail the massive efforts being made by the Barnes regime to stamp out internal dissent with a disciplinary rampage exemplified by an internal bulletin that had to be priced at $8 to get in every last expulsion, motion and threat. This effort to enforce on a good-sized set of targets the methods that have worked for years against isolated dissidents—orders to "cease and desist" from "unauthorized" correspondence (with other party members!), pervasive social stigmatization of the offenders, forced population transfers, etc.—seems to have failed.

Thus the Barnes regime has apparently gone over from the symbolic expulsion as "morale"-builder to an effort to enforce a policy of internal silence regarding the continuing purges. **Such a policy is doomed, particularly in the era of the xerox machine.** The SWP has had so many quits recently that the substantial milieu of SWP ex-members presently has a more intimate and daily knowledge of internal SWP developments than any SWP majorityite outside the inner circles of the Barnes clique.

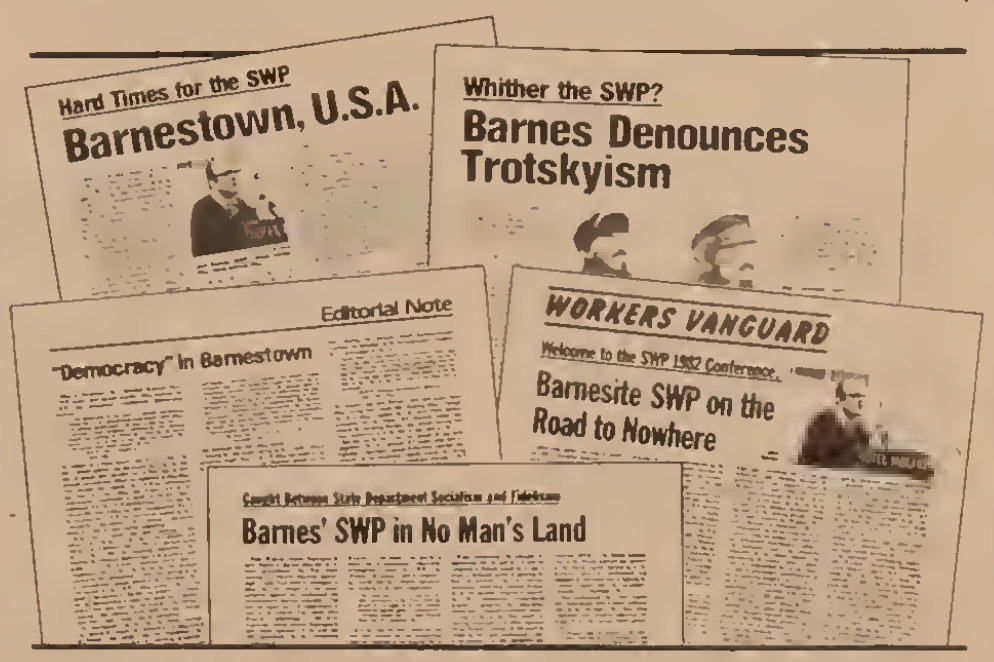
WV Photo

Jack Barnes

Welcome to the 1983 Non-Convention

Regular readers of *WV* will recall that the last SWP national convention two years ago was marked by an interpenetrated oppositional milieu of two minority currents (Breitman/Bloom and Weinstein/Lovell). While during the mandated three-month pre-convention discussion period "a hundred flowers bloomed" in the SWP internal bulletin (leading to our characterization of the convention process as the last remaining loophole in the bureaucratic straightjacket of Barnes' party), dissent at the convention itself was held down to a tolerable level by the SWP's normal undemocratic practices of delegate selection, resulting in rounding off to zero the minority votes for delegates in all but the largest branches so that a minority comprising, say, 10 percent of the members ends up with only token delegate representation. But bureaucratism only works so far, as Stalinists for example are always finding out to their surprise—you can't legislate the dominance of a majority by waving a piece of paper called a party constitution when the polarization internally has begun to approach a split down the middle, at least not unless the cellars of Lubianka are close by.

Perhaps the supreme implicit confession that things were utterly out of hand in the SWP was the Barnesites' decision to cancel the party convention (and therefore the pre-convention discussion) previously scheduled, in keeping with SWP statute, for August 1983. It seems that Barnes had declared war on too many SWP components simultaneously. Meanwhile his recent venture into the realm of "theory"—the explicit public repudiation of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution—has given the oppositions and their hoped-for international mentor Mandel an invaluable piece of ammunition. By his move to assume the "creative" role vacated by the death of Joseph Hansen in 1979, Barnes probably intended nothing more than to terminally affront the residues of the old SWP cadre as part of his waves of "age purge." But with the whole party decomposing into a seething cauldron of discontent, the move was singularly ill-timed. With Mandel now on the scene and actively recruiting to his



Now more than ever, you can't follow the crisis of the SWP without your WV scorecard.

program of slavish accommodation to international social-democracy, expressed in naked popular frontism and fulsome adherence to the anti-Soviet program of Cold War "free trade unionism" over Poland, the SWP crisis is at white heat.

Meanwhile, former Barnesite hatchetman "Pedro" Camejo has been touring about as Mandel's man, working over the sizable layers of SWP ex-members. The choice of Camejo is revealing: a scion of the Latin American ruling class (and the Long Island middle class), Camejo's "Third World" pretensions and penchant for lying for the sheer fun of it were much appreciated for years in the SWP. In 1979 he attained greater celebrity in some circles when he was accused by the Moreno tendency of having fingered leftists of the Simón Bolívar Brigade to the Nicaraguan government for deportation (something the SWP has never denied). Camejo's recent activities may signal that Mandel sees a reason to launch an American organization apart from the shrinking SWP, after having sold out the *leftist* oppositionists who in earlier years looked to the "international" for support against the SWP majority. Camejo for national secretary, anyone? That thought could almost persuade one to stick around in Barnestown.

Presently competing with the machinations of Camejo as a prime subject for rumor in the SWP is a lengthy letter recently mailed to the home addresses of apparently about a hundred SWPers by recently expelled long-time Barnesites Dianne Feeley and Carole Seligman. The Barnes regime has been confiscating all the copies it can get its hands on while speculation on the contents of the "Dianne Feeley letter" runs hot and heavy in internal SWP circles. In addition to confirming some of the more spectacular of the tales which we have all been hearing lately about the internal life of the SWP—like the case of the member expelled for distributing a poem she wrote at a party memorial meeting for the late Anne Chester—the letter gives a plausible if unconfirmed account of the May plenum which Barnes has sought to keep shrouded in secrecy, and we are therefore publishing some excerpts for the information of our readers.

For our part, we cannot permit a certain human sympathy for the few remaining SWP leftovers of the Trotskyist movement of Trotsky's time to obscure the underlying political reality: the SWP was down the tubes as a revolutionary instrument long before the present crisis. The expulsion of the Revolutionary Tendency two decades ago, and the destruction of democratic-centralist internal norms necessary to that expulsion, was the watershed. The final "age purge" which has led elements of the SWP to "discover" that Barnes is a bureaucrat is just the final step, rather akin to the tidying up of the Russian CP in 1936-38 by a process popularly called the Moscow Trials. It is this fact which lends such a spooky, beyond-the-grave character to the present furor over organizational rules.

Take for instance the contribution of one Milton Alvin, who joined the Trotskyist movement in 1935 and, except for a brief stint with the Shachtmanites in 1940, has been a member ever since. In the SWP's *International Internal Information Bulletin* Vol. XIX, No. 1, May 1983, Alvin writes—referring to the SWP's investigative arm:

> "Instead of acting like a Party Court of Justice, the control commission has recently taken on the characteristics of the Spanish Inquisition. Comrades live in fear of a knock on their doors that might bring a couple of representatives from the commission to ask all kinds of questions, deserved or undeserved."

Alvin notes with a certain bitter accuracy that "Obviously party leaders are more skilled at throwing members out than recruiting new ones." He complains of the "unauthorized and unprecedented intervention by party leaders into fields where they have no business." But, precisely because it's anything but "unprecedented," Alvin's protest is hollow. He was an active participant in the bureaucratic expulsion of the Revolutionary Tendency, the unique example of a principled and disciplined Trotskyist opposition in the SWP. The RT was expelled on the basis of selective quotations lifted from internal tendency documents, in the absence of a trial or even presentation of written charges. To those who had qualms about such procedures, Alvin replied at the time: "In my mind that occupies a subordinate place, although on occasions we all know that formalities must be observed and have an importance of their own," ([SWP] *IIB*, April 1964, Part I).

Today's victims of Barnesite "democracy" run amok were eager participants in the political/organizational degeneration which paved the way. The 1965 resolution on organization was the ex post facto "legalization" of the witch-hunt against the RT—expelled for their ideas. It stated explicitly that "With or without proof of specific acts, the party had the right, and its leadership the duty, to stop the self-indicted factional raiders who were out to wreck our movement" (emphasis added). Vitiating the resolution's ritual genuflections in the direction of the "right to organize tendencies and factions" was the following warning:

> "Comrades should not be hasty to organize internal groupings. When the party has made its decision on the issues in dispute, groupings formed during the polemical struggle should dissolve into the party as a whole."

How starkly counterposed this is to the tradition of the revolutionary SWP may be seen from the following section of a supplementary organizational resolution passed at the April 1940 SWP convention:

> "6. No measures are to be taken against any party member because of the views expressed in the party discussion. Nobody is obliged to renounce his position. There is no prohibition of factions. The minority is to be given representation in the leading party committees and assured full opportunity to participate in all phases of party work."
>
> —reprinted in Cannon, *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*, 1943

Whither the SWP?

Whatever Barnes & Co. have to offer the shrinking SWP membership in defense of their "line of march," it isn't "deepening" radicalization and mass recruitment. In fact, the largest "mass mobilization" the SWP has been responsible for in years is the not inconsiderable movement of SWPers out of the party. For this reason—coupled perhaps with a growing awareness of the political vultures circling the ex-SWP milieu—Barnes & Co. have launched a bold plan to organize "active supporters" into local branch work.

But centrally, there is the nagging question of what—apart from the collective egotism of the Barnes clique—justifies the SWP's political existence. Sentimental attachment to the label and copyrights associated with comrade Trotsky are no longer in order. In Jack Barnes' view: "Trotskyism as such doesn't have much value as a term."

For American revolutionists today, the cutting questions are the fight for black liberation—the mobilization of organized labor and minorities in independent, militant action against the domestic reflection of the anti-Soviet war drive, i.e., resurgent racist reaction and fascist provocations—and the

continued on page 12

Sound Familiar?

—Reprinted from *Spartacist* No. 1, February-March 1964

Roger Abrams, supporter of the Revolutionary Tendency, was expelled from the Socialist Workers Party, February 13, by the New York City branch in a vote of 28 to 11. Comrade Abrams, a 23-year-old student, had participated in a hastily called picket line on January 22 at Columbia University protesting the awarding of an honorary degree to the Greek Queen Frederika. Abrams figured prominently in TV coverage of the demonstration when he was led away by guards who objected to his sign, "Free Greek Political Prisoners!"

Comrade Abrams was charged by the SWP Majority with joining the picket line "without prior consultation or approval of the branch or branch leadership." When Abrams stated that he was previously unaware of this new policy and that he would abide by it, he was also accused of internal disloyalty and expelled.

Excerpts From an Underground Best-Seller

In the interests of informed political debate within the workers movement, we publish below some paragraphs from a letter signed by two recently expelled long-time supporters of the SWP addressed to their former comrades. While we are unable to comment on the accuracy of the most recent internal information contained in "the Dianne Feeley letter," it appears to correspond minutely to what has been verified so far, and is given additional weight by the Barnesites' apparent policy of attempting to suppress any knowledge of its contents. The lengthy letter details the pretexts used to expel the two signatories ("I asked Dianne Feeley's stepson Jacob if he knew that she had been expelled from the party. I was accused of discussing internal party affairs with a non-member," i.e., a non-party YSA-er, says Carole Seligman) and gives an account of several other expulsions. The pièce de résistance is the description given of the SWP National Committee plenum held last May.

While we certainly hold no political brief for the recent and present SWP oppositions, we believe this account of recent organizational moves by Barnes' party is of sufficient general interest in SWP and ex-SWP circles to warrant publication of these excerpts for our readers.

July 11, 1983

Dear Comrades,

We are writing to you because we believe there is a fundamental crisis in the Socialist Workers Party and that this crisis can only be resolved by the party membership if it has information that is being hidden from it....

In its entire history, the SWP has never experienced so many individual trials and expulsions in any two-year period as it has had in the last eight months. Yet by a decision of the May plenum this information is being kept from the membership....

Each of us has been a party member for at least fifteen years....

Let us review some of the cases of expulsion, beginning with our own....

The trials are continuing.... Since the plenum the Los Angeles executive committee recommended that Walter Lippmann, a comrade who has been in the movement for almost twenty years, be expelled. He was charged with discussing political questions on disputed matters with another branch comrade at a public event—after a Militant Labor Forum—where nonmembers *might* have overheard the conversation. No proof that any nonmember did hear them was presented. The branch did *not* vote to expel him, but the California State Committee overrode the branch, and Walter was expelled in June....

Instead of following the normal course of organizing a convention for this summer, the leadership of the party has cancelled it. They presented three reasons for this unusual step: the disruption caused by the Gelfand trial and the party's lack of experience with organizing its central campaigns, plant gate sales and active sympathizers' work, and the assertion that a convention isn't really essential at this time....

Normal channels have been closed off to the membership. And we believe that the membership of the party has the right to political information which is being kept secret. This information includes:

1. The two minority tendencies in the National Committee announced at the May plenum that they have organized themselves into an Opposition Bloc to work for a change in the party's incorrect policies on norms, practical tasks, and theoretical errors. They submitted their written platform and other resolutions, which were distributed to the plenum. This is an important development in the party. Should preconvention discussion open, comrades agreeing with the Opposition Bloc platform could adhere to it.

2. An unusual motion was adopted at the May plenum. It outlined what could be reported back to the branches. There was to be no mention of the Opposition Bloc formation or of its documents. There was to be no mention of what the minority said at the plenum. Yet the Opposition Bloc received extended time under four agenda points: Central American Solidarity Report, Political Report, Convention Report, and Appeals and Review Report. They also submitted counterresolutions. Yet this information is being withheld from the membership.

3. Comrades might also be surprised to discover that the majority caucus in the National Committee devoted the entire first day of the plenum to a majority caucus meeting which has been kept secret from the party.

4. Comrades might be disturbed by the reports of the Mexican comrades of the PRT. They have stated that leaders of the SWP told leading members of the FDR/FMLN about the internal political disputes in the Fourth International....

5. Bolshevik practice supports the inclusion of minorities on leadership bodies. But, in the list of incoming members of the Political Committee one notices the absence of any minority member....

Through the party press and in public talks the party leadership has publicly attacked the Fourth International. A major section of Jack Barnes' speech at the last YSA convention was just such an attack.... That speech was similar to two articles by Doug Jenness that have attempted to downplay Trotsky's theoretical contributions to the revolutionary movement....

The party has lost hundreds of members in the last few years....

We know that the NC majority will revile and slander us for writing this even more than they did when we were expelled....

In solidarity,

Dianne Feeley Carole Seligman

RWL/WSL's Last Liaison in London

For general information and amusement, we reprint below a bill of divorcement (for desertion) announcing the breakup of a typical centrist rotten bloc. The two-year political marriage between the American ex-college boy Peter Sollenberger and the English bully boy Alan Thornett was not exactly made in heaven—more like something cooked up at a mad hatter's tea party. Harvard grad Sollenberger and his sidekick Leland Sanderson run a sleazy operation in the Midwest college town of Ann Arbor, trying to pander to all manner of petty-bourgeois radicalism (campus parochialism, feminism, gay liberation, black and other assorted nationalisms), sometimes with hilariously egregious results. Thornett, a workerist philistine with the social values of a British Archie Bunker, and his wily (even when sober) bloc partner Sean Matgamna are deeply embedded in the "Little England" Labourite milieu.

It took the imperialist slaughter of 1914-18 to expose the conflicting chauvinisms in the social-democratic Second International, but a comic opera war over the Falklands/Malvinas last year was enough to blow up the sham

Spartacist Britain | News Line | WV Photo | WV Photo

Dopey, Wily, Scummy and Sleazy. From left, WSL's Thornett, Matgamna; RWL's Sollenberger, Sanderson.

"Trotskyist International Liaison Committee" (TILC). Thornett/Matgamna's Workers Socialist League (WSL) predictably took a social-pacifist "save our boys" line. They identified themselves completely with Tony Benn's Labour "lefts," who want to preserve Britain's limited and elite military forces for use closer to home, such as in Northern Ireland. The WSL's *Socialist Organiser* (6 May 1982) featured a friendly and uncritical interview with Bennite MP Reg Race, who called for imperialist economic blackmail to bring the Argentines to heel. Three months after the war was over the WSL changed its line to support of the Argentine junta's adventure, but by then the jingoist hysteria had passed.

But given the vicarious Third World nationalism fashionable in American student radical circles, it was also predictable that Sollenberger's Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) would rally to General Galtieri's cause. Even before they came out with a public position, we asked: "...will the Sollenbergerites, in their usual fashion, tail much of the American left and cheer on the bloody Argentine junta from the pizza parlors and pubs of Ann Arbor?" ("'Save Our Boys' Socialists," *WV* No. 306, 28 May 1982). Sure enough, they did. The June 1982 *Workers Struggle* was headlined, "Defend Argentina! Down with British and U.S. Imperial-

Reprinted from *Fighting Worker* —June 1983

Workers Struggle name change marks split

TILC majority wins fight for Trotskyist internationalism

With this issue, the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) has changed the name of its newspaper from *Workers Struggle* back to *Fighting Worker*. We are doing so because splits in the Trotskyist International Liaison Committee (TILC) have removed the conditions that required the name change to *Workers Struggle* in the first place.

The RWL changed the name of its paper from *Fighting Worker* to *Workers Struggle* in July 1981 as a concession to the Socialist League (Democratic Centralist) (SL[DC]) in order to achieve fusion of the two organizations. This fusion was a condition of the RWL's becoming TILC's American sympathizing section.

In fall 1982 the core of the SL(DC), the four West Coast SL(DC) supporters around Steve Bryant, split from the RWL. Their split was a clique split with no real political basis. It strengthened the RWL by freeing the organization from having to struggle with a comrade who put his own petty ambitions, maneuvers and lies above the demands of the class struggle and the requirements of building a revolutionary party.

In April 1983 much more important splits occurred in TILC and the British section of TILC, the Workers Socialist League (WSL). The WSL's right-wing majority split from TILC and expelled the WSL's left-wing minority, which supported TILC.

Documents of the splits in TILC and the WSL — and of Steve Bryant's departure from the RWL — are available from the RWL at its Detroit office. In this article, we will briefly review the facts of the TILC and WSL splits.

In July 1981, at the same time as the RWL fused with the SL(DC), the WSL fused with another British Trotskyist group of about its own size, the International Communist League (ICL). The ICL was a centrist organization with a hardened right-wing leadership. But its ranks were active in the ferment going on at the time in the British Labour Party and had the potential to move either to the right or to the left.

The WSL-ICL fusion left a number of important political questions unresolved, centering on the Marxist attitude toward "democratic" imperialism. The fusion created an unstable situation in the WSL, making political struggle inevitable. The WSL had to evolve either to the left, which would result in a split of the Kautskyite ex-ICL leadership, or to the right, which would result in a split of the consistent Trotskyists. The outcome depended entirely on the character of the political struggle waged by the old-WSL leadership.

The non-British TILC sections did not oppose the WSL-ICL fusion — although most of them expressed grave reservations about it — because they saw the advantages to the WSL and TILC of winning the activist ranks of the ICL, and because they had confidence that the old-WSL leadership would wage a principled political fight. (See "Steps toward the Fourth International: TILC Strengthened Organizationally, Politically," parts 1 and 2, in *Workers Struggle*, nos. 1 and 2, September and November, 1981.)

Over the course of the first year of the WSL-ICL fusion, it became increasingly clear to the non-British TILC sections and to many old-WSL ranks that the old-WSL leadership was not waging the kind of aggressive, consistent political fight needed to defeat the ex-ICL right-wing leadership. Particularly inadequate were the fights around work among women, Labour Party work, and *Socialist Organiser* (the WSL-supported weekly newspaper oriented toward the Labour Party).

At the April 1982 TILC meeting, the weakness of the old-WSL leadership led to TILC's taking a false, dual-defeatist position on the Malvinas War, a position flowing from the ex-ICL leadership's softness on British "democractic" imperialism.

Over the summer of 1982, the old-WSL leadership attempted to regain its leadership of the left in TILC and the WSL. It joined with the non-British TILC sections and left-wing WSL ranks in a tendency fight against the ex-ICL leadership to change TILC's and the WSL's position to Argentine-defensism on the Malvinas War. This tendency fight won in TILC at its July 1982 meeting. It narrowly won at the September 1982 WSL national conference. But then the old-WSL leadership gave away the left's victory by agreeing not to publish TILC's and the WSL's change of position in *Socialist Organiser* and minimizing the political differences as merely "tactical" in the WSL's theoretical journal, *Workers Socialist Review!!*

It became clear for those with eyes to see that the old-WSL leadership was no longer genuinely part of the left in TILC or the WSL, but rather a *center*, which claimed to agree politically with the left but organizationally conciliated the right to the point where a left victory became impossible, at least in the WSL.

As a result of the old-WSL leadership's vacillation, center WSLers increasingly went over to the right, and left WSLers became demoralized and dropped out. The left-center bloc which had defeated the right over the Malvinas War at the September 1982 WSL national conference became a minority at the February 1983 WSL national conference. By the April 1983 WSL national conference, the ex-ICL leadership had established its complete control of the WSL. It imposed all its right-wing policies and began systematically moving to expel the left.

The struggle between the left and the right in TILC came to a head over the question of whether TILC was to become democratic-centralist. The WSL right-wing bitterly opposed democratic centralism, because the left, which was a minority in the WSL, was a majority in TILC. The TILC left-wing saw democratic-centralism as a necessary step in TILC's political and organizational development and the only way to guarantee TILC's survival and to bring about the political regeneration of the WSL.

At the April 1983 TILC meeting, the non-British TILC sections joined with the WSL left to form a left-wing TILC majority to take the necessary political and organizational steps for TILC to become democratic-centralist over the course of 1983. They made a last appeal to the old-WSL leadership to break with the opportunism and revisionism of the ex-ICL leadership and begin a political struggle which could end only with a victory for orthodox Trotskyism by winning the majority in the WSL or with a split.

The old-WSL leadership chose to sacrifice the Trotskyist program and its international organization in order to preserve its now unprincipled fusion with the ex-ICL. It walked out of TILC with the WSL right.

The "loss" of the Bryant clique from the RWL is no loss at all. Nor is the "loss" of the right from the WSL. Both strengthened TILC politically. But the loss of the WSL center is really quite tragic. The WSL center contains a number of militants who still do good work in the unions. They are sorely missed. But neither the TILC left nor the WSL left could let concern for these comrades lead us into accompanying them as they followed the WSL right down the road to political sellout and organizational disintegration.

The remaining TILC sections and the British supporters of TILC must now resume the work of building TILC and rebuilding the Fourth International. To mark this turn in the development of the RWL and TILC — and to reaffirm the RWL's long-standing commitment to the American working class and to internationalism — the RWL is changing the name of its paper back to what it was before the "fusions" that destroyed the WSL politically and split TILC. □

Note on *Fighting Worker* issue numbering

This and future issues of *Fighting Worker* will be numbered as a continuous series which will include the original *Fighting Worker* and *Workers Struggle*. The original *Fighting Worker*, September 1980 through July 1981, will be whole numbers 1 through 6. *Workers Struggle*, September 1981 through May 1983, will be whole numbers 7 through 17. This issue is vol. 4, no. 5 (whole number 18).

ism!" The RWL covered up the fact that they were on opposite sides of the barricades from their British "comrades," and implied an identity of line by claiming that the WSL "is actively organizing against the war drive." To find out the *real* position of Matgamna/Thornett, one had to read *WV*.

Nowhere is the WSL's scandalous capitulation to its "own" bourgeoisie more blatant than on the Russian question. The WSL actually came out to the right of the Thatcher government denouncing Maggie for defying Reagan's pipeline sanctions over Afghanistan and calling for trade-union boycotts against the USSR. Yet the platform of the WSL faction that Sollenberger has hooked up with says not one word about the Russian question. As our British comrades noted, the RWL's "internationalist" faction "implicitly accepts the utterly anti-Communist politics of Matgamna & Co., which line it up with NATO imperialism and its social-democratic henchmen in a period of anti-Soviet Cold War" (*Spartacist Britain* No. 50, June 1983).

You can't tell the players without a scorecard, and for the benefit of our readers who can't tell apart the old and new WSL, and the ever-shifting left, right and center, here are the actors in this tawdry British parlour drama:

"ex-ICL"	=	Matgamna & Co. (also "WSL right")
"old WSL"	=	Thornett & Co. (also "WSL center")
"new WSL"	=	Matgamna's ICL plus Thornett's WSL
new "new WSL"	=	Matgamna/Thornett minus the "WSL left"

Ready? So in the U.S. the RWL fuses with the San Francisco Bay Area SL(DC) of Steve Bryant in the summer of 1981 as a precondition for entering the TILC. Shortly thereafter the old WSL fuses with the ex-ICL to form the new WSL. The RWL then spits out the old SL(DC). The WSL center and WSL right gang up to expel the WSL left, some of whose members end up in the centrist Workers Power group. And the new new WSL thereupon walks out of the TILC. The dénouement occurred at the April 1983 TILC meeting, which reportedly never got past the first point on the agenda, attendance. Result: as our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain predicted two years ago, "Matgamna's wedding, Thornett's funeral." The RWL ends up with the Italian LOR, which however is negotiating fusion with the local United Secretariat section.

The breakup of this two-bit centrist "international" is testimony to the bankruptcy of those opportunists who fuse first and discuss later. "TILC Strengthened Organizationally, Politically," proclaimed the RWL's *Workers Struggle* in the fall of 1981, sweeping under the rug a raging argument over whether their phony "international" should be governed by democratic centralism! (It wasn't.) The shotgun wedding between Sollenberger's RWL and Bryant's SL(DC) was the price for joining the TILC, but RWLers protested that their prospective beau was a "petty crook" and a "shyster" even before the ties were tied (*TILC Bulletin*, May 1983).

Politically, the RWL-WSL breakup is a split between New Left Third Worldism and British social-democratic Labourism. Both sides loudly rail against "Spartacist sectarianism," that is, principled revolutionary Trotskyism. Thornett/Matgamna don't even maintain a pretense of a party press, their *Socialist Organiser* defining itself as within the Labour Party, while the supposedly "left" Sollenbergerites at times mouth quasi-orthodox verbiage in their irregular and increasingly shriveled press, clearly written for distant consumption. But the RWL's real work of "coalition building" is quite as rotten as the Matgamna/Thornett crowd's. Like in the J. Edgar Hoover anti-communist myths, they operate through a maze of ever-changing front groups of front groups of front groups. In Ford's River Rouge plant, for instance, the Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW represents their "maximum" program, while the Rouge United Front Caucus is their vehicle for cutting deals with skilled trades bureaucrats. And now that has fallen apart, just as has their phony "international."

But breaking up is hard to do. The new new WSL mourns the loss of Bryant, whose Labourism without a labor party was much more to their liking than the petty-bourgeois sectoralism of the RWL. The RWL for its part bemoans the loss of "a number of union militants who still do good work in the unions." Just what do they mean by "good work"? Scabbing, like Thornett did on the 1979 national engineering strike at British Leyland's Cowley plant? That would certainly appeal to the Sollenbergerites, who have the dubious distinction of having written a 70-page single-spaced document in defense of crossing picket lines!

In order to expunge from memory their hapless union with Thornett and his American agent Bryant, the RWL is reverting to the maiden name of its paper, the *Fighting Worker*; intervening issues will be renumbered in order to establish "continuity." No doubt Sollenberger would also like to do a little editing on Vol. 1, No. 1 of *Workers Struggle*, which hails the WSL-ICL fusion as having "great significance for the development of the British workers movement;" declares that the RWL-SL(DC) marriage had produced a "strongly consolidated organization," etc. Or was that Vol. 2, No. 1 of the *Flinching Scab*...?■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Ann Arbor
c/o SYL
P.O. Box 8364
Ann Arbor, MI 48107
(313) 662-2339

Atlanta
Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

Barkeley/Oakland
P.O. Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 835-1535

Boston
Box 840
Central Station
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Chicago
Box 6441
Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 427-0003

Cleveland
Box 91954
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 621-5138

Detroit
Box 32717
Detroit, MI 48232
(313) 961-1680

Houston
Box 26474
Houston, TX 77207

Los Angeles
Box 29574
Los Feliz Station
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 663-1216

Madison
c/o SYL
Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701
(608) 251-3398

New York
Box 444
Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk
P.O. Box 1972, Main P.O.
Norfolk, VA 23501

San Francisco
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.
P.O. Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 636-3537

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Vancouver
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C. V6C 2L8
(604) 681-2422

Sri Lanka...

(continued from page 1)

internationally respected English-language *Saturday Review* have been banned, their offices sealed and editors detained. Now rail and bus transport between Jaffna and Colombo have been cut off. And most ominously, the government is calling upon all Sinhalese to leave the Northern Province to clear the way for the army's bloodletting. The same thing happened just before the anti-Tamil massacre in 1981, when the Jaffna public library, cultural and historical repository for the Tamil people, was burned to the ground.

In the capital city of Colombo, gangs of racist youth, trucked in, aided and abetted by the government, are roaming the streets engaging in systematic, massive burning and looting of hundreds of Tamil stores, houses and vehicles. At press time scores had reportedly been killed. As the [London] *Guardian* (25 July) wrote:

> "Pillars of smoke and flame rose over the Sri Lankan capital, Colombo, yesterday as mobs attacked the minority Tamil community and burned and looted their homes and stores. Witnesses claimed counting at least 12 corpses on the streets. Hundreds of shops and scores of vehicles were destroyed....
> "But all over the city by mid-morning, lorries jammed with young men shouting anti-Tamil slogans were moving into Tamil areas and into shopping centres, picking out Tamil stores....
> "By noon, Colombo resembled a city after a bombing raid. Smoke obscured the sun, main roads were blocked by burnt-out vehicles and thousands of city workers, most on foot streamed back to their homes to avoid the violence...."

The Island

Burnt-out stores in Vavuniya after Sri Lanka army rampaged through the Tamil-populated city in May.

J.R. Jayewardene's United National Party (UNP) government, prostrate before the International Monetary Fund, has introduced drastic austerity measures and schemes such as the "Free Trade Zones" in order to shore up the bankrupt economy. In exchange for access to U.S. markets for the cheap goods produced by the super-exploited Sinhalese women in these zones, J.R. is willing to trade the strategically important deep-water harbor of Trincomalee, a previously Tamil area. Possession of this port once decided the fate of all India. Here, over the last several years, a conscious program of Sinhalese colonization has been implemented by the government. U.S. imperialism's appetite to secure hegemony over the Indian Ocean as a staging area for control of the Indian subcontinent and Persian Gulf and as part of its encirclement of the Soviet Union is thus integrally tied to the preparation for an anti-Tamil pogrom.

Currently, Trincomalee has become an arena of escalating communal violence. Last month Sinhalese gangs set fire to a bus carrying Tamils from Jaffna to Trincomalee. Some 20 people were cremated in the blaze and 60 seriously injured. A young Tamil couple who helped rescue the survivors were found hacked to death the next day along with their young child. On July 5, an Amnesty International news release documented the hideous systematic torture of Tamil activists:

> "In some cases detainees have been kept in solitary confinement for more than eight months after arrest. Torture is said to include hanging victims upside down from hooks, beating them with metal bars and driving needles under the toenails and fingernails."

But that was last month, today many of the torture victims have been butchered.

In desperation the leaders of the Sri Lankan Tamil community have appealed to Indian head of state Indira Gandhi to intervene on their behalf. Gandhi draws significant electoral support from the tens of millions of Tamils in southern India. Indian diplomatic staff in Colombo suffered attacks and arson against their homes following a Sri Lankan press campaign against Indian "meddling" in Sri Lanka's affairs last week. New Delhi had expressed concern over UNP anti-Tamil measures. And in India's state of Tamil Nadu an opposition party has called for a half-day general strike for tomorrow in the state capital of Madras, protesting the atrocities against Tamils in Lanka. J.R. has rejected all protests by the Indians, Amnesty International and others as "internal meddling" and/or spreading false accusations. Certainly the presence of several divisions of the Indian army just across the narrow straits of Palk would act to restrain Jayewardene's blood lust against the Tamils. But the fate of Lanka's Tamil masses must not be left to Indira Gandhi, the brutal oppressor of her own national, ethnic, religious minorities in India. Indeed, a direct intervention by India, while it would stop the anti-Tamil terror, would tend to result (like the Turkish invasion of Cyprus) in reversing the terms of oppression between Lanka's nationalities.

This urgent task—a question of life and death for three million people—falls squarely upon the international working class and its allies. The international Spartacist tendency is organizing a campaign of protest to stop the terror against the Tamils in Lanka. The defense of the Tamils, now facing genocide, must be linked to a revolutionary socialist perspective, which alone can secure national justice for all the peoples of South Asia. This is the proletarian internationalist perspective of the Spartacist League/Lanka.

- Army and police out of Tamil areas!
- Free all victims of UNP terror!
- Down with the bonapartist J.R. regime! Restore democratic rights and elections!
- For the right of self-determination for the Tamils in Sri Lanka!
- Full citizenship rights for stateless Tamil plantation workers!
- U.S. imperialism, hands off Trincomalee! Out of Diego Garcia and the Indian Ocean!
- Forward to a workers and peasants government in Sri Lanka as part of a Socialist Federation of South Asia!■

Demonstrate!

Stop Anti-Tamil Massacre in Sri Lanka!

NEW YORK CITY, 28 July
Sri Lanka Mission to U.N.
630 Third Avenue
5 p.m.

LONDON, 27 July
Sri Lankan High Commission
13 Hyde Park Gardens
10 a.m.-2 p.m.

MELBOURNE, 27 July
Ceylon Tea Canter, Collins St.
5:30 p.m.

TORONTO, 29 July
Air Lanka, 11 Adelaide St., W.
4:30 p.m.

PARIS, 29 July
Air Lanka, rue du 4-Septembre
6 p.m.

After Lebanon:

The Left and the Palestinian Question

From the "Arab Revolution" to Pax Americana

Occupying Israeli army terrorizes surviving Palestinian women and children in Sidon, Lebanon. UPI

Israel's June 1982 invasion and occupation of Lebanon, backed by U.S. imperialism, marks a watershed in the history of the region. Neither Israeli society nor the Palestinian national liberation movement will ever be the same again. Now the genocidal logic of the Zionist colonization of Palestine has been made clear to everyone. Venerable old Zionists use the terms "Judeo-Nazism" to condemn the policies of the Begin/Sharon regime.

As Begin/Sharon's blitzkrieg extended northward into Lebanon last summer, spreading terror and destruction, morale in the Israeli army began to crumble and massive antiwar protests occurred in Israel, unprecedented developments in the midst of a military campaign. The Lebanese war was unraveling Fortress Israel. In this war the international Spartacist tendency stood for revolutionary defensism of the Palestinian commandos, recognizing that every Israeli soldier who returned home in a bodybag brought that much closer the destruction of the Zionist state from within. For this reason the decision of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leadership to withdraw from Beirut, a surrender arranged by U.S. imperialism, was especially catastrophic for the Palestinian people and the prospects for social revolution in the region.

If Israel's invasion of Lebanon has deeply upset liberal Zionists and their

PART FOUR OF FOUR

supporters, it has also shattered the fiction of Arab "unity" behind the Palestinian cause. During the siege of Beirut the number two man in the PLO, Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad), exclaimed with bitter irony: "It is the first time in history the Arab countries have agreed with each other. I am referring to the unity of silence and of betrayal and of just looking on."

However, the Arafat leadership of the PLO reacted to its isolation in the face of the Israeli blitzkrieg by turning openly to Pax Americana, calling for and then surrendering to the U.S. Marines and other imperialist forces. And the Third World nationalist cheerleaders on the American left, notably Sam Marcy's Workers World Party and Jack Barnes' Socialist Workers Party, supported sending the U.S. imperialist "peacekeepers" to Lebanon. In addition to disarming the Palestinians in the face of Zionist/Phalange genocidal terror, these U.S. troops and those of its NATO allies have in their gunsights the Soviet-backed Syrian forces. The battlelines in Lebanon could well be the tripwire for World War III. Should U.S. military provocations in the Near East lead to war with the Soviet Union, the urgent task of the international proletariat would be defense of the USSR against imperialism.

Arafat's betrayal in withdrawing from Beirut liquidated the PLO as an independent military force. The Palestinian commandos are today dispersed in concentration camps across the Arab world, while those remaining in Lebanon are either firmly under the control of the Syrian army or (as in Tripoli) surrounded by it. In this situation it was predictable that Syrian strongman Assad would move to dominate the PLO, exploiting and manipulating the opposition to Arafat's Pax Americana line among Palestinian militants (see "Mutiny in the PLO," *WV* No. 333, 1 July).

The simultaneous crisis of Zionism and the Palestinian national liberation movement offers a crucial opportunity to crystallize an Arab/Hebrew Trotskyist vanguard. Such a revolutionary party must be based on this fundamental understanding: there will be no future for the Hebrew-speaking people in the Near East without the destruction of the Zionist state; and there will be no national liberation for the Palestinian people without breaking from Arab nationalism. The only road to peace and national justice for both peoples is through a binational Arab/Hebrew workers state within a socialist federation of the Near East.

Gamma

From left: "Moderate" Arafat with "radicals" Habash and Hawatmeh. All Palestinian nationalist leaders are responsible for the shattering defeat in Labanon.

PLO: From "People's War" to Oil Diplomacy

If ten years ago someone had predicted that the leadership of the PLO would call for U.S. Marines to enter Beirut to protect the Palestinians from the Israelis, he would have been dismissed as a political lunatic. In leftist circles he would have risked physical assault for voicing something so outrageous. The PLO presented itself as the "armed vanguard of the Arab Revolution" against Zionism and imperialism and was so hailed by the Third World nationalist cheerleaders of the Western left.

Yet Arafat's embracing of Pax Americana is not some sudden, unexpected betrayal but the deepening of a political line pursued for the past decade. The PLO leadership around Arafat saw in the October 1973 war and the subsequent Saudi-organized oil boycott a decisive shift in the balance of world forces in favor of the Arab regimes. So did much of the Western left which hailed both. The PLO leadership sought to win through Arab and great-power diplomacy what it could not win through "armed struggle" against the U.S.-backed Israeli war machine. Its strategy became one of pressuring the Arab oil states to pressure U.S. imperialism to pressure Israel. This perspective seemed bright when a year after the October War the various reactionary Arab regimes gathered at Rabat, Morocco and declared the PLO "the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people." Soon thereafter Arafat would be waving an olive branch at the UN.

Increasingly the PLO's standard denunciation of "Zionism and imperialism" was replaced by appeals to U.S. imperialism to break with Zionism. For example, in a 1974 interview Arafat asked Washington rhetorically: "Can America ignore Israeli interests for the sake of its own interests? That is the question" (*Journal of Palestine Studies*, Winter 1975). He developed the same theme in his famous UN speech, urging Americans not to sacrifice friendship with the oil-rich Arab world for the alliance with Israel. The PLO leadership's efforts to woo U.S. imperialism were not limited to public pronouncements. The head of Fatah's security and intelligence unit, Ali Hassan Salameh (who was assassinated in Beirut in 1979), served as a liaison to the CIA, informing "the Company" of terrorist actions against American diplomats planned by other Palestinian factions!

In a 1977 article PLO spokesman Sabri Jiryis (who headed an abortive attempt to establish a diplomatic mission in Washington) analyzed the growing tendency toward Pax Americana within the Palestinian nationalist movement:

> "...there is the Arabs' greater self-confidence in their ability to reach just solutions of their problems, in view of

their increasing strength at all levels. These factors and others have led to the emergence of a trend to the effect that it is better to seek a solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict through peaceful means, and through understanding with others, and especially with the Western camp, headed by the US."

—"On Political Settlement in the Middle East: The Palestinian Dimension." *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Autumn 1977

Washington's idea of a "peaceful solution" to the Arab-Israel conflict was the 1979 Camp David Accords. This "separate peace" with Egypt enabled the Zionist militarists to concentrate their war machine against the rest of the Arab world, especially the Palestinians. A few months after Sadat flew to Jerusalem in 1977 to embrace Begin, Israel celebrated the event by invading southern Lebanon, a dress rehearsal for its full-scale blitzkrieg last summer.

Even after Camp David the Palestinian nationalist leaders continued to rely on oil diplomacy to change American policy. On the morrow of Reagan's election in November 1980, the PLO's "foreign minister," Farouk al-Kaddoumi, could only exhort the Saudi monarchy and Persian Gulf sheikdoms to do better: "The Arab oil countries should play a bigger role in influencing American policy, and we hope these countries will apply more pressure, using their economic and petroleum capabilities" (*Journal of Palestine Studies*, Winter 1981). It was precisely the Palestinian nationalists' reliance on the Arab rulers—the "radical" Syrian Ba'athists as well as the feudalist Saudi monarchy—which led to the historic catastrophe in Lebanon.

No to Another Imperialist Partition of Palestine!

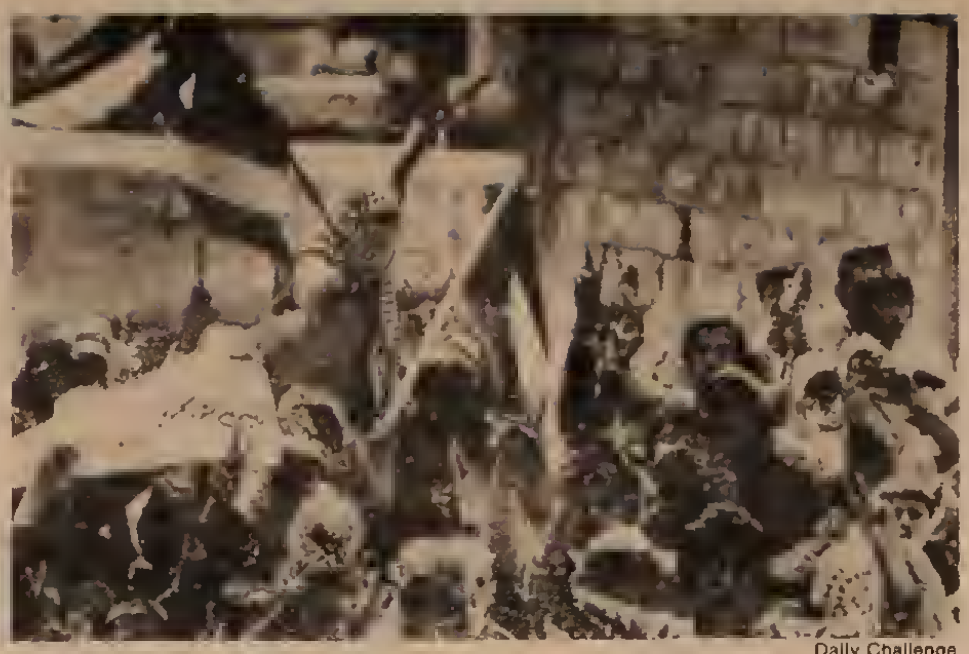
Central to the PLO's post-October War turn toward diplomacy and "moderation" was its acceptance of a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza, a position it had previously rejected. Thus, in 1971 the Palestinian National Congress declared its

"Firm opposition to the establishment of a Palestinian state on any part of the Palestinian Homeland on the basis that any attempt to establish such a state falls within the plans to liquidate the Palestinian question."

—*Free Palestine*, April 1971

This position was reaffirmed the next two years. However, meeting in Sadat's Cairo in June 1974 the PLO leadership reversed itself and came out for a Palestinian state on any "liberated" Palestinian territory.

Those Palestinian nationalist leaders, like George Habash, who opposed the mini-state solution—the so-called "rejectionists"—could offer no alternative except the prospect of more wars between the Arab bourgeois states and Israel. Yet in the unlikely event that the Arab states defeat Israel in a war, the result will *not* be Palestinian national liberation but defense of the status quo of a balkanized and dispersed Palestinian population oppressed both by the Zionist state and its Arab neighbors.



Daily Challenge

West Bank Palestinians protest Israeli military terror. Israel out of Lebanon and the occupied territories!

When in 1974 the PLO changed its line on the West Bank mini-state, we wrote:

"A West Bank state led by the PLO would soon become a 'bantustan' in which neighboring states could dump their unwanted Palestinian refugees—900,000 in Jordan, 300,000 in Lebanon, 300,000 in Israel and 200,000 in Syria. It would be only a very partial and deformed expression of the Palestinian Arabs' right to self-determination....

"A genuine exercise of Palestinian Arabs' right to self-determination is conceivable only on both banks of the Jordan, including all of what is now Israel and Jordan. Both of these states were carved out at the expense of the Palestinian people."

—"West Bank Mini-State No Solution," *WV* No. 57, 22 November 1974

The notion of a genuinely independent Palestinian state wedged between Zionist Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is ludicrous, even more so today than in 1974. The West Bank Palestinian population is already to a large degree economically integrated into Israel, providing super-exploited labor for Israeli capitalism. Half the employed labor force on the West Bank works in Israel. One third of the West Bank's salaried workers have been employed in Israel for at least ten years.

Officially the PLO position is that the West Bank/Gaza mini-state is but a transitional step toward its maximum program of "a democratic, secular Palestine." However, Arafat and his colleagues made it clear that if granted a statelet on the West Bank and Gaza, the PLO would abjure military action against Israel, which from the standpoint of U.S. imperialism is the only kind of effective action. For example, in a meeting with the U.S. Republican Congressman Paul Findley in 1978 Arafat assured him: "The PLO will accept an independent Palestinian state consisting of the West Bank and Gaza, with connecting corridor, and in that circumstance will renounce any and all violent means to enlarge the territory of that state" (*Journal of Palestine Studies*, Winter 1979).

However, even if the PLO were to formally recognize Israel, U.S. imperialism would still not sponsor a West Bank/Gaza Palestinian statelet, much less apply the enormous degree of pressure needed to force Israel to withdraw from these territories. Washington has pressured Israel into withdrawing from some Arab territories occupied during the 1967 war *only* as a means of securing and strengthening its network of anti-Soviet alliances in the region. Sadat's Egypt got back the Sinai only several years *after* it had decisively broken with Moscow (Soviet advisers were expelled in 1972) and become a proven American client state. In the aftermath of the October War Kissinger sought to work a similar "reversal of alliances" with Assad's Syria, and for a time he was optimistic about the prospect. In his memoirs he writes: "It was precisely the realization that the Soviets could produce no progress that was driving the Soviets' best friends in the area—like Syria—in our direction, as it had already convinced Sadat to change course" (*Years of Upheaval* [1982]). Israel, however, stubbornly refused to give up a kilometer of the Golan Heights, so Assad did not follow Sadat's course.

Seeking an anti-Soviet "strategic consensus" in the Near East, to use General Haig's term, Washington policy makers have become acutely aware of the Palestinian "problem." The purpose of the Reagan plan, announced last September, was to establish a Palestinian "entity" on the West Bank under the overlordship of King Hussein's Jordan. However, the dominant view of the American ruling class is that a PLO-led statelet on the West Bank/Gaza is neither necessary nor desirable to achieve its aims in the region.

One prominent dissenter from this view is George Ball, a former high State Department official and leading Democratic Party braintruster. Ball's 1977 article, "How to Save Israel in Spite of Herself" (*Foreign Affairs*, April 1977), expressed the "liberal" imperialist line on the Palestinian question. He argued that Israeli expansionism destabilizes the Arab regimes and so allows the Soviet Union to ally itself with Arab nationalist revanchism. Hence, in his view, a Palestinian West Bank statelet would help secure American dominance in the Near East:

"...there is accumulating evidence that Arafat, and such elements of the PLO as he can control, are moving toward the acceptance of a partitioned Palestine and, as the price for the return of the West Bank, would agree to recognize the sovereignty of Israel within her pre-1967 borders.

"Moreover, it seems clear that the current leaders of Saudi Arabia, as well as of Syria and Egypt, hope for a settlement to avoid the dangers of radicalization and the increase of Soviet influence in the area, as well as the high cost of maintaining Arab military might in an environment of hostility."

However, even those few representatives of the American ruling class who favor a West Bank Palestinian mini-state insist that it cannot be under "radical" (i.e., Soviet-allied) leadership. Here is how James Akins, a former leading State Department Arabist and ambassador to the Saudi monarchy, envisages Palestinian self-determination.

"It would be small; it would be largely demilitarized; and it would be surrounded on three sides by Israel.... Furthermore, the Palestinian state would be supported economically by the conservative states of the Arabian peninsula."

—*Middle East International*, May 1980

The Palestinian nationalists and their supporters on the Western left do not *openly* call for another imperialist-sponsored partition of Palestine as do Ball and Akins. A single exception is British radical journalist Fred Halliday. In a 1981 article, "Revolutionary Realism and the Struggle for Palestine" (*MERIP Reports* No. 96, May 1981), Halliday spells out the line of "moderate" Palestinian nationalism without the usual diplomatic cover and ambiguities.

From the correct premise that *both* the Hebrew-speaking people of Israel and the Palestinian Arabs have a right to national self-determination, Halliday draws the reactionary conclusion that partition and forced population transfers are the only "realistic" solution:

"In Palestine the national oppression of Palestinians by Israelis is not as unique as most commentators would have us believe.... For such problems there exists a conventional remedy: national exploitation should be ended by allowing each national group to have its own state. If there is a disputed territory or mixed populations—as in India/Pakistan and Greece/Turkey—then population transfers can occur.... Why is partition in fact inapplicable to Palestine?"

Modern Turkey was consolidated after World War I over the corpses of a million Greeks and Armenians. The British partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947 produced a communal bloodletting in which countless millions of Hindus and Muslims were killed. For Halliday to hold up Turkey/Greece and India/Pakistan as *positive* precedents for Palestine demonstrates the utterly reactionary—not to say barbaric—nature of his "revolutionary realism."

Essentially Halliday advocates the West Bank/Gaza mini-state with perhaps some additional territories, an updated version of the 1947 UN partition. In this respect Halliday's position is similar to that of the pro-Moscow Stalinist Rakah party in Israel. Stalin's Russia was a major force behind the 1947 UN partition, and the Kremlin has since continually reaffirmed its support for a two-state solution.

But whereas the Rakah Stalinists appeal to the Zionist "doves," Halliday sees in U.S. imperialism the main potential agency for achieving a Palestinian state:

"In the past, imperialist countries have supported national self-determination for their own reasons. The Versailles Conference of 1919 was one such instance. Under certain (admittedly improbable) conditions, the US could be ready to support the establishment of a Palestinian state in a manner that was also of benefit to the Palestinian people."

The Versailles Treaty as an example of imperialist support for the right of national self-determination? An incredible and outrageous statement! In the Near East, to take one example, the Versailles Treaty divided the Kurdish nation between five separate states. As Halliday knows perfectly well, the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky did not exactly share his positive view of the Versailles Treaty.

continued on page 10

UPI

U.S. Marines in Beirut disarmed PLO commandos, set up Shatila/Sabra massacre of Palestinians.

Lebanon...

(continued from page 9)

The May 1919 Comintern manifesto, "Down with the Versailles Peace! Long Live the Communist Revolution!" declared:

> "The Versailles peace terms have shown that imperialism of whatever coalition is equally bloodthirsty. Whatever 'democratic' fig-leaves imperialism may use to cover itself, it remains the embodiment of barbarism and bloodthirstiness."

This treaty of the victors of World War I had two main aims: to construct a *cordon sanitaire* against Bolshevik Russia in East Europe and to weaken and dismember Germany (e.g., incorporating three million Germans in the new Czechoslovak state). In this way the Versailles Peace Treaty contributed in large measure to the imperialist encirclement of the Soviet Union and its consequent Stalinist degeneration, and to the rise of Nazism in Germany, setting the stage for World War II.

Under what (admittedly improbable) conditions would U.S. imperialism reverse itself and sponsor a West Bank Palestinian statelet? Only if this policy shift was believed necessary to better secure American dominance in the Near East and to mobilize the region against the Soviet Union (Haig's "strategic consensus"). In such circumstances Washington's support for a West Bank statelet would not only perpetuate national injustice against the Palestinians, it would be part of a drive toward nuclear world war aimed at destroying the gains of the October Revolution.

A Democratic, Secular Palestine?

Whatever their differing attitudes toward the West Bank mini-state, all wings of Palestinian nationalism and their left tailists today propose "a democratic, secular state" as the ultimate, progressive solution. Typical in this regard is the pro-Moscow Stalinoid group led by Irwin Silber, which in a recent major article, "The Palestinian Revolution and the Struggle Against Zionism," asserts:

> "The declared strategic objective of the Palestinian revolution as enunciated by Yasir Arafat before the United Nations in 1974 is the establishment of a single, democratic, secular state in all of Palestine....
> "Not only does this perspective represent the only just resolution of the national oppression of the Palestinian people but it also represents the only completely consistent anti-imperialist approach to the question."
> —*Line of March*, March/April 1983

The Silberites' citation of Arafat's olive-branch-waving UN speech is telling, since the formula of a "democratic, secular state" was concocted largely for its appeal to "liberal" imperialist opinion.

Historically, the Palestinian nationalist movement envisaged expelling the Zionist colonizers en masse. For example, in 1959 the publication of Arafat's Fatah, *Our Palestine*, asked rhetorically: "What shall we do with the Jews—two million Jewish usurpers?" Its answer:

> "We shall say to them what Saladin said to the Crusaders. Go back to the lands you came from. Unless you can prove that you were in Palestine before the iniquitous Balfour Declaration of 1917...."
> —quoted in David Hirst, *The Gun and the Olive Branch* (1977)

This position was incorporated in the founding document of the PLO, the 1964 Palestinian National Covenant, which states that only "Jews who were living permanently in Palestine until the beginning of the Zionist invasion will be considered Palestinians." The early PLO's implicit "drive the Jews into the sea" line enormously aided Zionist propagandists in appealing to liberal opinion in the U.S. and Europe, not to speak of solidifying the intense chauvinism and bigotry of the Israeli Jewish population. When after the debacle of the 1967 Arab-Israel war the PLO came under a new and more savvy leadership, it adopted the "democratic, secular state" formula in 1969. Here presumably was a solution acceptable to all men of good will on both sides. It is important to note that in the name of Arab unity and narrow nationalism this "democratic, secular Palestine" would *exclude* the 1.2 million Palestinians—a majority of the population—in King Hussein's Jordan. "Liberated" Palestine would be limited to the boundaries of the pre-1947 British mandate.

The "democratic, secular state" preserves the essential core of the Arab nationalist position in denying that the Hebrew-speaking people are a nation with the right to self-determination. Rather they are to be considered and treated as a religious community similar to Muslims or Christians. In a polemic against the Stalinist Rakah party in Israel, which advocates a two-state position, "moderate" PLO spokesman Naim Khader (who was subsequently assassinated) stated categorically:

> "There is therefore no right of self determination for the Israelis in the land of Palestine. It is essential that this is completely clear and when the Palestinian people does establish a democratic state on the land of Palestine it will incorporate, as our brother and leader Yasser Arafat said in his speech before the UN, all the Jews who currently live in Palestine...."
> —"An Initial Response to Dr. Emile Tuma...," in Fouzi el-Asmar et al., ed., *Debate on Palestine* (1981)

The PLO's fake-left apologists typically argue that an oppressor people, such as the Israeli Hebrews, have *no rights* before the claims of the oppressed, a position recently reasserted by the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party:

> "Any demand that the oppressor nationality have veto power over the choice of the oppressed guts the demand for *self*-determination. This is the unilateral and unconditional right of an oppressed people." [emphasis in original]
> —"Marxist View of Mideast Conflict and PLO," *Intercontinental Press*, 27 December 1982

Rubinger/Time

Israeli workers, largely Sephardic, demonstrate against Begin's austerity program, 1977. Hebrew-speaking proletariat must be broken from the grip of Zionist reaction.

The doctrine that an oppressor nation forfeits its right to exist has nothing in common with socialism and democracy; it is the ideology of genocidal irredentism. The creation of the state of Israel in 1948 was a historic crime against the Palestinian Arab people and thus a violation of the right of self-determination. But securing national justice for the Palestinians does *not* mean reversing the terms of oppression and denying the democratic rights of the Hebrew-speaking people. Basic to the Leninist position on the national question, the only consistently democratic position, is that all nations have a right to self-determination. At the same time, the right to self-determination is not absolute and unconditional but is subordinated to the struggle for general democratic aims and socialism.

The post-1969 efforts of the PLO leadership to give themselves "democratic, secular" credentials had a large element of hypocrisy. In 1970 the official organ of Fatah declared: "A democratic and progressive Palestine, however, rejects by elimination a theocratic, a feudalist, an aristocratic, and an authoritarian or a racist-chauvinistic form of government" (quoted in Paul A. Jureidini and William E. Hazen, *The Palestinian Movement in Politics* [1976]). These impeccably liberal-sounding principles did not in any way prevent Arafat & Co. from enjoying close ties to the Saudi monarchy and later embracing Khomeini's Islamic Republic of Iran, two of the most theocratic, authoritarian and racist-chauvinist governments on the face of the planet.

While striving to maintain good relations with Arab and Islamic reaction, the PLO leadership has in the past few years also been wooing Zionist "doves" like Uri Avnery and former Israeli general Matti Peled. This orientation to "democratic and progressive circles" in Israel was greatly reinforced by the Lebanese war, which dramatically exposed the impotence and treachery of *all* the Arab regimes. The *only* mass protests in the Near East against Israel's genocidal invasion took place in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv! Hoping to encourage the Israeli "peace movement," last fall Arafat paid homage "to all of the Israeli or Jewish pacifists and democrats, I address the esteem and gratitude of the Palestinian people who will never forget their solidarity at the time of trial" (*New York Times*, 21 September 1982).

Even George Habash, not so long ago the main organizer of indiscriminate terrorism against Israeli Jews, now speaks of gradually establishing a "democratic, secular Palestine" through peaceful collaboration with the "democratic forces" in Israel. In an interview with a Spanish paper during the siege of Beirut, this erstwhile nationalist fire-eater projected:

> "We are also prepared to accept some conditions for the establishment of a Palestinian state without more ado, and afterward we will find the way, cooperating with the Democratic Jewish forces, to build a democratic and secular Palestinian state. In this way we will save the Jews and the Arab peoples of the region from the outbreak of further conflicts."
> —*Journal of Palestine Studies*, Summer/Fall 1982

If originally the program of a "democratic, secular Palestine" served as a liberal cover for Arab nationalism, more recently it has become associated with illusions in the reformability or self-liquidation of the Zionist state. When Arafat and Habash speak of the "democratic and progressive forces" in Israel, they mean the Zionist "doves"—represented by the Peace Now movement and Avnery's Sheli—who fear that Begin/Sharon's policy of uncontrolled expansionism will lead to the destruction of Israel. But there are no democratic and progressive forces within the Israeli ruling establishment. All wings of the Zionist polity are by their very nature committed to a racially exclusionist "Jewish state." At most the Zionist "doves" would concede the Palestinians a West Bank/Gaza statelet, thus perpetuating the historic crime of 1948. Daniel Amit, a leader of the Committee Against the War in Lebanon, spoke for this milieu when he stated: "The struggle for a unified, secular state has no possible diplomatic strategy, only a military one, which would surely be viewed as a threat by the Arabs in Israel." For Amit and his colleagues, the only solution acceptable is "the creation of a Palestinian state, under the leadership of the PLO, alongside Israel" ("Strategies for Struggle, Strategies for Peace," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Spring 1983).

Palestinian Liberation Through Social Revolution!

At the heart of the Palestinian question is the impossibility of achieving national justice for geographically interpenetrated peoples within a bourgeois-democratic framework. Here one should look at the Balkans, historically a region of far older and even bloodier national/ethnic enmities than the Levant. Prior to World War I the Bulgarian "narrow" socialists advocated a Balkan federation as a democratic solution to the many-sided and savage national conflicts in the region. Reflecting on this program in the 1930s, Trotsky wrote:

> "At that time, this slogan played a big role. We took it up although what was proposed was a [bourgeois] *democratic* federation. It is now clear that no democratic power exists in the Balkans that could make such a federation a reality. Rather this is a task for the proletariat." [emphasis in original]
> —"A Discussion on Greece," *Writings, Supplement [1929-33]*

The Yugoslav revolution was a vindication of Trotsky's prognosis. Against the background of World War II a largely Serbian and Montenegrin Communist party led by the Croat Tito carried out a social revolution. As an

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Nahuel Moreno: Anti-Semite

Nahuel Moreno wants to drive Israeli Jews into the sea, and he says so. The Palestinian nationalist movement once called for the expulsion of all Jews who arrived in the region after 1917, a call which Zionist propagandists exploited to the hilt. But these petty-bourgeois nationalists had compunctions about directly advocating genocide. Not so the Argentine pseudo-socialist adventurer Moreno, who condemns the entire Hebrew-speaking people of Israel for the crimes of their rulers. For him, "There is no other way to destroy the Zionist state than to throw out the Zionists." This barbarous admirer of Third World nationalist strongmen from General Perón to Imam Khomeini is the antithesis of everything the communist internationalists Lenin and Trotsky ever stood for, and an abomination for every opponent of race-terror. Sounding like nothing so much as the pro-Axis Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Moreno spews forth his anti-Semitic line at the top of his lungs, declaring "Arab racism" to be "progressive"!

Writing in *Correo Internacional* (September 1982), Moreno responds to some of his Chilean comrades who call for a "constituent assembly in Palestine on the basis of the destruction of the Zionist state." In reality there is no bourgeois-democratic solution to the competing rights of two nations to the same geographical space—only under proletarian rule can there be an equitable resolution of the national question in Palestine. But this is not Moreno's complaint. He objects to giving a vote to the present inhabitants of Israel because they "are Zionists and have an absolute majority." This blatant *anti*-democrat writes:

> "One of the basic problems in the war which, in different forms, has been going on for 34 years, is the dispute over who has the right to remain in Israel.... But if it is destroyed by the Palestinians' war, that would mean that the Zionists leave Israel, and together with them those who provide their social and political base. This slogan, 'Zionists out of Israel,' is decisive,... What kind of destroyers of the Zionist state are we if our main banner is to permit the Zionists to win or participate in an election for a constituent assembly...?"

So all Israeli Jews are Zionists, and Zionists have no rights? Dixit Moreno:

> "If you want to insinuate that this constituent assembly would be made with non-Zionist Jewish residents, we have already answered this implicitly. Such imaginary inhabitants do not exist."

Elsewhere in this incredible piece of nationalist vituperation, Moreno calls on the petty-bourgeois Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to "struggle for socialism," placing "work in the PLO" before the construction of Trotskyist parties. Using the subterfuge that Arafat's organization is not a political front but a "nation *sui generis*" (of a unique kind), he advocates liquidation into bourgeois nationalism just as Stalin subordinated the Chinese Communists to Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang. Moreno makes no bones about it. On the demand for a constituent assembly, he remarks: "It is a strictly bourgeois slogan, just as bourgeois as ours" (i.e., for a "democratic, secular and non-racist Palestine")! But political capitulation to the bourgeoisie is the least of this Third World nationalist demagogue's crimes over Israel.

According to Moreno, who believes that "oppressor peoples" have no right to live, "Zionists out of Israel is what 'non-racist' means in the formula." Spelling it out, he insists that destruction of the Zionist state "necessarily means the removal of its present inhabitants," for otherwise it would be "accepting the accomplished fact of the Jewish occupation of Israel." How about driving out the entire non-Indian population of Argentina, then, rather than "accepting the accomplished fact" of their annihilation of the indigenous population? As do many petty-bourgeois leftists, Moreno labels Israel an imperialist enclave, comparing it to the U.S. base of Guantánamo in Cuba. But where others hesitate to spell out the consequences—namely that every Jewish child is considered a legitimate war target, just as the Zionist terrorists with state power target the entire Palestinian Arab population—Moreno revels in this most reactionary nationalist chauvinism, proclaiming that "today Arab racism against Israel is progressive."

Such abominable verbal terrorism is cheap for this former café guerrillaist who is a long way from the guns of the Israeli army. We have pointed out before that Moreno is the archetype of Latin American petty-bourgeois nationalist "revolutionaries," a would-be *líder máximo* who imitates the social values which have produced countless mass-murdering *caudillos*. Against the hypocritical imperialist "human rights" outcry against the Argentine junta,

Revolución Proletaria

Nahuel Moreno

Moreno & Co. actually complained about "exaggerations and imprecisions about the repressive reality" (see "Morenoites Front for Bloody Junta," *WV* No. 316, 29 October 1982). This apology for junta terror was written under the regime of General Videla, whose armed thugs desecrated numerous synagogues, arrested and tortured many Jews (which did not stop the Zionist merchants of death from arming the Argentine junta butchers to the hilt for their "dirty war" against the left). In Israel, this two-bit Videlito calls for national annihilation of the Hebrew people.

The international Spartacist tendency, which defends the Palestinian people against the hideous oppression of racist Zionism, which defends the PLO against the Israeli holocaust in Lebanon, upholds the right of both Palestinian Arab and Hebrew peoples to self-determination. Only through proletarian revolution, mobilizing the Israeli workers and the Arab toiling masses against their rulers, can the genocidal logic of bourgeois nationalism be transcended. The Trotskyists struggle for an Arab-Hebrew revolutionary communist party, fighting for a bi-national workers state in the framework of a socialist federation of the Near East. Unlike the financial swindler, political bandit and *racist pig* Moreno, we believe *all peoples have the right to exist.* ■

Der Spiegel

Survivors of Nazi Holocaust fled to Palestine. Moreno would drive Jews back into the sea.

expression of *proletarian state power*, albeit bureaucratically deformed, the Yugoslav federation laid the basis for the unity of the Serbian and Croatian peoples.

In the Levant, the southern tier of the old Ottoman empire, just as in the Balkans, the northern tier, the road to peace and national justice lies through social revolution. It is only the Hebrew proletariat which has the capacity to destroy the Zionist citadel from within and the vital interest in doing so. For unless the Israeli working class—especially its intensely chauvinist though relatively underprivileged Sephardic component (Jews from Oriental countries)—is broken from Zionism, there is no future for the Hebrew-speaking people in the Near East. The bloody course of Israeli expansionism makes the three million Jews of Israel the automatic scapegoat for the Arab rulers seeking to prevent the 200 million Arabs of the region from rising up against their exploiters at home. And in the context of U.S. imperialism's mad drive toward anti-Soviet world war, Israeli expansionism points directly toward a nuclear Masada (the fortress where ancient Hebrew zealots committed mass suicide rather than surrender to the Roman imperial army).

Der Spiegel

Arafat's dependence on the sheiks of Areby led to the catastrophe in Lebanon.

Probably only great historic events such as Israel's defeat and humiliation in war or a cataclysmic economic crisis could break a section of Sephardic Jewry from the Begins and Sharons and thereby lay the basis for a mass revolutionary workers party in Israel. For such a development to be possible there must be crystallized in Israel a Trotskyist nucleus from among the militant workers, left-wing students and especially the oppressed Palestinian-Arab population. Such a revolutionary vanguard would raise on its banner national justice for the Palestinian people, fighting for basic democratic demands such as Israel out of Lebanon and the occupied territories, the right of all Palestinians to repatriate to any part of their historic homeland, including Tel Aviv and Haifa, and the total secularization of the clericalist Israeli state.

The Palestinian diaspora is one of the most politicized and radicalized elements in the Arab East. Palestinians constitute a majority of King Hussein's Jordan, a substantial minority in that feudalist patchwork known as Lebanon and a strategic section of the labor force in the Persian Gulf oil fields. With the breakup of the PLO into conflicting client groups of mutually hostile Arab regimes, Palestinian militants now face both a historic choice and a historic opportunity. If they break with petty-bourgeois Arab nationalism and embrace the perspective of proletarian internationalism, Palestinians will be in the vanguard of socialist revolution in the Near East.

The struggle for the democratic rights of all the peoples of the Near East and for the survival and national emancipation of the Palestinians must necessarily sweep away the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the bloody Ba'athist bonapartists in Syria, bring down the rotten medieval structure in Lebanon and shatter the Zionist state. This struggle must place the revolutionary proletariat with its vanguard party at the head of the exploited and oppressed, and can only find its fulfillment in a socialist federation of the Near East.

This is the concluding part of the four-part series "After Lebanon: The Left and the Palestinian Question—From the 'Arab Revolution' to Pax Americana." Interested readers are referred to: Part 1, *WV* No. 317, 12 November 1982; Part 2, *WV* No. 322, 28 January 1983; Part 3, *WV* No. 325, 11 March 1983. ■

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Tues 5:30-9:00 p.m., Sat 2:00-5:30 p.m.
523 S. Plymouth Court, 3rd Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone (312) 427-0003

New York City
Tues 6:00-9:00 p.m., Sat 12:00-4:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, N.Y. Phone (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto
Sat 1:00-5:00 p.m.
299 Queen St. W., Suite 502
Toronto, Ontario Phone (416) 593-4138

SWP...

(continued from page 5)

staunch unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and other deformed workers states against U.S. imperialism from Central America to southern Africa. For the reformists in frightened flight from Reagan reaction, these questions are also strategic from another angle: the black population is key to the successful reforging of a labor/black/Democratic Party electoral offensive against Reagan, while anti-Sovietism is the precondition for reformist leftists to prove their reliability to the "anti-Reagan" wings of the ruling class.

The Barnesites' dilemma is that they are not prepared to embrace the Democrats electorally nor break with their eccentric brand of Castroism. They have tried hard to get around this contradiction by denying reality: centrally, by denying that the "Russian question" is in any way posed concretely, as for example in Central America. This flight from reality has fed the minorityites' growth as Barnes is unable to answer the obvious question: **if the Cubans are so very good and the Russians so very bad, how come they agree on everything?**

But even the Barnesites can't bury their heads in the sand forever. Witness Larry Seigle's recently published report to the May plenum:

> "You can't have a serious political discussion about El Salvador without having a discussion about the Cuban workers state.
>
> "...Because everybody knows that what the Salvadoran revolutionaries are fighting for is to become 'another Cuba.'...
>
> "Does that mean, then, that if the FMLN triumphs El Salvador will become an ally of the Soviet Union? Yes. If the revolution succeeds, El Salvador will develop relations with the Soviet workers state, just as Nicaragua and Grenada have done. We're for that, and the closer the relations the better. Otherwise they'll be crushed by imperialism." (*Militant*, 22 July)

Seigle also polemicized against British historian/disarmament leader E.P. Thompson for anti-Sovictism, noting that:

> "First, there will never be a progressive movement in the Soviet Union or any of the Eastern European workers states that calls for unilateral disarmament of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw pact. It will never happen."

But not only has Jack Barnes gone on record for just such unilateral disarmament of the USSR—a modest proposal floated as the SWP changed its line on Afghanistan to conform to the anti-Soviet war drive—but Polish Solidarność believes that even the "nuclear freeze" movement of Vietnam War criminals represents a dangerous appeasement by the "free world" of Soviet "imperialism." And for all the verbiage about Salvadoran rebels fighting for "another Cuba," the SWP has been only too happy to join with their fellow reformists in attempting to silence the revolutionary Trotskyists of the Spartacist League because we demand "Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists! Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in El Salvador!" Seigle fails to mention, as well, that the SWP is a firm supporter of the defeatist demand for a "negotiated sellout" of the FMLN fighters, just as it championed in counterrevolutionary and illiterate fashion the call for "U.S. Aid to Nicargagua [sic]."

Similarly, the SWP's record of abstention and patronizing liberalism on the black question is legend. Barnes' report on "The fight for independent working class and Black political action today" (*Militant*, 29 July) examines the recent electoral success of black Democrat Harold Washington, the "disappointing" direction of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) and the SWP's own mayoral campaign for "Invisible" Ed Warren in Chicago. It all adds up to (you guessed it) a "deepening class polarization" and the "breaking out of the class struggle in a certain form." Simply put, the SWP has no program for black liberation, for the destruction of racist oppression in America will require the fundamental anti-capitalist social revolution the SWP gave up on twenty years ago. Thus, the SWP has alternately tailed the liberal-led civil rights movement, black nationalism (excluding its most subjectively revolutionary expression—the Black Panthers—who were dismissed as "ultraleft"), community control, the NAACP, NBIPP, and even Harold Washington. Where Barnes stops short is just giving the Democrats the vote. The basic SWP principle is to stay away from and/or denounce any militant mobilization against fascism and to defend the so-called "rights" of the Klan/Nazi scum against ultraleft blacks, workers, communists. Whether it's a 5,000-strong anti-Klan mobilization in Washington, D.C. or some 100 trade unionists and other protesters demonstrating for union action against the racist murder of New York City black transit worker Willie Turks, you can count on the SWP to not be there.

Caught in no-man's land between State Department socialism and its own brand of sycophantic Castroism, between capitulation to the Democrats and a habit of withholding direct electoral support—the SWP is in big trouble. There are no fundamental barriers to either the minority or majority eventually liquidating into Harrington's cesspool, although Barnes will probably choose to drown in his own. The minority may try it with Mandel/Camejo. Whatever the sequel, it couldn't happen to a nicer bunch. Bon appétit. ■

Barnes As Literary Critic

This poem was ruled grounds for expulsion from the SWP.

"EULOGY TO ANNE CHESTER"

I suppose the pain was too much
And the loneliness
Old woman
In a city
of cold foggy nights
And row upon row
of family fortresses

Where old people are
taken out
with the trash

And nubody listens
tu an eccentric old woman
The young laugh foolishly

But what stories she had to tell!
tn her blood
ran fifty years
of Revolutionary
history*
She lived it
she created it
with her wiry hands
and her own sweat
One of a small hand
of determined Trotskyists

Her hones shaking with vision
through two world wars
unemployment lines
McCarthyism
Vietnam
Years of dull factory work
Strikes and protests
as numerous
as the wrinkles that grew
on her face
marking her persistence;

Now the earth feasts
on her ashes
Fertilized, enriched

Nobody listens
tu an eccentric old woman

But I sink my roots
deeper
deeper

—ANN MENASCHE
February 23, 1983

*Anne Chester was chairman of the SWP Control Commission that expelled the Revolutionary Tendency.

AP

In 1939 the then-revolutionary SWP mobilized 50,000 workers to stop the Nazi Bund at Madison Square Garden. Today it is the Spartacist League which initiates and organizes mass labor/black anti-fascist actions while the SWP does nothing but call for "free speech for fascists."

It Takes Lots of Money to Fight the Moonie Libel

On June 14, the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) filed a libel lawsuit against the dangerous cult of Sun Myung Moon and his publishing arm, the Times-Tribune Corporation which publishes the daily *Washington Times*. The *Washington Times* libeled and set up the Spartacists as would-be cop-killers because the SL initiated and was the principal organizer of the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. on November 27 (see SL statement on the libel lawsuit, "Moonie Libel That Kills" and the legal complaint in *WV* No. 332, 17 June 1983).

The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC)—a class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense organization which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League—has launched a campaign to help pay for and publicize this important legal battle. Defeating the Moonics will help to protect all the intended victims of the Moonies. This case can be the instrument to strike back against this ultra-right cult's most important thrust for influence and power in America, the *Washington Times*.

But it will be a tough fight. We have the truth on our side, but it will take more than the truth to win against the Moonies. The cult seems to be made of money. It has legions of lawyers and right-wing connections in high places. From his giant munitions plants in South Korea to bilking his flower-peddling zombies to his big-money backers, Moon's "holy war" of reaction is well financed.

We have very limited financial resources. The Spartacist League takes on this case because it must in self-defense. The SL/SYL faces the most dangerous kind of lie—the kind that kills. If the Moonie cult has its way, the cops will have an excuse to shoot on sight.

If we allow the Moonies to set up the organizers and participants of the November 27 anti-Klan protest, any group or individual in the lead of struggle against fascist terror will be marked for destruction. Everyone on the Moonie hit list has a stake in this case: parents who have seen their children twisted by the cult, the left and civil libertarians who are marked as "Satan" in Moon's drive for theocracy, clergy and professors deceitfully used to increase Moon's sinister influence, and decent Americans everywhere who hailed the November 27 anti-KKK demonstration as their own and want to see the fascist terrorists stopped. As the SL said in its statement on the Moonie libel suit: "The Moonies are not only trying to wipe out the Spartacist League, but liberties we all treasure. It is in this sense that our fight against the Moonie libel is also yours."

Your financial support and endorsement are urgently needed to win this lawsuit. Please send contributions to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York City, N.Y. 10013

Reagan's War Moves...

(continued from page 1)

skin, and capitalism's, at this crucial moment the FSLN calls for *cutting off arms to both sides* in the Salvadoran civil war! How would the Sandinistas have liked it if someone tried to do that to them five years ago?

U.S. imperialism is in big trouble in Central America. Reagan's butchers in El Salvador are losing to the leftist insurgents. And if the Sandinistas mobilize the masses to fight, neither the *contras* nor the corrupt and dispirited Honduran army can stand up to them. Reagan cannot suppress the popular insurgencies in Central America with his local surrogates. His escalation goes only in one direction: toward the direct introduction of U.S. combat troops. But this would not only inflame opposition to Yankee imperialism throughout Latin America, it would provoke potentially mass protests and resistance on the home front, where memories of Vietnam are very much alive.

Washington does not presently envision committing ground troops. But the escalation it is undertaking could pose the question point blank, whether

Nuevo Diario

León, July 19: Sandinistas proclaim, "All Arms to the People!" But not for Salvadoran leftists.

it likes it or not. The expectation of "another Vietnam" is pervasive. However, the situation of the Central American national-revolutionaries is fundamentally more precarious than that of Vietnam in the latter's struggle against French colonialism and U.S. imperialism because: 1) the Central American supply lines are vulnerable and the supplies meager and irregular; 2) there is no hinterland to which the militants could retreat, regroup and strike back; 3) compared to Vietnam's 55 million people, the entire population of Central America is not very large; and 4) there is little unity, certainly between Nicaragua and El Salvador and *damned little* among the Salvadoran insurgents. This is the fruit of the nationalist reformism of the Central American left. The Trotskyists fight for international proletarian revolution, from the inter-American isthmus to the Southern Cone and the North American imperialist heartland.

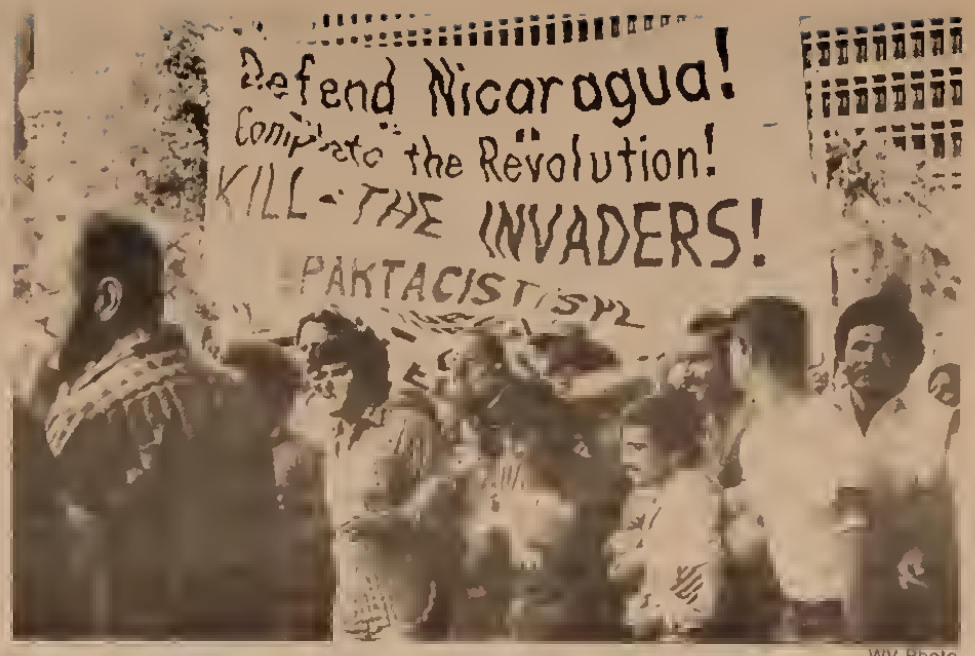
Vietnam in Central America?

Things have now gone beyond war scare headlines in the scandal press about "Killer Fleet Heads South." A battle group including the carrier USS *Ranger*, a cruiser, three destroyers and other craft will take up position imminently off Nicaragua's Pacific Coast, dwarfing the FSLN's "navy" of a dozen patrol craft. The *Ranger*'s 70 jet fighters will face the Sandinistas' handful of two-engine prop planes and T-28 trainers. Next will come the USS *Coral Sea*, a second aircraft carrier, and its warfleet along Nicaragua's Caribbean coast, while the USS *New Jersey*, the Navy's only battleship afloat, with its 16-inch guns and two types of cruise missiles, will be brought back from a tour in Southeast Asia. "Various kinds of maneuvers" are envisioned for these "exercises," no doubt including blocking and boarding in a "demonstration quarantine." In addition there will be some old-fashioned gunboat diplomacy as the warships steam past Grenada and Surinam at the other end of the Caribbean.

Meanwhile, three Honduran airfields are already being expanded by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to receive giant C-5 air cargo transports. U.S. air strikes against Managua would be guided by an AWACS radar plane now in place. And with great "foresight" Washington has already set up a special radar station near the Honduran capital of Tegucigalpa, not to "track supplies from Nicaragua to Salvadoran guerrillas" (the usual excuse for American military moves there) but explicitly to guide U.S. military aircraft. On the Caribbean coast, under the guise of a "training facility" for Salvadoran soldiers, the Pentagon is setting up a giant $150 million naval base spread over 100 square miles: Puerto Castilla is to be the Central American Cam Ranh Bay. And while Democratic Congressmen try to keep Reagan to the 55-adviser speed limit in El Salvador, just over the border there will be some 5,000 U.S. combat troops already in place. And this time it's no quick in-and-out operation with technical personnel, but ground troops staying for up to *six months*. If that's the "war games," how long a war are they planning?

Those are the publicly announced measures. In recent days the American press has published additional reports on secret decisions taken at a July 8 National Security Council. These include a $400 million increase in military aid to Central American rightist regimes—in addition to the multibillion cost of the "exercises," air and naval facilities, to be paid for out of "various Pentagon accounts"—i.e., not subject to Congressional approval. Covert aid to anti-Sandinista counterrevolutionaries is to be increased to support a force of 12,000 *contra* mercenaries on the U.S. payroll. "Advisers" in El Salvador will be increased to 125 (there are already 300-plus in Honduras, not to mention "contract" personnel and several hundred CIA agents roaming the region). For special projects, Israel will be used as a supplier of Soviet tanks, artillery and small arms captured from the PLO in Lebanon. This was prompted, according to a working paper from the NSC meeting, by the administration's realization that "incremental escalation to stave off defeat for the time being" was not working and presented "an awkward parallel with Vietnam" (*New York Times*, 17 July). So instead the Reagan administration has apparently decided to go in heavy and hard now.

When it comes to what all these forces are supposed to be doing there, they get cagey. In his TV press conference this evening Reagan issued a classic "non-denial denial" on the use of combat



WV Photo

Los Angeles, July 23: To curry favor with imperialist "doves" reformists try to exclude SL's revolutionary politics but fail.

troops: "no such plans...no desire... (but) a president should never say never." As to a blockade, a July 12 directive by Reagan specified that the exercises are to "test and refine plans for imposing a military quarantine around Nicaragua" according to the *New York Times* (23 July). Coming from the administration that talked about exploding a "demonstration" H-bomb over the Baltic Sea to intimidate the Russians, Washington's "test quarantine" could easily be mistaken for the real thing. And the purpose? As one Pentagon official put it, "Everything that we're doing for the purposes of a military exercise we'd also be doing if the aim were to overthrow the Nicaraguan government" (*Washington Post*, 22 July). A *contra* leader declares that the large U.S. military deployment represents a "shield" for a "spectacular" *contra* campaign; Reagan says they are a "shield for democracy," presumably represented by the Somozaist torturers, while UN ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, America's Madame Chiang Kai-shek, talks of the "reversibility" of the Sandinista revolution.

The reference to Vietnam is more than "an awkward parallel." Ever since the humiliating defeat of U.S. imperialism and its puppets in Indochina in 1973-75, the mass of the American population and key sectors of the U.S. ruling class have been wary of foreign military adventures. The liberal Democrats warn against "another Vietnam in Central America" because they don't want another *losing* war which only saps U.S. strength. Looking at El Salvador's Duarte and D'Aubuisson they see replicas of South Vietnam's Thieu and Ky, in the Salvadoran 9-to-5 army another corrupt, ineffectual ARVN. And while only eight percent of the American public in recent polls knew which side the U.S. was supporting in Nicaragua and El Salvador, 57 percent were opposed to sending in American troops to avert a Communist government (and 71 percent expected Reagan to do it). The "Vietnam syndrome" is alive and well, setting the stage for explosive conflict within the U.S. as well, *but the key to fostering bourgeois defeatism is to defeat the bourgeoisie.*

Reaganauts: "WWIII Almost Over"

According to the NSC working paper, "The situation in Central America is nearing a critical point." The combination of bad news from the battlefields and bad news in Congress placed the administration policy in jeopardy. Its conclusion: "Given their inherent weaknesses, most nations in Central America (as well as other nations in the Caribbean and South America) might fall under Communist rule and threaten the political structure in Mexico." The U.S. "has the power and resources to prevent such outcomes," it says, but "the present U.S.

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"Resolution For Union Action To Stop War Moves"

Reprinted below is the Militant-Solidarity Caucus resolution introduced at the July 25 New York port meeting of the National Maritime Union.

WHEREAS:

Ronald Reagan launched military operations with major naval forces in the Caribbean and Pacific Oceans—an act of war by the United States, and

WHEREAS:

Reagan and the Democrat Carter before him, have been attacking labor, particularly blacks, Hispanics and other minorities, creating a climate in this country of increasing racism and anti-communism to prepare for war against Cuba and the Soviet Union...beginning with a war against the working people of El Salvador, Nicaragua and throughout Central America, and

WHEREAS:

NMU officials go along with the capitalist war moves which will increase attacks on labor and minorities, and

WHEREAS:

NMU officials are trying to bribe, deceive and pressure us—the working seamen—into supporting these war plans based on racist, anti-labor, anti-Soviet policies, and hoodwink us with MSC/military-chartered sub-union-standard jobs, be it therefore

RESOLVED:

That the National Maritime Union oppose Reagan's war moves and link up with other maritime unions, especially the west coast longshoremen, in militant labor actions including:

1) A one-day shutdown of all ports to oppose Reagan's war drive;

2) Boycott the quarantine and naval operations against Central America on MSC and private contract vessels;

3) Refusal to handle shipments to El Salvador;

4) Hot cargo military goods to Central American rightist dictatorships;

5) Stand for: "U.S. Hands Off El Salvador/Nicaragua! Military Victory to Leftist Salvadoran Rebels!"

Reagan's War Moves...

(continued from page 13)

policy faces substantial opposition at home and abroad; an increased effort would have to surmount even greater opposition." So Reagan & Co., in addition to drastically escalating American military intervention in Central America have gone on the offensive in the U.S. Their vehicle is the National Bipartisan Commission headed by none other than Henry Kissinger. The architect of the 1970 "secret war" in Cambodia who ordered the 1973 Christmas bombing campaign against Hanoi is supposed to design a "bipartisan" strategy for the U.S. in Vietnam II.

It's symptomatic that the closest the Reagan administration can come to the mainstream of bourgeois American politics is this power-mad engineer of imperialist genocide. A Jewish son of German refugees from Hitler, he worked for the American spy agency OSS after World War II recruiting former Nazis (such as the recently apprehended Butcher of Lyons, Klaus Barbie) as anti-Soviet operatives. In Chile, he was best known for his comment, "I don't see why we need to stand by and watch a country go Communist due to the irresponsibility of its own people." Dr. K backed this up with the 1970 U.S.-sponsored assassination of "constitutionalist" general Schneider; the murder of Allende was one "option" considered, finally accomplished in the bloody Santiago coup of 11 September 1973. Ronald Reagan's personal representative to the panel is Kirkpatrick, who considered mass murderer Somoza a model "moderate authoritarian"; and the "bipartisan" Democrat is superhawk Henry Jackson, the "Senator from Boeing"!

No wonder the liberal imperialist "doves" feel put up against the wall. Reagan's policies on Central America were accurately foreshadowed in the 1980 document of the Committee of Santa Fe, which included several top administration officials. The Caribbean has become "a Marxist-Leninist lake," they say, infested by "Soviet surrogates" and ringed by "socialist states." "The United States can no longer accept the status of Cuba as a Soviet vassal state," it opines, adding that "if propaganda fails, a war of national liberation against Castro must be launched." Notably it puts the battle for Central America in the context of the anti-Soviet war drive, in terms which represent the *real* thinking of the Reagan administration, unprettified for TV consumption:

> "Containment of the Soviet Union is not enough. Detente is dead. Survival demands a new U.S. foreign policy. America must seize the initiative or perish. For World War III is almost over."
>
> —"A New Inter-American Policy for the Eighties" (1980)

These are the unvarnished Reaganauts, who accuse Democratic Senator Dodd of being a crypto-Communist, who fondly recall Teddy Roosevelt, but prefer to "speak loudly and carry a Big Stick." The Democratic liberals make a show of opposing them in Congress, and a confrontation is now brewing over "covert" CIA aid to Nicaraguan *contras*, the subject of last week's special secret session of the House of Representatives. Naturally, the administration's *real* secret program was not spelled out, though it was revealed in the press a few days later. This was the result in particular of command-level officers in the U.S. armed forces "leaking" the details of Reagan administration policies which they feel will only lead to disaster. Unfortunately, however, their confessors are not about to seriously damage the interests of U.S. imperialism. Even if the Democratic liberals' resolution against covert CIA aid to the Somozaist *contras* wins, it will mean an *$80 million* appropriation for *overt* aid to anti-Nicaraguan Central American regimes.

For Workers Revolution Throughout Central America!

Reagan plans his war moves in Central America under the banner of stopping Communism in this hemisphere. The "liberal" imperialists have the same banner but different tactics. They don't think Reagan's old-fashioned "Big Stick" will work. From Congressional Democrats to Mitterrand and Felipe González in Europe to the presidents of Mexico and Venezuela, they fear that Reagan will only continue to inflame passions against Yankee imperialism. They are for more sophisticated political and military options to break the Sandinistas and Salvadoran rebels.

Thus, over the last weekend several Latin American bourgeois governments known as the "Contadora Group" (Mexico, Panama, Colombia and Venezuela) called for a "negotiated solution" in El Salvador and Nicaragua. These Latin American bourgeois politicians understand the depth of hostility to Yankee imperialism among their own people and the explosive impact sending the Marines into Central America would have throughout the region. To avoid this danger they demand that Nicaragua submit to imperialist pressure, calling for a freeze on arms shipments and establishment of international border patrols, measures which are ultimately directed against leftist insurgents in the growing Central American civil war.

Yet the Contadora proposals were endorsed by Fidel Castro, in his speech today celebrating the 30th anniversary of the assault on the Moncada Barracks, the beginning of the Cuban Revolution. And in his speech in Nicaragua's second city of León on the July 19 anniversary of the overthrow of Somoza, FSLN junta coordinator Daniel Ortega called for "an absolute end to all arms supplies by any country to the parties in El Salvador" (*New York Times*, 20 July). If there were any question as to the treacherous policy of the petty-bourgeois Sandinista regime, an interview in the September 1983 issue of *Playboy* magazine spelled it out:

> "*Playboy:* To put it directly: If you found Salvadoran weapons moving through Nicaraguan territory, would you stop them?
>
> "*Ortega:* Yes, we would. It would go against our feelings to do it, but we would—because reason has to be the important thing. We have to act with seriousness and responsibility. When Thomas Enders was here, we asked him to give us what information he had on these arms shipments through our country."

Salvadoran rebels, who contributed several million dollars to purchasing arms for the Sandinistas during the Nicaraguan struggle, who today are locked in a life-or-death struggle against the murderous armed forces and death squads of the Salvadoran bourgeoisie, cannot be enthusiastic about the Nicaraguans' offer for a "negotiated" sellout of their struggle. In agreeing to the Contadora proposals, the FSLN and Castro are exposing their own *nationalist* politics. While the overthrow of capitalist rule, already accomplished in Cuba, still remains unfulfilled in Nicaragua, already the Ortegas & Co. are ready to sell out *somebody else's* revolution. Yet in the end this only aids the counterrevolutionaries who would strangle the Nicaraguan revolution. Only through a struggle that spreads the flames of revolution throughout Central America can the workers and peasants of these tiny republics resist the onslaught of the imperialist colossus. Only a Trotskyist party, not petty-bourgeois nationalists like the Sandinistas, can spread workers revolution throughout the region, centrally to Mexico.

Military victory to Salvadoran leftists! Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan revolution! Defense of Cuba/USSR begins in Central America! ■

"Courts won't give us satisfaction, what we need is union action, sweep the racists off the streets!"

NYC Transit...

(continued from page 16)

"Smash the Taylor Law! Defend the Right to Strike!" and "Stop the Nazis! Stop the Klan! Only Workers Defense Guards Can!"

TWU speakers included Ed Kartsen, a principal organizer of the rally; Dennis Dixon, one of the Gravesend victims; Benny Foster, TWU chairman of the Track and Power Distribution division; Sean Ahern, a TWU shop steward. Another union speaker was Gene Herson of the .Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union. Some 80 transit workers endorsed the call for the demonstration. Thousands of leaflets were distributed in the crew rooms, barns and yards throughout the system. Word went out over WLIB and WINS radio. Wives and relatives of transit workers also marched on the picket line, along with phone workers and a contingent of militant seamen.

The call for the rally emphasized, "We must unite and act to stop lynch mobs! A militant mass demonstration by TWU forces at the courthouse can immediately lay the basis for union squads of thousands of militants on flatbed trucks to patrol Gravesend to insure safety and order!" TWU Local president John Lawe has opposed the mobilization of union power to stop the racist attacks, telling the workers to let the courts take care of it. The mockery of justice in Brooklyn exposes the utter bankruptcy of relying on the capitalists' cops, courts and politicians to protect black people. And it was the liberal Democrats, headed by the office of D.A. Elizabeth Holtzman, that ran the Mormando and Bova trials.

"The racists are killing us on the outside, the TA is killing us on the inside," said transit worker Ed Kartsen. Only days before the Mormando verdict was announced, the bosses once again scapegoated transit workers for their rotting subway system by charging that "cowboy" motormen are responsible for the rash of train derailments. But it's the Transit Authority that's killing transit workers and endangering the public with their criminal neglect for safety. Two years ago motorman Jesse Cole was killed in a train crash when the TA ordered the trains to keep running over track where the signals had totally failed. The demonstration call pointed out: "Instead of organizing a massive emergency effort to free Jesse Cole from his crushed subway car-cab, [TA president] Simpson ghoulishly organized a press conference to pin the blame on Cole as he bled to death." The racist punks on the streets of Gravesend take their cues from the labor-haters like racist Koch and Simpson. The chants of the angry demonstrators made the connection loud and clear: "Mormando is a murderer—vengeance for Willie Turks! The TA is a murderer—vengeance for Jesse Cole!"

The anger and resentment of motormen and conductors had been building for weeks. In June the Transit Authority put up caution lights in 400 places throughout the system to slow the trains but never changed the schedules! Motormen and conductors were working with no breaks, no lunch, and many were forced to carry cups in their cabs to relieve themselves because they didn't even have time to take a piss. Then the TA hired Harry Williamson, a $500-a-day "expert" from San Francisco, who tried to pin the blame on the workers for the ten derailments in the last six months. This joker even contradicted the TA's own findings that the major cause of the derailments was the massive numbers of guardrails in disrepair and other defective equipment. The bankers and the bosses have turned the subways into a death trap. Everyone knows the TA did absolutely no preventive maintenance for five years after the fiscal crisis in 1975 (and damned little before or after)!

So when the TA's "expert" tried to pin the blame on "wildmen-cowboys" for speeding—i.e., running the trains on schedule—that was the straw that broke the camel's back. Outraged motormen began a slowdown action. Finally Lawe was forced to sanction the slowdown after the fact and instruct TWUers to work to rule. According to a leaflet issued by several of the militants who initiated the demonstration, two dozen transit workers were victimized, and the officials were doing nothing. The militants demanded: "Rescind all disciplines NOW!": "The TWU must enforce standards of safety and decency in the shops, barns and on the tracks. No more Jesse Coles! But union control of safety means a class-struggle fight on the shop floor with management whose only concern is to get trains out and maintain schedules no matter how dirty and dangerous they are."

It's going to take mass mobilizations of workers and blacks on the streets and in the shops to beat back the racist lynchers and TA bosses. At the rally Dennis Dixon, one of the Gravesend victims, said bitterly: "I'd like to thank everyone out here that's not a TWU member of Local 100, and as for the TWU members of Local 100, it's a little bit too late. I needed you all last week.... Anything that could come of this, I support that." Dixon was right: the courts should have been packed with hundreds of transit workers during the Bova and Mormando trials. Benny Foster, chairman of the Track and Power division of TWU, said: "Brothers and sisters, and members, I'm here and I hope my presence will inspire others to show up.... We have 2,000 members [in Track and Power] and at your next demonstration I hope to have at least 1,100."

Other speakers at the rally included Charles Baron of the National Black United Front (NBUF), who said: "I believe it's time for people of good will to come together to state to this city administration that we will tolerate no more racist attacks, nor will we tolerate any brutality and killing by the police department." Marjorie Stamberg, a former Spartacist Party candidate for NY State Assembly who ran on a program of a socialist fight to save New York, came out to express solidarity: "The racists who killed Willie Turks are protected and encouraged by the capitalist ruling class. We will only get rid of them when we go in and sweep out all the rot, when the workers take power led by a multiracial revolutionary party that

Cop Brutality Hearings...

(continued from page 16)

witnesses are outside;" shouted others. The meeting dissolved in chaos. John Conyers, chairman of the House criminal justice subcommittee, with Representative Charles Rangel and Mayor Koch in tow sneaked off to another room and declared the hearings were canceled. As "hizzoner" Koch and police commissioner McGuire left the building they were surrounded by the irate citizenry of Harlem who booed and jeered, and kicked and pounded their limousine before they sped away.

Black New Yorkers hate Koch—he was booed by 150,000 people at the recent Diana Ross concert in Central Park. The racist policies emanating from the White House and Gracie Mansion have given a signal to the race-haters everywhere that it's open season on black people. There's a good reason why Harlem hates Koch. Koch has systematically destroyed and dismantled social services in the black community. Harlem residents still remember the day Koch sicced his cops on 400 protesters supporting the sit-in to save Sydenham Hospital. And they burn with indignation at the daily harassment, intimidation and racist victimization and violence by the cops.

The blue ribbon hearings were obviously meant to be a dignified "VIP" affair, with handpicked witnesses and a select audience. The meeting was scheduled in a room with a seating capacity of 150—barely adequate for the press corps and the "star witnesses," the self-anointed leaders of the black community. As people waited in the sweltering heat, the "pillars of the community" were hustled upstairs. The main concern of the black pols and preachers was that the sham hearings proceed. When the hearings were first announced Koch leapt to the defense of "New York's finest," saying police brutality "is not systemic," though he was distressed about the "lack of courtesy and offensive language from our police officers"! But black Harlem was hopping mad and blacks poured out from all five of the city's boroughs determined to be heard.

The preachers tried to cool things out. "Brothers and sisters, the racists don't want us to have this hearing," said Rev. Timothy Mitchell. He pleaded "in the spirit of black unity" for the crowd to "respect our black leaders" and allow the hearings to continue. But the enraged crowd shouted him down. So the demagogic Rev. Daughtry, playing on his "activist" credentials, gave it a try, claiming that if the masses disrupt this select gathering, "we are playing precisely right into their hands." Finally, as a compromise they promised to pipe the proceedings to the overflow crowd upstairs and on the street. But during the recess Conyers cut a deal with Koch to cancel the hearing because of the "unruly" crowd.

The scheduling of the Congressional hearings brokered by Daughtry and his sidekicks was a publicity coup for the black politicians. When Koch took office he slammed the door to City Hall in their faces. Recently, the black Dems launched a new citywide Coalition for a Just New York to try to turn the enthusiasm over the victory of Harold Washington in Chicago (and Wilson Goode in Philadelphia) into a massive voter registration drive and a campaign to elect a black mayor in NYC.

WV Photo

Victims of Koch's cossacks tell their stories. Annie Brandon (front left), mother of Randy Evans: "My son was shot in the head."

Representative Charles Rangel and Brooklyn Congressman Major Owens, who were instrumental in setting up the hearings, have both been mentioned as possible mayoral candidates. The black pols are using the issue of police brutality to further their electoral ambitions. Then when thousands of angry blacks showed up and were turned away, Rangel had the audacity to denounce a grieving mother, Shirley Roper, whose son was gunned down by the cops June 4, of being a "professional troublemaker" and a "provocateur"—despicable charges which were repeated by Rev. Timothy Mitchell and spread all over the media.

Feeling embarrassed and betrayed when they were deserted by Rangel and Conyers, Daughtry announced they would convene a "People's Tribunal" to hear the people who had turned out in such numbers. Over 50 people came forward to testify. The outpouring of grievances against Koch's thugs in blue shows the deep-seated anger of blacks and minorities at the racist "street justice" the cops mete out:

• One of the key speakers was Mrs. Annie Brandon, who testified, "I am the mother of Randolph Evans who was killed Thanksgiving 1976. My son was killed by police officer Robert Torsney. He was shot in the head... Torsney was acquitted on epileptic seizures. Now you figure it out from there." Right, he was suffering from a "rare form of epilepsy" which affects the trigger finger in particular! As we wrote at the time of the murder:

> "That he [Torsney], upon seeing a young black face, found himself apparently compelled to shoot it is the result of long conditioning of capitalism's hired thugs—racism transformed into reflex."
>
> —"Point-Blank Racist Murder in NYC," *WV* No. 136, 3 December 1976

• Larry Peoples told how last February 17 he took his one-year-old baby and got into his van to go to the grocery store. Suddenly, several men ran by with guns. He said that a white officer held a gun to his head and forced him out of the van saying, "Lie down on the fucking ground or I'll blow your fucking head off!" Along with other officers the cop kicked and blackjacked Peoples. "He took his right foot and stomped down on my face." He said the cops unzipped his baby's snowsuit in a search, and left the baby crying with the van open in the dead of winter for an hour and a half. Peoples was charged with resisting arrest and assaulting a police officer.

• Cory Gibson told how the cops ran over him and his friend Larry Dawes as they were on their way home from the Park Slope area of Brooklyn on their mini-motorcycle on 15 March 1983. "They were coming so fast that he [Larry] couldn't stop immediately, so he swerved on to the sidewalk.... They hit us one time, and as we were about to fall they smashed us into a parked car, killing my friend Larry Dawes.... The white police officer got out of the car and laughed at me. He backed his car up over Larry... they started kicking him and stomping him. My friend Larry is gone, he's dead. I believe these cops are still on the police force, nothing's happening to them."

• The testimony of Victor Moses, who was attacked by racist thugs as he went to take a court officers examination in the Sheepshead Bay section of Brooklyn underscores the connection between the racist violence of Koch's cops and the rise of lynch mob terror in the streets: "I was approached by two whites, one had a bat and one had a metal pipe. They said, 'What are you doing in this neighborhood, nigger?' I was hit in the right side of my head with a baseball bat and everything went black. I had a fractured nose and a fractured skull.... They pleaded guilty to first degree assault and yet and still they only got six months and a black history report."

The only "solutions" the black politicians and preachers of the "People's Tribunal" had to offer were more black cops, a "truly independent" civilian review board (handpicked by the governor, instead of the police commissioner!), and the creation of a state commission on racial violence. "The only way we can make some changes in the final analysis will be at the voting booth," said Laura Blackburne of the NAACP. That was the constant theme of the self-appointed "People's Tribunal": vote out the bad guys and vote us in. But black Brooklyn had already had a taste of the "good guys" justice. Daughtry/Vann/Green & Co. helped elect "progressive" Democrat Liz Holtzman as D.A. The so-called justice system even under these liberals has treated the racist murderers of black transit worker Willie Turks with kid gloves.

It will take a fighting labor movement leading the ghetto poor to turn things around in Reagan's racist America and Koch's NYC. Instead this city has been plagued by a cycle of black/union confrontations from which only the racists like Koch benefit. Al Vann & Co. are a gang of professional labor-hating union busters who cut their teeth breaking the NYC teachers strike in 1968. Daughtry, for his part, tried to take the heat off the cops after they killed Arthur Miller in Brooklyn and instead deliberately sought to provoke a pogromist explosion, setting blacks against Jews in the tinderbox community of Crown Heights. Their porkbarreling politics are a dead end for blacks.

New York doesn't need another phony civilian review board to whitewash the daily, ritual racist violence of the cops. What is needed is a massive mobilization of labor and blacks to fight Koch's killer cutbacks and the racist attacks. Labor/black actions can stop racist terror on the streets and teach the cops some respect. The truth is that *none* of the Democrats are fighting for blacks, neither the virulent racists like Koch nor the black elected officials. The bankers and the bosses are willing to let this city go to hell on wheels. Only an integrated revolutionary party of black and white workers fighting for a socialist revolution can save New York from racist capitalist rot. ■

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will rip the factories out of the hands of the people who bring us only war and unemployment and race-terror. So, enough already. We need a socialist revolution so a black man can go out and buy a bagel on the streets of Brooklyn."

Ed Kartsen told *WV* that transit militants succeeded in making the need for union action to stop racist attacks a hot issue in the TWU. Mike Scott, a supporter of the Communist Party's *Daily World* and chairman of the United Motormen's Division of Local 100, reportedly refused to endorse. But the anger of black workers forced even "dissident" Arnold Cherry to give paper support to the action. Cherry had redbaited Kartsen and other militants who first proposed a union mobilization right after Willie Turks was killed. Cherry claimed they were just "using the death of a fellow transit worker for their own purposes." Cherry's own "proposal" at the time was to push for transit workers to go to a pro-Democratic Party lobbying "rally for jobs" in Albany sponsored by the AFL-CIO tops!

Cherry's opposition to union action flows from his policies of relying on the courts and the Democrats. Because Lawe and Cherry blocked any union action, anti-union demagogues like NBUF's Rev. Daughtry stepped in to use the lynch mob killing for their own pro-Democratic Party purposes. Daughtry cynically used the blacks from the Gravesend Marlboro housing projects to stage a march last summer into the racists' stronghold calling for more police protection. Yet the racist cops did nothing to rescue Willie Turks from the vicious mob on Avenue X! Daughtry's small, isolated march totally divorced from the labor movement was a display of weakness which could only serve to provoke more racist violence. What is needed instead is a massive, integrated show of force—thousands of TWU union brothers and sisters patrolling the area on flatbed trucks to put a stop to this racist crap.

Also notably absent at the rally was the Socialist Workers Party (SWP)-supported Committee for Justice. Kartsen told *WV* that when SWP supporters were asked to support the demonstration they argued nothing could be done about the Turks case now. As for the Committee for Justice, it's defunct. The "peaceful legal" reformists of the SWP have a long history of telling black people to rely on the racist bourgeois state to defend them. In Boston back in 1974-75 the SWP called for federal troops to protect black school children when racist mobs took to the streets to defeat busing. These phony socialists also think race genocide is debatable. SWP supporter Mark Friedman, who is a member of TWU Local 100, even debated a Klansman on TV! Maybe they're waiting for a chance to debate Bova and Mormando out in Gravesend?

The mobilization of integrated union power is what is necessary to stop lynch mob terror in the streets. This demonstration was an important development toward that end. As the rally drew to a close, Ed Kartsen told the workers:

> "Right here we have the beginning of a core of people to make a class-struggle fight to stop the racist murderers—a fight in this union to utilize our class power. We run this city... they couldn't run it without us! And we have the power to bring it to a stop if they don't stop this racist murder! We've got to go back to our locals and fight for a class-struggle program, for a class-struggle leadership.... John Lawe, the leadership that refused to fight, they'll have to step aside... because we're going to put them aside. They're telling us to rely on the Democrats. The Democrats never do anything. Even the black Democrats haven't been doing anything. What we need is to mobilize our own forces for our own political party based on militant union action to put a stop to all acts of racist terror.... This is the beginning of the effort to stop any more Jesse Coles, any more Willie Turks." ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Court Lets Off Another Lynch Mob Murderer

NYC Transit Workers Demand: Vengeance for Willie Turks!

One hundred transit workers and supporters rallied at the Brooklyn Supreme Court on July 20 to express their outrage at the racist acquittal of Paul Mormando, one of the leaders of the lynch moh that murdered black transit worker Willie Turks. The militant, integrated demonstration called by members of Local 100 of the Transport Workers Union (TWU)—the strategic intersection of labor and blacks in New York City—was an important first step in mobilizing the kind of union action necessary to keep this town safe from the racist vigilantes. "Lynch mob murder—never again! For union squads to clean up Gravesend," chanted the pickets. "Courts won't give us satisfaction! What we need is union action! Sweep the racists off the streets!" The demonstration came in the wake of the sham police brutality hearing as well, and exemplified the strategic role the TWU can and must play in a class-struggle fight to save New York.

Brooklyn Supreme Court, July 20—Transit workers demend union action to stop lynch mob ettecks.

It was Mormando who pulled Willie Turks from the car on 22 June 1982, in the Gravesend section of Brooklyn, only a few hundred feet from the Coney Island transit shop where he worked, tackled him as he tried to run for his life, and held him while Gino Bova bashed his brains out. Two co-workers, Dennis Dixon and Donald Cooper, were beaten bloody. Yet Mormando got off on misdemeanor charges! The maximum time he will serve is six months—and the judge has the power to let him off scot free! This after Gino Bova got five years in the pen, a slap on the wrist, though even the judge who sentenced him admitted: "There was a lynch mob on Avenue X that night. The only thing missing was a rope and a tree. Gino Bova supplied that when he hit Turks over the head."

The courts have treated these racist punks with kid gloves and given them a legal license to kill and kill again. Mormando got up and lied through his teeth on the witness stand, directly contradicting his own statements made the day after the killing, which were played on videotape during the trial. And still the jury refused to convict him of any felony charge! In this so-called justice system, a racist punk's lies are worth more than a black man's life!

The demonstration drew a broad section of militant TWU members, including many motormen and conductors. The main banner for the rally expressed the anger and determination of everyone who came out, "Vengeance for William Turks! For TWU Action to Smash Gravesend Racist Lynch Mob Terror!" Other placards and chants included, "For Free, Safe Mass Transit—Tear Out the Turnstiles!"

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Angry Black Citizenry Chase Out Racist Koch

Cop Brutality Hearings Explode in Harlem

The black Democrats meant it to be a sedate forum against NYC mayor Ed Koch. But things got out of hand when over a thousand blacks justly outraged at the degrading racist harassment and abuse they suffer on a daily basis at the hands of Koch's cossacks turned up to tell their story. The July 18 Congressional hearings on police brutality in New York City exploded as hundreds of angry blacks were locked out of this so-called public meeting in the Harlem State Office Building. Just as the proceedings got underway, a group of outraged women burst into the jam-packed room. "They killed my son! Eight bullets! They killed my son!" wailed Shirley Roper. "This a sham! They're keeping people out—the main

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Racist mayor Koch flees into police limousine, but Harlem residents give "hizzoner" a send-off. DeLucia/NY Times

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

WV Photo

Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982—5,000 jubilant demonstrators charge up Capitol Hill after Labor/Black Mobilization stops Klan march.

Labor, Blacks: Don't Crawl for the Democrats!

Malcolm X blasted the 1963 March on Washington, calling it the "Farce on Washington." But he wasn't laughing as he lashed out against M.L. King & Co. who were sinking the black struggle in the cesspool of the Democratic Party. Malcolm X was burning mad because he knew it was going to take a revolution to win black freedom in America. And the 1963 march, like its pale reflection on August 27, was organized *against* militant black struggle.

But if the first march on Washington was a farce because it undercut black militancy, this time around it's tragedy for black America. Now a generation later hundreds of thousands will once again stand with locked arms singing, "We Shall Overcome" and the "Star Spangled Banner." Once again the words of Martin Luther King will be heard: "I have a dream." Now they say, "We *still* have a dream."

To the jobless, angry and hungry black people of this country, the march organizers say: "Let 'em eat dreams." And what is their lousy dream when you strip away the preachy milk-and-honey rhetoric? They dream of putting a Democrat in the White House. That's all. This march isn't about jobs, nor freedom, nor peace. And it's certainly not about a new civil rights movement. *They aren't even making promises this time.* "Still have a dream?" How about a job? A school lunch? A decent education? These necessities of life are presented as a dream for blacks.

Thanks to the black misleaders, unlike the 1963 March on Washington, today there isn't even any struggle to sell out. On the contrary, both Democrats and Republicans have been steadily dismantling even the token gains of the civil rights movement. And the people on the podium August 27 certainly aren't going to do anything to stop this. The 1983 march is for nothing but the Democrats. That's why it's supported by the bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO and the Cold Warhorses of the ADA. Similarly the Labor Day marches planned by the giveback bureaucrats in fifty cities are also crawls for the Democratic so-called "friends of labor."

The Democrats are trying to put together a combination for an electoral victory in '84. That is the content of the march slogan for a "new coalition of conscience." This coalition is not new, nor is it one of conscience. It is an attempt to repair the tattered old Roosevelt coalition which flopped so miserably at the polls after four years of Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale. It is this coalition which ties the working class and oppressed minorities to its sworn enemies through the treachery of the labor tops and black politicos. The Democratic Party, which black people vote for in overwhelming percentages, is at bottom the party of a necessarily racist capitalism, the party of George Wallace, the Dixiecrats and even some open KKKers like California's Tom Metzger.

The reformist left is most anxious to build the anti-Reagan popular front for the Democrats. This is a strategy of defeat. Indeed the August 27 march is a *celebration* of defeat. No wonder the Reagan White House, too, wants to get in on the act of celebrating black defeats by making Martin Luther King's birthday a national holiday. But another Democrat in the White House is no way to fight racist reaction. The party of Carter/Mondale is no less committed than the Republicans to U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive paid for by attacks against working people, the poor and minorities at home. We say: Break with the Democrats! Bring down Reagan with labor/black action!

That blacks want to struggle was shown in Washington, D.C. last November 27 when 5,000 responded to the call of the Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization and stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in the nation's capital. This direct blow against growing racist terror was hailed by decent people everywhere who knew that if the Klan had been able to stage their provocation in Washington it would have meant more black families' homes firebombed, more burning crosses. But it was the kind of demonstration which scares the hell out of Democratic liberals. It was masses of blacks mobilized in struggle, led by socialists and backed up by an important segment of the labor movement. And it worked.

Not only did that demonstration stop the Klan in its tracks but it took the very Klan route to the White House for an anti-Klan victory march. On November 27 Washington was not a Klan town, it belonged to blacks and labor and those who hailed that demonstration. What stopped the Klan that day and gave the participants in the Labor/Black Mobili-

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The March on Washington That Wasn't

SEE PAGE 7

Malcolm X on '63 "Farce on Washington"

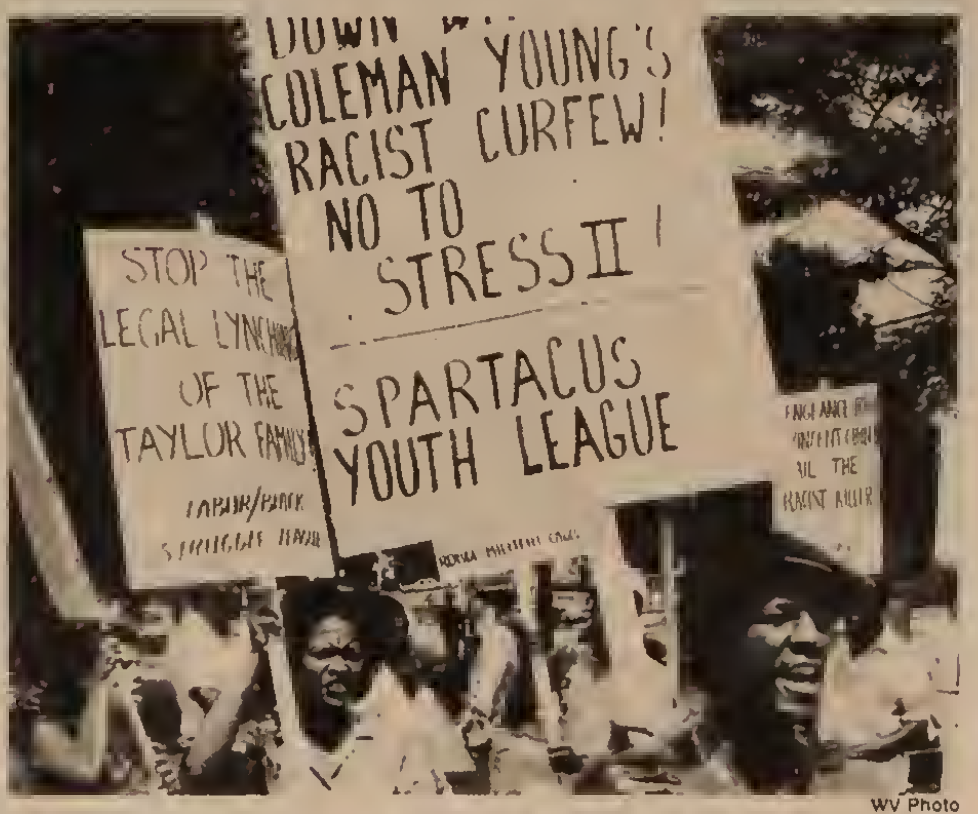
SEE PAGE 8

SYL, Labor/Black League Protest Coleman Young's Racist Curfew

DETROIT—"The RenCen should he ours, but it's Coleman Young's showpiece. We say, turn it into a 24-hour youth center with swimming pools and free video games!... STRESS killed 16 blacks—Join us and beat STRESS II back!" said Charles DuBois, member of the Rouge Militant Caucus of UAW Local 600. A half-dozen River Rouge auto workers had come out to an August 3 demonstration at Wayne State University, called by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) and Labor/Black Struggle League (LBSL), to protest Democratic mayor Coleman Young's racist curfew. WWJ, Detroit's all-news station, carried coverage of the demonstration.

Young's curfew scapegoats Detroit's black youth for the capitalist crisis which has created a permanent pool of 70 percent minority teenage unemployed. The curfew was welcomed by the racist cops who will use it as a license for police harassment, intimidation and murder. The police refer to it as STRESS II, "Shop the RenCen, Enjoy Safe Stores," in remembrance of STRESS I, the notorious unit of police killers that routinely gunned down black youth in the early 1970s.

"This racist curfew sucks, it makes us sitting ducks" was a popular chant of the two dozen demonstrators who rallied across from WSU's MacKenzie Hall. An LBSL sign proclaimed, "Stop the Legal Lynching of the Taylor Family!" This referred to the victimization of Michigan black workers who defended themselves against a racist cop attack on a family gathering in mourning for a deceased relative in Montgomery, Alabama last spring. "Sitdowns Not Souplines—Fight for Your Jobs," read a Rouge Militant Caucus sign as Ford's steel division is facing massive layoffs and concessions. An SYL sign, "Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive Is Killing Blacks and Labor in America" linked the wave of union-busting, cutbacks and racist terror in the U.S. to the government's "rollback" foreign policy.



WV Photo

Detroit, August 3—Ford Rouge workars join protest called by SYL and Labor/Black Struggle League at Wayne State Univarsity.

The anti-curfew demonstration met with considerable polarization among Detroit's workers and students, as black mayor Coleman Young plays on the largely black working class' genuine fear of violence and crime to whip up support for his ominous "emergency measures." No doubt in this city where cashiers are enclosed in bullet-proof plexiglass many workers hold illusions that the curfew might just stop some crime. But the real causes of crime lie in the racist American capitalist system of production for profit, where life is cheap and the lives of black people are even cheaper. The fight against the curfew was a felt issue among black youth, many of whom took stacks of leaflets to pass out to friends at the local high schools. And the Rouge workers who came out to the demonstration understood the need for a class-struggle program to fight unemployment, and to dump the labor traitors.

Coleman Young had announced the campaign to enforce the curfew and closed the capitalist showpiece Renaissance Center to black youth in late June, the same week the Democratic National Committee was in town. In 1980 Young broke the AFSCME sanitation workers' strike to host the Republican Convention under the slogan, "Detroit Loves a Good Party." Breaking black workers' strikes, keeping the "lid" on the ghetto—this is how the black mayors front for their white capitalist masters. Young was first elected in large part due to black anger over STRESS I. Now he implements STRESS II!

The popular front means that blacks and working people must eat it—anything not to disrupt the anti-Reagan Democratic Party coalition. Chuck Fogel, editor of the Wayne State paper *The South End*, said the curfew would "create a better business community" by keeping youth out of downtown! The Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) argue that it's "not a burning issue." The DSA are the pro-imperialist

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Protest Police Gangland-Style Murder of Michael Woods

Jail Racist Cleveland Killer Cops!

CLEVELAND—On July 23 about 50 angry Clevelanders gathered at the downtown Justice Center to show support for the family of Michael Woods, an unemployed black worker wantonly murdered by racist killer cop Joseph Paskvan exactly one year ago to the day. Called by Lucius Woods, the father of the murdered victim, the demonstration focused attention on the vicious racist brutality of Cleveland cops and supported a court suit filed by the Woods family seeking damages against the cops and the city.

Paskvan, a notorious racist-in-blue with a history of atrocities against blacks, boasts of killing dozens of Vietnamese. He was subsequently cleared of murdering Michael Woods by a closed-door grand jury and a mayoral committee. But numerous eyewitnesses to the scene last year portrayed the situation as calculated murder. The 24-year-old Woods was on his way to get a birthday cake for his one-year-old son when he was shot by the gun-waving off-duty cop who reportedly refused to allow him medical attention immediately after the incident.

The Spartacist League mobilized the largest contingent at today's noon-time rally. SL members and supporters initiated a spirited and militant picket line which was joined by the Woods family, friends and supporters. The Spartacist contingent chanted, "Vengeance for Michael Woods! Jail Killer Paskvan!" and "Gun Control Kills Blacks—Disarm the Cops!" SL signs called for "Millions in Compensation to the Woods Family—Cops Must Pay!" and warned "Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive Means Racist Terror at Home."

The media did its best to redhait the protest. A local radio journalist even tried to get Mr. Woods to disassociate himself from radicals..."who have not had a whole lot to do with your cause." But Woods honorably refused: "People in Cleveland know what happened. But they're afraid to take a stand. You know, police retribution is pretty rough. So I guess that these people," he said, referring to the demonstrators, "are not afraid, and I appreciate their effort."

WV Photo

Cleveland, July 23—Spartacist contingent demands "vengeance for Michael Woods" at Justice Center protest.

The local fake-lefts refused to mobilize or effectively participate in this demonstration. People United Against Repression, a liberal coalition run by the local supporters of black nationalist Imamu Baraka, set up a small, silent vigil 100 feet away from the chanting protesters. A few cowardly ISOers refused numerous invitations to participate in the picket line. Rather than being even remotely associated with revolutionary politics, they finally went off to stand silently with the PUAR on the sidelines. Some RCPers literally sat on the fence, taking no part in the demonstration at all. A token couple of SWPers appeared briefly, only to collect signatures for their reformist electioneering.

The first anniversary of Woods' death takes place in the city recently judged second only to Chicago in the degree of its segregation. It will take the mobilization of the powerful integrated workers movement to unlock the social power to smash racist brutality once and for all. Vengeance for Michael Woods! Jail Killer Cops! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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EDITOR Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER Linda Jarreau

EDITORIAL BOARD Charles Burroughs, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Mary Jo McAllister, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Marjorie Stamberg

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Occupy Phone Installations to Win!

Victory to Phone Workers Strike!

AUGUST 8—Some 700,000 phone workers in three unions are out on their first national strike in years. This strike is effectively a lockout, provoked by an arrogant phone monopoly intent on imposing a massive defeat on the unions, particularly the Communications Workers of America (CWA). The bosses want to soften up the unions in preparation for a government-mandated reorganization, under which AT&T plans on not only eliminating the jobs of tens of thousands, of phone workers but on setting up the CWA to be dismembered.

Phone workers know their jobs and future are at stake. Pickets outside an AT&T building in New York chanted, "What do we want? Job security!" In Brooklyn a couple of cops who tried to aid scabs were taught a lesson by several hundred rallying strikers. Phone trunk lines were slashed in Miami and in several locations delivery trucks were turned away by pickets. But everywhere the lack of strike preparation was evident, and frequently union leaders sought to quell militancy. In Chicago, officials were booed when they told hundreds of strikers that henceforth only skeleton picket lines were necessary. And in one Bay Area location, officials ordered strikers to cease their attempts to stop scab trucks from leaving a splicing garage.

The CWA leaders, headed by Glenn Watts, have told phone workers for years that strikes aren't necessary and thereby permitted the company to go on the offensive. Now it's up to the phone workers. No confidence in the union bureaucracy! What's needed to stop AT&T is exemplary militancy and steadfastness.

Already the bosses have taken an ax to the workforce. Thousands of phone workers have already been subjected to forced downgrades, transfers and layoffs. The bosses are right now reassigning workers to different work locations, often hundreds of miles away, and in many cases without regard to seniority.

This is a set-up for next January, when AT&T will be split into several subsidiaries and "independent" regional operating companies. As part of this operation, the bosses want to smash any semblance of uniform national wages and benefits. Backed up by the courts, AT&T has already gotten the go-ahead to establish separate pension plans for the new companies: a worker transferred from one part of the country to another would lose his pension. Phone workers don't know what company they'll be working for in January—if they have a job at all—or even whether they'll have a union contract! Management is bitterly contesting recognition of the CWA at the newly formed AT&T Information Systems, and union militants say that the bosses want to eliminate the union *entirely* from this workforce.

The Watts gang never wanted this strike, and now they've left angry and frustrated phone workers out in the cold without a program to win it. You don't win a strike by letting management and scabbing phone workers cross picket lines with impunity. In the highly automated Bell System, the bosses can keep essential phone service running with minimum disruptions. But there is a way to win—lock the bosses out!

The kind of class-struggle tactics needed to win were demonstrated by 11,000 phone workers of the Telecommunications Workers Union (TWU) in British Columbia (Canada) who struck in February 1981. After going without a contract for 14 months the ranks finally blew up. But they didn't leave their buildings: they *occupied* every major BC Tel installation in the province around the clock! For five days they held the company's precious private property, while BC Tel shrieked helplessly and ran to the courts for protection. Subsequently the TWU tops caved in to the court injunction, but a class-struggle leadership could have pushed the strike forward into a giant victory for labor.

WV Photo

New York Tel headquarters, midnight, August 7: Workers want to fight. They need a strategy to win.

What's needed here now is hundreds of thousands of phone workers occupying the buildings, rallying behind them millions of other trade unionists and the poor. With a flick of the switch, phone workers could win millions of allies among working people by providing free phone service and thus striking a much-needed blow against the arrogant, parasitic and widely hated phone bosses.

You don't go after the bosses' communications system lightly. Striking a blow at phone means an immediate confrontation with the capitalist state. But there are millions of working people who hate AT&T and Reagan. This national strike by the CWA, even though forced on the union by the company, still *can* potentially turn into a powerful strike movement if the rest of the labor movement can be brought in behind it.

What's going on here is an attempt by the richest and greediest corporation in the U.S. to crack another union and give the whole labor movement a humiliating defeat. So it's in the interests of the entire workers movement, including especially its more historically militant sectors—many of whom have at least a tradition of actually *fighting* on picket lines, in mass strikes, to defend the workers' interests—to get behind this strike.

Phone workers need to forge links with auto workers, transit workers, steel workers, Teamsters, with the unemployed and blacks, with all victims of this decaying capitalist order! We need *strike action* to bring down Reagan and the bosses who maintain this rotting society! Fight for a sliding scale of wages and hours for all: full cost-of-living protection, jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay! This kind of fight is desperately necessary, and sharply poses a political break with the whole capitalist order, the need to build a workers party to fight for a workers government.

It's clear enough that phone workers need to fight to defend their interests. But Watts has been saying and doing the opposite right up to the strike. A decent leadership would have mobilized phone workers against the company years ago. At the national convention only two months ago, which was mainly a platform for presidential hopefuls from the racist, anti-labor Democratic Party, the CWA International *reduced* the strike fund. Watts even declared to the delegates, "AT&T Chairman Charles Brown recently predicted a bright future for the new Bell System, and that's good enough for us," and then boasted that a workable contract would be negotiated well before the expiration date.

Far from it! When negotiations broke off two days ago the profit-bloated bosses—who raked in over $7 billion last year—"offered" a grand total of a 3.5 percent wage increase over three years to top craft, and *nothing* to lower-paid phone workers, while demanding that phone workers pay 20 percent of their medical insurance. AT&T is demanding elimination of evening and midnight shift differentials, as well as a host of other union givebacks, including downgrading almost half the craft workers to 65 percent of existing top pay!

Watts is now posturing about holding out for a few more pennies, which the richest corporation in the U.S. can easily afford, in order to pave the way for a massive sellout that would give the company a free hand to bust seniority, transfer workers at will and further slash the workforce. The union tops are not even demanding an end to job cuts—only that more "advance notification" be given before layoffs!

The CWA reflects what unrestrained class collaboration leads to. For decades Watts and his predecessor Joe Beirne have run a union that's never broken qualitatively from its company union origins. The CWA has never won a real strike: class-struggle tactics like sit-down strikes and flying picket squads are not even a distant memory. Absent are elementary trade-union gains like a union shop, under which all workers must join the union. Instead the company runs the shop floor like a plantation. In many locals shop stewards are appointed by and beholden to the craven bureaucracy, rather than the membership. And under the "fact-finding" grievance procedure, stewards don't defend the members but are forced to supply evidence to the bosses to use *against* the workers.

The roots of the CWA bureaucracy's servility to the company lie in its ties to the capitalist state. You can't break the phone bosses unless you're willing to take on the government. And the CWA hacks won't do this because they are loyal lackeys of American imperialism. The CWA withheld its affiliation to the CIO until 1949, when socialists and communists were being expelled from the unions and the bureaucrats were consolidating behind the Cold War. Today the CWA bureaucrats enjoy the dubious distinction of being the foremost supporters and financiers in the labor movement of AIFLD, a CIA front up to its neck in supporting right-wing coups from Brazil to Chile and El Salvador. Watts has been opposing strikes here for years, while supporting Reagan's "company union" Solidarność in Poland.

Like the rest of the anti-Soviet AFL-CIO bureaucrats, the Watts gang wants no part in any action that challenges the normal functioning of the capitalist order. The labor fakers criminally allowed PATCO to be blown away by refusing to back up the striking air controllers and shutting down the airports—because they didn't want a real struggle against Reagan's government. That defeat gave a green light for AT&T and every other boss to attack the unions.

Striking phone militants determined to defend their union know that the

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Thought Cops in Barnestown

OBERLIN, Ohio—Call it the "convention that wasn't." As readers of our last issue of *WV* already know, July 30-August 6 was the annual national gathering held in this college town of the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of Jack Barnes. Some 1,000 SWP supporters attended.

Barnes the bureaucrat—having manifestly failed to reestablish tight control of his SWP by increasingly draconian purges and gross intimidation tactics against minorityites—had cancelled the SWP's scheduled national convention and replaced it with a tepid "educational" gathering. Barnes seems to think that if he pretends to ignore an internal factional polarization (which threatens a big split sooner rather than later), it will ignore him. Indeed, in the introduction to Barnes' Saturday night speech, Pat Grogan referred to the organization as "homogeneous"!

Barnes' idea of "education" was offerings like these:

- "Home and Hearth: Should Workers Own Their Own Homes?"
- "Key Questions in Developing a Proletarian Program for Farmers in the U.S."
- "Report from the July 1983 Founding Convention of the Minnesota State Organization"—billed as "Strengthening the Revolutionary Party in the Upper Midwest" (read: smashing the Twin Cities branch minority, rumored to have reached 50 percent).

Thanks to the Spartacist sales team that went to Oberlin (and to the people who give us SWP documents like "the Dianne Feeley letter" which Barnes has tried to suppress from his members), the Oberlin farce had some educational value for some of its participants. Our idea of education was the tongue-in-cheek "questionnaire" reprinted below, and the article on the shrinking SWP of eccentric social-democrats in the last issue of *WV* ("Final Solution in Barnestown," *WV* No. 335, 29 July).

The Barnes machine, of course, outdid itself this year in attempting to prevent access to Spartacist literature by surrounding SWP members with goons to seek to intimidate *WV* sellers and SWP potential readers. On the opening day of the conference, they even took a line of six Barnesite "watchers" off campus and set up in front of the bookstore in downtown Oberlin, where *WV* was on sale. (We soon persuaded the bookstore manager to put our papers back on sale and the SWP pulled its "watchers" back to campus before we could get a photograph of the spectacle.)

At various concentration points on campus, "mass mobilizations" of SWP goons maintained a vigil rain or shine. Nonetheless, we were able to sell 72 copies directly to conference participants; another 30 were sold in the stores and shops of Oberlin. And other SWPers apparently obtained copies in other ways: an additional 20 copies "vanished" from the campus restaurant and from a bakery. On the first day of the conference, we were rather surprised to find the SWP goon squad engrossed in Spartacist literature.

Most SWPers remained too cowed to openly buy a *WV* but most eagerly snapped up copies of the "questionnaire." "It's vicious, but very, very funny," one SWPer was overheard telling another. We suppose the denizens of Barnestown can use a few laughs these days. The popularity of this scathing leaflet (about 750 copies were distributed) testifies to the high level of cynicism among SWPers, of course. But it also bespeaks some de-zombification of the SWP ranks under the heat of the factional struggle that Barnes isn't talking about. In rare cases SWPers even protested being harassed by their goon squad: "I'm not afraid of that paper," one older participant declared; from another, "Leave me alone—I'm just buying a paper."

Inside, as well as stonewalling on the internal crisis, Barnesite hacks utilized the non-convention to bait their critics and hard line it on the "turn to industry," "centralization" and the prospects for a "new International" (not accidentally the name of the SWP's new theoretical journal—which has finally published Jack Barnes' January public speech formally denouncing Trotskyism). Thus, Malik Miah's presentation stressed the "lessons" of the Communist International: "the need for a strong party apparatus." Of particular concern to Miah is the "district structures" and "state structures" being instituted in the organization. Supposedly, these bodies are essential to "centralize" industrial implantations; in reality they are another effort to retake control of dissident locals. Meanwhile long-time Barnes hacks continue dropping out (or going over to the other side?)—Dick (a.k.a. Catarino) Garza is reportedly one such new casualty.

Barry Sheppard's presentation—devoted to applauding the SWP's discovery of the labor movement a decade after every other left organization established union implantations—added a little "historical" perspective of a piece with Barnes' denunciation of Trotsky as an ultraleft. It seems that the SWP survived a "semi-sectarian" period from 1947-1978! Assailing critics of Barnesite union work, Sheppard declared that they had been accused of being "revolutionary grasshoppers" but it's "better to be a revolutionary grasshopper than a lethargic counterrevolutionary slug." At least New York City transit workers can heave a sigh of relief over the apparent imminent departure of one Mark ("I debated Klansman Tom Metzger") Friedman from their union. It's likely that other SWP supporters will follow.

Even in the stultifying atmosphere of

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Questionnaire for Participants of the 1983 SWP Non-Convention

1. Why is the SWP not having a convention this year?
   A. Don't know
   B. Don't care
   C. Huge faction fight raging in the party
   D. What's a convention?
   E. Can't answer; don't want to be expelled

2. Why does the SWP claim that Hedda Garza was testifying for the FBI during the "Watersuit" trial?
   A. Because the government attorney for the FBI said so and government attorneys never lie
   B. Because the *Militant* said so and the *Militant* never lies
   C. Because Hedda Garza was in the Internationalist Tendency
   D. Can't answer; don't want to be expelled

3. What was the most surprising outcome of the May 1983 NC plenum?
   A. The decision to cancel the convention
   B. The suppression of information from the membership of the plenum's proceedings
   C. The minorities may have formed a joint Oppositional Bloc
   D. The minority Oppositional Bloc was not expelled on the spot

4. Grounds for expulsion from the SWP include:
   A. Being older than Jack Barnes and having political differences
   B. Being older than Jack Barnes
   C. Having political differences
   D. Talking to YSAers
   E. Talking in your sleep
   F. Writing poetry
   G. Reading the Dianne Feeley letter before turning it in
   H. Trotskyism
   I. All of the above

5. Grounds for expulsion from the SWP *don't* include:
   A. "Talking socialism" as white new hires in the Alabama coal mines until racists started firebombing black miners' cars
   B. Getting some gusano vigilantes to get you a gun after the 1981 Miami racial violence
   C. Fingering "ultraleftists" to the Nicaraguan government
   D. Linking arms with the Marcyite goon squad and/or calling in the cops to seal off the Sparts' "military victory" and USSR/Cuba-defensist slogans
   E. Crossing picket lines
   F. Defending the KKK's "right" to a platform for genocide
   G. Marching with "captive nations"-style reactionaries for "Free Trade Unions" in Poland
   H. All of the above

6. What is the largest mass movement associated with the SWP?
   A. An "international" of 1) Fidel Castro; 2) Lech Walesa; 3) any wing of the FDR/FMLN; 4) the Ayatollah Khomeini
   B. Ed Sadlowski
   C. Those who have or are about to quit
   D. Can't answer; don't want to be expelled

7. What will be the price of the next SWP Internal Information Bulletin?
   A. $8.99
   B. $99.99
   C. Not available at any price

8. How can the SWP improve its financial situation?
   A. Stop turning down those million-dollar bribes
   B. Keep Frank Lovell off the N.O. xerox machine
   C. Raise the issue price of the *Militant* to $8.99
   D. More implantation into garment
   E. Stop publishing Trotsky's "ultraleft" books on the Permanent Revolution

9. Areas of agreement between the SWP and Fidel Castro include:
   A. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan
   B. The crushing of Solidarność' counterrevolution
   C. Support to SP-led raids on CP offices in Portugal, 1975
   D. Whether the Angolan FNLA was progressive against the MPLA in 1975
   E. Can't answer; never could figure it out

10. Where can SWP members find out what really goes on in Barnestown?
    A. *Workers Vanguard*
    B. *Young Spartacus*
    C. Minority caucus meetings
    D. Wherever ex-members congregate
    E. Wish I knew...

11. When will the next SWP convention be held?
    A. 1984
    B. After the "World Congress" of the "United Secretariat"
    C. After the minority is expelled
    D. Never again (you lucky Sparts)
    E. Only Allah knows

12. Who will be *your* next national secretary?
    A. No one ever but Jack Barnes
    B. Michael Harrington
    C. "Pedro" Camejo
    D. Larry Seigle
    E. Quasimodo
    F. Can't answer; don't want to be expelled (see A)

13. Who is the most boring "leader" of the SWP?
    A. Doug Jenness
    B. Doug Jenness
    C. Doug Jenness
    D. Larry Seigle
    E. Only A-C
    F. All of the above

14. Memorable *Militant* headlines I will always cherish include:
    A. "U.S. Aid to Nicargagua [sic]!"
    B. "Victory in Iran!"
    C. "Where CIA Agents Go Wrong on Poland"
    D. "Mark Friedman Debates Dem Klandidate"
    E. "The Truth About Afghanistan" followed by "Correcting the Truth About Afghanistan"
    F. Don't know; the only thing I ever read is Harry Ring's column

15. The life of an SWP oppositionist is:
    A. Nasty
    B. Brutish
    C. Short
    D. All of the above
    E. There are no oppositionists in the SWP—just loyal members (and ex-members...)

16. Why did the SWP refuse to publicize the Gelfand case for so long?
    A. Because it wasn't important
    B. Because the SWP leadership didn't want to assist the SL in defending the workers movement against this attack
    C. Because the SWP leadership is really stupid

17. Tom Kerry died:
    A. Loving the SWP
    B. Cursing the SWP
    C. Conveniently
    D. Tom who?

18. Why does the SL want to file an amicus brief on behalf of the majority in the case of Asher Harer?*

*Special bonus question—you get a free sub to *Workers Vanguard*.

Let Victims' Families Pass Judgement

Richmond's Racist "Cowboy" Cops

OAKLAND—The Richmond, California cops just might be the most brutal, racist gang of murdering mad dogs in America. And that is quite a badge to wear in this racist country where cop terror is a daily fact of life and death on ghetto streets.

For its size, about 75,000, Richmond has more serious brutality cases than any police department in the country. And it's getting too expensive and too public even for local ruling circles which regularly look the other way when, for instance, an Orange County cop guns down a five-year-old black child, Patrick Mason, while he is at home alone watching TV. The flaunting of systematic racist cop brutality in Richmond has stirred up even the pro-cop courts and press.

In the largest "wrongful death" verdict in U.S. history, a federal jury in early June awarded $3 million to the families of two slain victims of the Richmond cops' racist street "justice": Johnny Roman and Michael Guillory, both black, both shot down in their own bedrooms in separate incidents in 1980 and 1982. The cops falsely and routinely claimed in each case that their victims had guns. In the case of Guillory, the trial showed that the "handgun" was a small packet of marijuana. It was clear that Roman and Guillory were shot down because they were black. As the foreman of the jury put it, "two white boys...would not (have been) shot in their bedrooms" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 4 June).

Roman and Guillory were two of six blacks to be killed by the Richmond cops in the past two-and-a-half years. One of these, Willie Lee Drumgoole, was strangled to death in jail. Another man was shot on his front porch. No criminal

WV Photo

When militent longshoremen detied court injunction in June 27 port shutdown, Richmond cops mede themselves scerce.

charges have ever been brought against the Richmond killer cops. And the verdict in the Roman/Guillory case is now under appeal.

It is the wide open display of racist violence and police-state defiance which has caught the jaundiced eye of important sectors of the capitalist class. They prefer their killer cops to operate with some cover and connection to civilian authority. And when a few do get exposed, they like to be able to claim it is only some "bad apples." But not in Richmond. Here a whole section of the police department, dubbed the "Cowboys," dresses up in the costumes of post-Civil War Klan-type raiders and gets photographed waving the Confederate flag of slavery. Supported by the entire Richmond police department, these self-consciously organized racist vigilantes with badges take their western boots and gold jewelry in the shape of pigs, their police dogs with names like "Rommel" which respond only to commands in German, and drawn guns to hunt down Richmond's black citizens.

SF Examiner

Richmond's "cowboy" cops, a recist bend ot kill-crazy nightriders with bedges, pose with Confederete flag ot slavery.

The Richmond "cowboy" police department has even managed to provoke a damning exposé by the notoriously right-wing labor-hating cop-loving Hearst paper, the *San Francisco Examiner*. Two weeks after the record $3 million verdict in the Roman/Guillory trial, the *Examiner* (beginning June 19) ran a series of articles on the Richmond cops titled, "With the Authority of Law—Police Violence in Richmond." The series presented a hair-raising picture of the Richmond cops as an outfit just short of Nazi stormtroopers and Klan nightriders. The articles presented a mountain of statistics: you are 90 times more likely to be bitten by a police dog in Richmond than in San Francisco, Richmond jails one-tenth of its population as "suspects" every year, there are five times as many police brutality complaints per 100,000 population against the cops in Richmond than against the infamous LAPD, 10 times more than NYC. While the cases that are taken to court can only be a slight reflection of the actual cop violence inflicted on the Richmond population, nevertheless over the past 15 years the city and its insurance companies have been forced to pay $2 million in 127 police brutality cases.

It is not in the avalanche of statistics, however, but in the piling up of firsthand accounts by the victims of Richmond cop attacks that the *Examiner* article captures the real stench of this outfit. The stories almost always end with the price of the settlement of a police brutality lawsuit: cops injure the back of a 50-year-old disabled grandmother when they come to arrest her son—settlement, $7,500. A striking Chevron worker on picket duty has his head split open by one of the "Cowboys"—$1,200. A warehouseman eating his lunch is attacked by cops who notice his car lacked a front license plate: 12 stitches in the head and an eye injury—$6,822. And so it goes totaling the dollar cost effectiveness against great and often tragic injury. The victims of the Richmond cops' brutality deserve every cent they can get. But the millions of dollars can not begin to compensate Richmond residents for the cops' reign of death and racist terror.

While blacks are the main targets of "cowboy" lynch law and make up 70 percent of the arrests in this half-black city, even those deemed "unlikely suspects" by the *Examiner* are likely to be beaten to a pulp. Last year 50 people were beaten and mauled by the Richmond cops' German shepherds, which are used on even minor traffic "investigations" or to clear out noisy parties and crowds at sporting events. Bystanders like 18-year-old Robert Fowler are often the victims. Fowler was leaving a football stadium when a fight broke out which he watched from the sidelines. "Rommel" was used by the cops to clear the crowd and the dog attacked the young man, biting his face and legs and crotch. Fowler was arrested but later found "not guilty" of "assaulting a police dog." The city paid $3,000 in the lawsuit.

On a summer evening in 1980 the "cowboy" cops beseiged the home of Roman Ortega where they claim a "noisy party" was taking place. With snarling police dogs and swinging batons the cops waded into the party. They sent 10 people to the hospital and three were bitten by the dogs. Ortega, a 23-year-old paraplegic was dumped from his wheelchair and repeatedly beaten on the legs. Later one of the mad-dog cops defended the attack saying that "a paraplegic sitting in a wheel chair can still grab you...and try to get your gun." Ortega's police brutality lawsuit is still pending.

"I don't care what you do so long as they go to jail and they're bleeding" was the instruction to the cops quoted in the *Examiner*. And that is one order the Richmond police obey with sadistic enthusiasm. A fourteen-year-old pom-pom girl was sprayed in the eyes with mace when she asked a cop patrolling the Richmond High School if she could get into her own school locker. Years later she still must wear dark glasses. She only got $300. The Richmond cops even clubbed the city's Human Relations Officer, Joseph Battle, Jr., last year when they claimed Battle was driving recklessly. They stormed into his house and also arrested and handcuffed his wife. Battle, whose job it is to flack for the brutality complaints, said "I found some of the incidents incredible—until it happened to me" (*Examiner*, 19 June).

The Klan and the "Cowboys"

Richmond is Klan-infested and Klan violence is increasing. Since 1981 an active Klan chapter has recruited at Richmond High School. Black residents in Richmond and nearby communities in Contra Costa county have been shot at and firebombed and a number have been driven from their homes. The interpenetration of the KKK with the racists-in-blue has been widely observed. But a tightly-knit gang of Richmond cops has singled itself out as "the Cowboys."

The *Examiner* series was useful in providing a thumbnail sketch of some of the "cowboy" criminals, identifying them by name and badge number. For instance there is Clinton Mitchell who was one of the cops who shot Johnny Roman. Mitchell is nicknamed "Mad Dog." After many complaints of brutality he was sent for special "retraining" in 1980. After "retraining," more than a dozen Richmond residents were named in court as victims of Mitchell's racist terror. One of these victims, Sylvester Williams, recalled the night he and friends were standing around talking in downtown Richmond when Mitchell drove up and said: "I like to see niggers run. Run niggers, run." Mitchell followed Williams home and beat him and his mother. "Mad Dog" Mitchell testified that he "was a little excited." Bleeding, with teeth missing, Williams was arrested. The settlement in court: $6,300. Police Chief Garfield's response to the efforts of Mitchell's retraining? "He's turning out to be a pretty good policeman" (*Examiner*, 20 June).

Gary Dixon is another typical "Cowboy"—a former Green Beret who served twice in Vietnam and once in Central America. Garfield calls him a "bad attitude case." Dixon says openly, "I wish they would have resisted (arrest), just so I could beat the shit out of 'em."

Whether or not the Richmond "Cowboys" are actually Klan members isn't known or admitted. But as their famous self-portrait shows they are living the dream of the KKK. With virtual impunity and with state power they have subjected the black and minority population of Richmond to a reign of racist terror. And they can do it without white hoods. As the lawyer for the Roman family said in a recent lawsuit, "The lynch mob inevitably is worse if those in the crowd wear uniforms and badges." This organized lynch mob of "cowboy" cops has got to go. Let the victims' families pass judgement on this self-identified and "independent" gang of racist marauders!

For Labor/Black Mobilizations Against Racist Violence

Richmond's cops are perhaps the most obvious of the breed, but from Los Angeles to the East Coast, the cops are more boldly and dangerously expressing their self-conscious "independence" from civilian authority. A stunning gesture of cop bonapartism took place in California recently when a sheriff's deputy got shot in the line of duty by a nutty "mountain man" in the hills of Santa Cruz. The nut was shot down. But at the cop's funeral, hundreds of cops came organized from various jurisdictions up and down the California coast in a show of police force.

It is because Richmond is a particularly open and nasty version of what is

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Military Victory to Leftist Rebels—No Negotiated Sellouts!

With the Guerrillas in El Salvador

AUGUST 6—Brinksmanship, gunboat diplomacy, the Big Stick: Ronald Reagan has set off a fireworks display of imperialist domination in Central America. But he's not just "playing with fire" as some liberals charge; he's heading straight for war involving American forces. This prospect has set bourgeois rulers in the region scrambling to negotiate an end to the fighting before it becomes an apocalypse *here*. Worried that direct U.S. intervention could inflame the restive masses, and even more concerned about the powerful effect a victorious social revolution in El Salvador could have on their exploited workers and peasants, the Contadora Group—Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia and Panama—have increased efforts for a negotiated settlement. Imperialist liberals in Washington, who think Reagan's going about the anti-Soviet war drive the wrong way, are also rushing to negotiate. Even the leftist rebels' supposed allies, Castro's Cuba and Sandinista Nicaragua, are pushing talks. If they are successful in negotiating a sellout of the struggle, it will be the workers and peasants of the isthmus who pay in blood the price of a "political solution."

Reagan gloats that the Big Stick policy is paying off. Already in his supposed non-blockade of Nicaragua the U.S. destroyer *McCormick* last weekend challenged the Soviet cargo ship *Ulyanov*, then shadowed it for 24 hours before turning away at Nicaragua's 12-mile limit. In his press conference two weeks ago, Reagan tried to play the peace-monger before the cameras. But he has dispatched two war fleets complete with aircraft carriers and the battleship *New Jersey*'s 16-inch guns, along with an air force of 140 jet fighters and 5,800 ground troops—according to *Philadelphia Inquirer* (31 July) altogether more than 20,000 U.S. military personnel are to be involved in the air-ground-sea maneuvers over the next six months. Make no mistake: the escalating U.S. intervention to annihilate Salvadoran leftist guerrillas, the CIA-sponsored Somozaist counterrevolutionaries and Reagan's dispatch of an armada against Nicaragua are not just pressure tactics. Washington hasn't even demanded that the Sandinistas *do* anything concrete to capitulate. The White House is set on overthrowing the left-nationalist petty-bourgeois regime in Nicaragua, as a prelude to war moves against the Cuban and Soviet bureaucratically deformed/degenerated workers states.

Heroic leftist guerrillas have Reagan's butchers on the run.

On the same weekend of the *Ulyanov* incident, Rubén Zamora, a representative of the Salvadoran opposition Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), met in Bogotá, Colombia with U.S. envoy Richard Stone, former PR man for the genocidal Guatemalan government. Calling the talks the first "small steps" to a "solution" to the civil war, the dissident Christian Democrat Zamora, who was once a U.S. nominee in the Salvadoran junta, as well as the rest of the FDR/FMLN leadership, have long advocated a "negotiated solution" of the heroic struggle of the Salvadoran masses for social liberation. Now Cuba and Nicaragua have renewed their calls for a negotiated settlement in response to Reagan's war preparations. According to the *New York Times* (5 August), "Although Cuban and Nicaraguan leaders in recent days have publicly reiterated their support for the Salvadoran rebels, in private they have told them that urgent negotiations are needed to safeguard the survival of the Sandinista Government and even the safety of Cuba...." This is nationalist treachery, and shortsighted besides, for they are next on Reagan's hit list.

However, for the guerrillas in the field it's a different question. Asked about Nicaraguan junta coordinator Daniel Ortega's July 19 offer to put an end to arms shipments to "either side" in the bitter Salvadoran civil war, a Salvadoran guerrilla leader replied, "This is a heavy meal. It will take a while to digest." Any kind of "power-sharing" agreement that would leave the murderous army intact (not to mention the imperialists' phony baloney about "free elections" at gunpoint) would not only be a betrayal of their fallen comrades, but a death warrant for the combatants and their families. Only the Spartacist tendency calls for a military victory for the leftist insurgents in El Salvador, for building Trotskyist parties on the program of permanent revolution throughout the region, from the unstable dictatorships of South America's Southern Cone and north to Mexico and the imperialist heartland of the United States.

We print below an interview with Swedish journalist Jens Rydström, a correspondent for the Communist party paper *Ny Dag*. Rydström along with another Swedish journalist and an American were in the headlines last February when they disappeared outside Aguilares, El Salvador, later turning up with the rebels at the guerrilla stronghold on Guazapa volcano. His account offers a revealing glimpse into the struggle of the exploited and oppressed of El Salvador.

WV Interview

WV: Guazapa is about 25 kilometers from the capital, and a lot of people fighting there are from the capital.

Rydström: The majority of the fighting forces are peasants from the area, but there are quite a lot of former university students, teachers and so on. It's interesting to see the difference in approach to the war between these two groups, the combatants who are *campesinos* and the combatants who come from the town, mostly students but also factory workers. For the *campesinos* it's a more natural thing to join the guerrillas—they had lived in that area, been subjected to massacres from the government forces. For the people from the town, to leave the town and go up into the mountains is a much greater decision. I could distinguish two levels of political consciousness. The *campesinos* are very aware of who the enemy is and why they are fighting this war, that is a just war—they're fighting to survive. The students, but also the factory workers, tend to have more theoretical background for their decision. They tend to occupy the leading positions, commanders of platoons....

WV: What would you say the peasants felt they were fighting for?

Rydström: They fought basically to survive, but also for a just distribution of the land. They also had seen very concretely the advantages of the economic system that the guerrillas try to establish. Of course, it is very difficult to do in a war situation, but they were cultivating the land that they had taken from the abandoned *fincas* [farms] in the area in a collective manner.

WV: Did people talk about socialism as a goal?

Rydström: Yes, they did. The comandantes emphasized that their party was a Marxist-Leninist party. But they were also very careful to point out that the Common Platform of the FDR-FMLN [Democratic Revolutionary Front—Farabundo Martí Front for National Liberation] was not a socialist platform but what they called a revolutionary-democratic platform, which did not imply collectivization of the agricultural sector, for example.

WV: Yet they were farming collectively in the areas that were under their control.

Rydström: Yes, but the *campesinos* that still had their little plot of land worked on that land on their own. The land that they farmed collectively was taken from the *fincas*.

WV: Did they have any problems explaining that they were for socialism in theory but that in particular they were for a so-called "democratic revolution"? Was that controversial?

Rydström: I found it at times controversial. I asked them specifically about what would happen after a triumph of the guerrilla front. They said that all of the five parties of the FMLN were in favor of the collectivization of agriculture, but that to establish a viable political platform they did not push this issue.

WV: On Guazapa there are representatives of almost all of the groups in the FMLN. Could you see differences?

Rydström: I was with the PRTC [Central American Revolutionary Workers Party] all the time and we didn't have too much contact with the other groups. Of course they have joint military command which plans actions on a large scale, but in the actual combat they worked very much on their own—they had their terrain to defend. They seem to have split up the area between them.

WV: When you left there was a tremendous government attack against Guazapa...

Rydström: I think at most there were 12 battalions involved, including the whole Policia de Hacienda [Treasury Police], one battalion of the National Guard, the U.S.-trained Atlacatl, Atonal and I even think the Ramón Belloso [brigades] were involved.

WV: Did you see any evidence of U.S. advisers?

Rydström: One night there was a night bombing of the Guazapa volcano, and according to the guerrillas that was the first time they ever saw the Salvadoran air force attack in nighttime. They claim that Salvadoran pilots wouldn't be capable of such a thing, so their conclusion was that it must be an adviser in the plane. The inefficiency of the air force was also quite striking. I heard figures that they wasted $5 million on this, and during the campaign according to the guerrillas five guerrilla soldiers were killed—about $1 million per soldier. There was a massacre among the civilian population, 60 or 70 killed in an air attack when the army attacked Tepestenango.

WV: How many people were evacuated from Guazapa?

Rydström: It was an awful lot of people, probably altogether 8,000. The first *guinda*, when the civilians had to pull out, was after severe attack. After a day they realized that they wouldn't be able to hold their positions, so they ordered the *guinda*. We reached a river and the descent was quite dangerous, very steep, so they preferred to wait to daybreak, which was in a way dangerous because there was always the danger of an air attack. But the Salvadoran air force worked in its usual way—they seldom start to fly before nine o'clock in the morning. At six o'clock at night they went back to their positions. It was very impressive, the punctuality.

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How Stalinists, Liberals Sold Out Blacks During World War II

The March on Washington That Wasn't

Culver Pictures

March on Washington Movement demonstration in NYC, June 1942, against legal lynching of black sharecropper Odell Waller in Virginia.

Unlike the August 27 march in D.C., which is nothing but a crawl for the Democrats, there was a time when the opportunity was posed for a March on Washington to be made part of a powerful black struggle for equality. This was in 1941, as the United States was gearing up for the imperialist butchery of World War II. The march was called by A. Philip Randolph, the pro-Democratic Party leader of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, to protest the racist treatment of blacks in the mushrooming American war industry and armed forces. But to squelch the explosive issue of abolition of Jim Crow, Roosevelt ordered Randolph to call off the march. The fate of that March on Washington Movement (MOWM) highlighted the intimate connection between black liberation and the American workers movement, and the urgent need for a revolutionary vanguard party to lead that struggle.

While British and German workers in uniform were slaughtering each other on behalf of the "Allied" and "Axis" imperialists, the Soviet Union, homeland of the October Revolution, was under attack. The key way American workers could defend the USSR was by carrying forward the fight for revolution at home. But this program ran smack up against the social-patriots of the AFL and CIO, the pro-Democratic Party misleaders and the Stalin-loyal Communist Party (CP) who joined hands to call off the class struggle "for the duration." From the day Hitler invaded Russia, the CP subordinated everything to Roosevelt's war effort, while the Democrats, black and white, together with the Stalinists crucified the struggle for black equality on the altar of the "anti-fascist" imperialist war.

But World War II was not a war against fascism; it was an inter-imperialist conflict. Churchill's Britain fought to keep hundreds of millions of colored people enslaved in its worldwide colonial empire. The policy of authentic revolutionaries in the "democratic" imperialist countries was: the main enemy is at home! In defending the Soviet degenerated workers state against Nazi Germany, the Trotskyists were revolutionary defeatists toward their "own" imperialist ruling classes. The notion of U.S. imperialism as a progressive force against fascism looks pretty threadbare in the sequel. The arrogant "world policeman" against communism, the terror bomber of Vietnam—U.S. imperialism works to preserve in power the most hideous torturers, mass butchers, feudalists and militarists from South Africa to Central America. The second imperialist world war should have been the convulsive death agony of capitalism, but with the help of the Stalinists it ushered in the brutal "American Century." During World War II the Trotskyists alone continued to fight for world socialist revolution, to liberate all of the oppressed and colored peoples from the capitalist system of racism, unemployment and war.

What "Democracy" for Blacks?

As U.S. imperialism began a rapid war buildup in 1940, American blacks eagerly awaited the opportunity to work in war industry, and to participate in government-financed training programs set up to overcome the shortage of skilled workers. But in these programs, in the military as well as in industry, blacks faced restrictions and were assigned to a minimum role and rigidly segregated. In the Navy, the blacks could enlist only in the all-black messmen's branch. The Marines and the Air Corps excluded blacks entirely. Black Americans were prevented from enlisting in the Army, except for filling a few vacancies in the four regular black units that had been created shortly after the Civil War. In the fall of 1940, Roosevelt explicitly defended these Jim Crow policies:

> "The policy of the War Department is not to intermingle colored and white enlisted personnel in the same regimental organizations. This policy has proved satisfactory over a long period of years, and to make changes would produce situations destructive to morale and detrimental to the preparations for national defense."

Now highly urbanized and increasingly proletarianized as a result of World War I migrations and the buildup for the coming war, blacks began to exert pressure on their "leaders" to drop the hats in their hands and to use those hands for something other than pleading and begging. It was the pressure of these masses, especially black workers now organized in unions as a result of the CIO's giant organizing strikes of the 1930s, that pressed the Randolphs and Whites into more direct action against the industrialists' Jim Crow policies.

On 1 January 1941 Randolph proposed a July march on Washington ("Anti-Jim Crow, Pro-Jobs March") to force Roosevelt to pass an executive order abolishing discrimination not only in war industry but in all industry. Later known as the "Double V Campaign" ("victory for democracy abroad and at home") the proposal for a march aroused the enthusiasm of blacks to challenge their pariah status under Jim Crow capitalism. March nn Washington youth chapters were formed in several cities; MOW leaflets, buttons and other paraphernalia were widely distributed in preparation for the July march. The growing movement was fueled by an unprecedented outburst of black protest within the armed forces.

While the Trotskyists of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party (SWP) opposed Randolph's pro-imperialist line on the war, it was clear to them that in the context of the black sailors' protests the March on Washington could serve to escalate the fight for black rights and link it with the labor movement in the fight against imperialist war. An SWP pamphlet at the time stated:

> "A militant march on Washington, the national capital of Jim Crowism, a march made up of thousands of Negroes who will be able to get there only because hundreds of thousands of others support the march morally and financially—this would really strike fear into the hearts of the administration and the bosses."
>
> —from Albert Parker, *Negroes March on Washington* (June 1941), reprinted in *Fighting Racism in World War II* (Monad Press, 1980)

"We support a militant action, not Randolph's reason for it," said the SWP.

Meanwhile, the CP opposed the March on Washington, not only boycotting the march but actively sabotaging it. At first the Stalinists used ultra-left arguments—pointing to Randolph's social-patriotism, they denounced the march as "the supreme effort of America's big shot businessmen to win the masses of the Negro people to the war program of the Administration" (*Daily Worker*, 16 June 1941). This was during the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact, when the Kremlin had ordered an antiwar line in the imperialist "democracies." This had cost the Stalinists the support of many of their erstwhile allies in the Rooseveltian "popular front." By the late '30s, thousands of blacks who had been won to the party particularly through its defense of the Scottsboro Boys had also quit, many of them out of disillusionment over the Soviet Union's shipment of oil to Italy at the time of Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia. But unlike white liberals, who accepted the democratic pretensions of U.S. imperialism, blacks were *attracted* by the CP's antiwar line. Even a vicious Cold War anti-Communist admitted:

> "The Party was sharply aware that Negroes had little enthusiasm for the war.... Negroes remembered all too well the role played by black soldiers in World War I and the violent attacks leveled against them [lynchings of black men who dared to wear a uniform] after their return from Europe. They found it difficult to become enthusiastic about the defense of democracy in Europe when they had so little of it in the United States."
>
> —Wilson Record, *The Negro and the Communist Party* (1951)

The march had been scheduled for 1 July 1941. On June 22, Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union. After fighting exclusively against the impending war, to the point of denouncing the MOW's protest against discrimination in war industry as a diversion, suddenly the CP became pro-war. "Everything for Victory over the Axis!" shouted the *Daily Worker*, meaning nothing for struggle against racist capitalism here. Then, three days later, President Roosevelt signed an executive order against discrimination in war industry. Predictably, and it was predicted by the Trotskyists, the pro-Roosevelt, pro-British, pro-war Randolph canceled the march. He touted FDR's establishment of the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC), a committee without enforcement powers, as a "second emancipation proclamation." The CP, now once again popular-front patriots, hailed the executive order as a victory and made no criticism of the march cancellation.

However, Randolph's betrayal didn't go unchallenged. Pressure began to mount again from young MOW leaders who denounced his bureaucratic heavy-handedness in canceling the march.. From all over the country, MOWM chapters sent telegrams pleading with Randolph to make plans for a future march. Many challenged his unqualified praise of the "second emancipation proclamation." In early 1942 Randolph was forced to "unpostpone" the march and began to set the MOWM in motion again. Instead of a march on Washington, though, a series of local marches were scheduled for June 1942 and eventually held. The largest of these rallies was held in Madison Square Garden on 20 June 1942 with 25,000 anti-Jim Crow fighters on the street. The long list of speakers were cheered, especially those who gave vent to the masses' hatred for segregation and those who demanded the freedom of Odell Waller, a black sharecropper who was scheduled to be executed for slaying his landlord in self-defense.

CP Betrays Black People

Today, the Stalinists try desperately to cover up their crimes against the working class and black people which flow from the *anti*-revolutionary policy of the popular front. Writing in the

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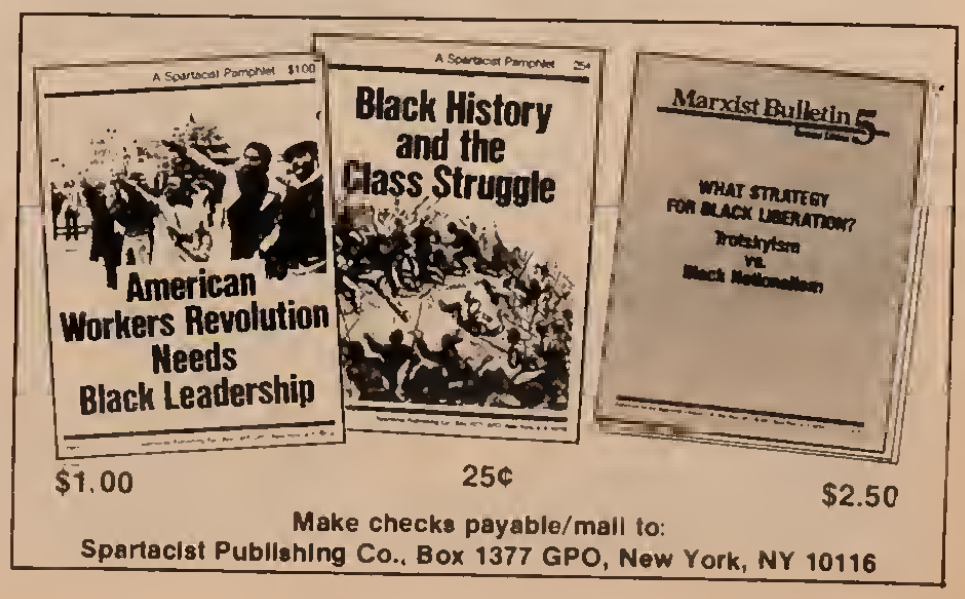

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Malcolm X Called '63 "The Farce on Washington"

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GROVE PRESS (1966)

The Negroes were out there in the streets. They were talking about how they were going to march on Washington. Right at that time Birmingham had exploded, and the Negroes in Birmingham—remember, they also exploded. They began to stab the crackers in the back and bust them up 'side their head—yes, they did. That's when Kennedy sent in the troops, down in Birmingham. After that, Kennedy got on the television and said "this is a moral issue." That's when he said he was going to put out a civil-rights bill. And when he mentioned civil-rights bill and the Southern crackers started talking about how they were going to boycott or filibuster it, then the Negroes started talking—about what? That they were going to march on Washington, march on the Senate, march on the White House, march on the Congress, and tie it up, bring it to a halt, not let the government proceed. They even said they were going out to the airport and lay down on the runway and not let any airplanes land. I'm telling you what they said. That was revolution. That was revolution. That was the black revolution.

It was the grass roots out there in the street. It scared the white man to death, scared the white power structure in Washington, D.C., to death; I was there. When they found out that this black steamroller was going to come down on the capital, they called in Wilkins, they called in Randolph, they called in these national Negro leaders that you respect and told them, "Call it off." Kennedy said, "Look, you all are letting this thing go too far." And Old Tom said, "Boss, I can't stop it, because I didn't start it." I'm telling you what they said. They said, "I'm not even in it, much less at the head of it." They said, "These Negroes are doing things on their own. They're running ahead of us." And that old shrewd fox, he said, "If you all aren't in it, I'll put you in it. I'll put you at the head of it. I'll endorse it. I'll welcome it. I'll help it. I'll join it."...

As soon as they got the setup organized, the white man made available to them top public-relations experts; opened the news media across the country at their disposal, which then began to project these Big Six as the leaders of the march. Originally they weren't even in the march. You were talking this march talk on Hastings Street, you were talking march talk on Lenox Avenue, and on Fillmore Street, and on Central Avenue, and 32nd Street and 63rd Street. That's where the march talk was being talked. But the white man put the Big Six at the head of it; made them the march. They became the march. They took it over.... And as they took it over, it lost its militancy. It ceased to be angry, it ceased to be hot, it ceased to be uncompromising. Why, it even ceased to be a march. It became a picnic, a circus....

They controlled it so tight, they told those Negroes what time to hit town, how to come, where to stop, what signs to carry, what song to sing, what speech they could make, and what speech they couldn't make; and then told them to get out of town by sundown. And every one ol' those Toms was out of town by sundown. Now I know you don't like my saying this. But I can back it up. It was a circus, a performance that beat anything Hollywood could ever do, the performance of the year. Reuther and those other three devils should get an Academy Award for the best actors because they acted like they really loved Negroes and fooled a whole lot of Negroes. And the six Negro leaders should get an award too, for the best supporting cast.

Gordon Parks

Malcolm X

Don't Crawl for Democrats...

(continued from page 1)

zation such a tremendous sense of their potential social power was the strategy that can mobilize workers and black people for *real freedom* and *real power*: the strategy of proletarian revolution.

Democratic Congressional delegate Walter Fauntroy's soup-kitchen "community unity" diversion flopped as angry black Washington residents decided that the Klan must be stopped rather than ignored. After the victory it was Fauntroy who along with the bourgeois press tried to discredit the demonstration as some kind of "black riot" led, in Fauntroy's words, by "Tarzan Trotskyites." After having lost so many of his constituents to militant and effective action, it is no wonder that shortly after November 27 Fauntroy among others announced the 1983 March on Washington to get blacks on the Democratic track of defeat.

Labor/Black Power vs. Democrats

After Martin Luther King's '63 "I have a dream" speech, the young civil rights militants of SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) started wearing "I have a nightmare" buttons to show their anger with King's liberal pacifism. And 20 years later, life for the masses of blacks compacted in devastated ghettos has become worse as capitalism declines into crisis. Every year the Urban League and other black groups publish grim statistics proving the deepening gulf of racism. But blacks don't need a pile of statistics to know life and livelihoods in the ghetto are a nightmare. It is registered most of all in the children, a majority of whom now live below the poverty line. Black teenagers are thrown wholesale onto the streets where they are marked as targets for the racist cops. On the very basics of life black people in America are on the edge of survival.

The capitalists answer with more cops and racist terror. Not even a five-year-old black child, Patrick Mason, at home watching TV, was safe. The Orange County killer cop who gunned him down was let off. In New York City black workers have been beaten to death by racist mobs and the courts just acquitted one of the ringleaders of the lynch mob. A black man can't walk into Cicero, Illinois or Gravesend in Brooklyn without taking his life in his hands. As the courts and cops make black lives cheaper the murderous KKK and Nazis take their cue. Nightriding violence is on the rise from coast to coast as the fascistic fringe of the anti-Soviet war drive comes home in white sheets and waving blood-soaked swastikas.

AP

Leaders of air controllers union (PATCO) jailed by Reagan in 1981.

What *has* changed since the March on Washington of 1963 is the growing number of black Democratic faces in city halls of black and proletarian cities. Martin Luther King was assassinated when he was leading marches in support of striking Memphis garbagemen. Today city workers can have their strikes broken by ex-civil rights activists and close companions of Martin Luther King. Atlanta mayor Andrew Young who lay down in front of sanitation trucks in the '60s to defend an Atlanta sanitation strike is now running those trucks and in charge of strikebreaking. In Washington ex-SNCC leader mayor Marion Barry is the cutback king engineering the mass expulsions of black students from the University of the District of Columbia. In Detroit "progressive" black mayor Coleman Young responds to the 70 percent black youth unemployment with cops' nightsticks and pistols, reviving the racist cop terror squads to enforce the youth curfew. These black Democratic mayors are on the cutting edge of Reagan reaction. It is their cops who brutalize the black population.

These massive defeats for black people are cynically touted as examples of black political power because they are organized by black overseers. From Jesse Jackson's ploy to increase his own demagogic voice in the name of a "black candidate" and voter registration schemes to the Harold Washington campaign in Chicago, the black misleaders of the Democratic Party can only offer new defeats to the black masses. Democratic higwigs like Kennedy and Mondale rushed into Chicago because they need the black vote. While the left hailed and tailed the Washington campaign, we told the hitter truth: "Harold Washington Will Betray Black Chicago," proclaimed *Workers Vanguard*. Now Harold Washington has delivered his first smack in the face to Chicago blacks in the form of city worker layoffs.

Nowhere is the defeatism of this "elected leadership" more evident than in their response to the question of integration. The 1983 march which is supposed to celebrate the civil rights movement doesn't speak to the question of busing. When Harold Washington ran for mayor in the most segregated city in America, he did not call for busing to break up the segregated schools. Jesse Jackson went to Norfolk, Virginia recently where thousands of blacks were marching against segregated schools. There he explained that he wasn't marching for integration but for the "voter registration boost." This "separate-but-unequal" defeatism was inspired by the Democrats who capitulated to the anti-busing racist mobs on the streets of Boston and Louisville.

The supporters of Washington ask "What else can he do?" Indeed what else can any of the black mayors do who are running the capitalists' racist offensive in the cities. And that is just the point. Harold Washington runs Chicago in the interests of Continental Bank, not the South Side. Kenneth Gibson runs Newark for Prudential Insurance. Coleman Young runs Detroit for Henry Ford II and the auto barons. That is because blacks can't gain their freedom in America this side of the socialist revolution. Segregated as a race-color caste at the bottom of American society, the racist oppression of black people is intrinsic to capitalist society.

But blacks *do* have potential power in the U.S. because while they are segregated at the bottom of society they are also integrated economically into the proletariat. Integrated workers struggle against capitalism for black rights—*revolutionary integrationism* is the source of black and proletarian power in America. A march that could really begin to turn things around in this country would be a march of the ghetto masses in support of their brothers in the auto and steel plants who were occupying them in a strike against layoffs. What is urgently needed in the U.S. is real black leadership—part of a multi-racial Trotskyist vanguard party which can bind the factory to the ghetto in the struggle for workers power which alone can lay the basis for black liberation.

How the Democrats Killed the Civil Rights Movement

The purpose of the 1963 March on Washington was to channel the explosive anger of the civil rights movement into legalistic reform and electoral support to the Kennedy Democrats. Everyone who participated in this march should remember how King & Co. censored the speech of John Lewis, chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee—the most militant wing of the civil rights movement. Lewis, who declared that "the party of Kennedy is the party of

Eastland" and asked "Where is our party?", was pressured into deleting from his prepared speech the statement: "We cannot depend on any political party for both the Democrats and Republicans have betrayed the basic principles of the Declaration of Independence." Those few trade-union bureaucrats involved in the civil rights movement, notably Walter Reuther and A. Philip Randolph, were especially determined to censor and suppress black militants like SNCC's Lewis.

With the mass of the black population and many young militants rebelling against King's disastrous liberal pacifism and his support to the party of Kennedy and Eastland, a revolutionary socialist organization could have gained significant influence in this movement and radically changed the course of American history over the next 20 years. The Spartacist tendency, which originated in this period, raised the demand for a South-wide Freedom/Labor Party to link the fight for black equality with the working-class struggle against capitalist exploitation. Such a party, breaking with the Democrats, would have given tremendous impetus to similar action among Northern workers. This would have required the organization of the union ranks to oust the pro-capitalist bureaucracy, its liberal Reuther wing as well as the openly reactionary and racist Meanyites. However, the Spartacist tendency's forces at that time were too small to win the mass of young black activists to Trotskyism.

In the 1960s the black movement was faced with two dead ends: the liberal pacifism of King and the no less defeatist ideology of Stokely Carmichael and the nationalists. Both failed to see the need to mobilize the power of the unions, through challenging the racist pro-capitalist bureaucracy: King and the black ministers because they were committed to the Democratic Party; Carmichael and the black nationalists because with the defeats and sellouts of liberal reformism, they had taken the road of black separatism which ignored "the white working class." The two dead ends represented by King and Carmichael led to a decade with no significant black struggle, thus encouraging the present racist reaction spearheaded by the Reagan White House.

The 1963 March on Washington was organized by people who were at the head of—and trying to contain within the bounds of capitalist reform—a mass movement against racist oppression. But the August 27 march is organized by the very people who have *suppressed* significant black struggle for over a decade, even struggles to defend the limited gains of the civil rights movement. The Democratic BEOs (black elected officials) serve as the indispensable front men for Reagan's austerity in the big, black proletarian cities like Detroit, Chicago and Gary. The heirs of George Meany in the AFL-CIO headquarters, the very people who willfully sabotaged and humiliated the civil rights movement, are major organizers of August 27. Thus AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland, who is one of the sponsors of this march for "peace," was just appointed to Reagan's commission to prepare direct U.S. military intervention in Central America.

Washington Post

Anti-Klan protesters on November 27 say: Finish the Civil War!

At the same time, the labor tops are doing Reagan's dirty work in enforcing massive layoffs, plant closures, throwing millions onto the unemployment/soup lines. Not long after he took office, Reagan frontally challenged the labor movement by firing an entire union of air controllers (PATCO) for going on strike. This attack momentarily united organized labor across race and craft lines against Reagan and the government, generating Solidarity Day in September 1981, the largest and *most integrated* labor demonstration in American history. Significantly, no Democratic politician dared address this massive militant rally, while on the West Coast Mondale was booed off the platform with shouts of "PATCO! PATCO! PATCO!"

These workers were so angry at the government that they were open to class-struggle answers even when presented by an openly Marxist publication. The SL sold over 8,000 copies of *WV* with the popular headline "Labor: Shut Down the Airports!" to the Washington rally alone. That headline captured the felt need of every worker as to what was needed to win the PATCO strike and stop Reagan's union-busting offensive. But that would have required a class-struggle mobilization against the capitalist government, a strike that was inherently political and pointed in the direction of the independent political mobilization of the working class. That is why the bureaucracy sabotaged real trade union solidarity with PATCO and got behind Reagan and the Democrats to defeat the strike. This defeat set the stage for the wave of giveback contracts in industry after industry which have slashed the living standards of the American working class. Nevertheless, in September 1981 the labor movement took over Washington for a day and demonstrated the social power to turn it into the capital of a workers government. What was lacking was revolutionary leadership.

The Democrats' and labor bureaucrats' only answer to Reaganomics is national economic protectionism, that is, economic warfare especially against the Japanese. "Buy American" chauvinism leads straight to "white power" race-terror. In Detroit last year a white auto foreman beat to death a Chinese American, Vincent Chin, whom he took for a Japanese. The Fraser regime of the Auto Workers, which works overtime pushing protectionist poison, is responsible for this racist atrocity. Meanwhile Jesse Jackson, in addition to wooing the Dixiecrats, is now trying to whip up anti-Japanese protectionist sentiment among blacks, and Democratic presidential frontrunner Mondale talks about landing the U.S. Army in Tokyo to sell American cars. Protectionism does not create jobs, rather it feeds into the climate of racist reaction whose main target is blacks.

The answer to layoffs, cutbacks and givebacks is the fight for a workers government that will rip the productive wealth of this country out of the hands of the capitalist class and establish a planned economy. This is key to the liberation of all oppressed minorities. Black workers particularly will play a vanguard role in forging a revolutionary workers party fighting to mobilize the power of labor in industrial and political struggle against the bosses and their government.

It took a social revolution to free blacks from the chains of slavery. And it will take a workers revolution to at last free black Americans and all working people from the shackles of capitalism. That is the task to which the Spartacist League is dedicated. Finish the Civil War! Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution! ■

Jesse James Jackson and August 27

We print below excerpts from a statement by a black trade unionist from the Tidewater area who helped organize the "Nat Turner Brigade" in the November 27 Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in Washington, D.C.

This March on Washington is just a front for the Democratic Party to sway people their way and get votes for the future elections. The D.P. doesn't give five cents about unemployment, the arms race or basic rights, or programs of any sort to ensure freedom for anybody but the people big business tells them.

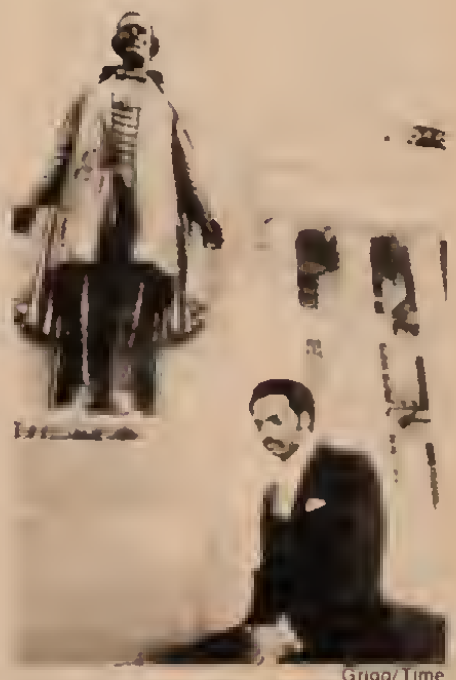
Surely they cannot be talking about a program to ensure freedom because if this is correct, then all of these counterfeit endorsers would have been in Washington November 27, 1982 at the foot of the hill to stop the KKK from marching from the Capitol building down Constitution Ave. on to the White House. They should have been there. BUT OH NO, the Klan didn't march. They didn't dare to march for there were 5,000 labor and let me call them people from the field to stop them (the Klan). Not one of these phony endorsers of the Aug 27, 1983 march was NOwhere near the designated place to stop the Klan, but yes some of them were over on the other end of town fooling the masses.

These people know who they are, and if you want to know just who they are then pick up an endorsement sheet of the August 27, 1983 March and you can just about read all their names because they are all listed there, Mayor Marion Barry, Walter Fauntroy, got the nerve to have honorable placed in front of his name, he ought to be ashamed of himself, and just read the endorsers, especially the individual endorsers for none of them were near the correct place to stop the Klan. They were on the other side of town, for it is the same as sending a defensive football team to stop an offensive team from running a touchdown and the defensive team take their position outside the stadium.

And the one who will be telling you all these lies will be no other than Jesse James Jackson old J.J., and the others with him are HIS brothers, NOT THE SAME when you and I say brother; I mean the Younger Brothers. Jesse James J. and the Younger Brothers. They will be in Washington to steal your votes for the Democratic Party.

Recently didn't J.J. Jackson go to Alabama and have a meeting with Segregation Wallace, and then make the statement that the "South Will Rise Again." This is the slogan that was used immediately after the Civil War, and for a black man to even think about saying such a thing is a disgrace, but Jesse James Jackson is a house Negro so if the South rises again, he will sleep in the same house as his master, eat the same food (the left-overs) as his master, and wear the same clothes (the hand-me-downs) as his master and still his master will let him make speeches to the field Negroes, the same as he is doing now, for nothing will change for J.J. Jackson and his Younger Brothers.

So if you want to go into Washington on the 27th of August, for a 20 year anniversary, you go right ahead and when the Toms tell you dance, you dance, but dance good. If they want to go into Washington on August 27, 1983, and parade around on the streets for Democrats to gain votes, then it's their decision to make. If they are fool enough to let Jesse James Jackson make a complete puppet out of them, then it's their fault. Tell people the truth and later as times go by, people will listen to you again. Tell people a lie, and they will never listen to you again.


Grigg/Time

Jesse Jackson poses in front of Alabama statue of Jefferson Davis, president of defeated slavocracy.

March on Washington...

(continued from page 7)

August-September 1979 *Political Affairs*, CP leader Kendra Alexander retells the timeworn Stalinist fairy tale that, "in a basic sense the history of the Communist Party is also a history of the Communist Party's unrelenting commitment to the freedom calls of black people." "Unrelenting"?! The only way he can accomplish this trick is by simply skipping the whole period of World War II, when black people were putting forth enormous efforts to batter down the walls of Jim Crow.

The American Stalinists boycotted the march and denounced Randolph and thousands of blacks as "appeasers of the Axis." They denounced the "Double V" slogan because, as a *Daily Worker* writer said, "Hitler is the main enemy" and "the foes of Negro rights in this country should be considered secondary"—a statement that (as the SWP's *Militant* put it) would "gladden the hearts of the poll taxers, lynchers, and advocates of white supremacy!" As for the black sharecropper Odell Waller, the CP had not a word to say about him until the day before his scheduled execution (Waller was on death row for 630 days), and then only attacked this legal lynching because it gave the "foul and hypocritical defeatists"—in particular "the unspeakable Trotskyists"—an opportunity "to divide national unity and weaken our whole war effort" (*Daily Worker*, 2 July 1942)!

The CP became the most vicious defenders of the racist status quo. In September 1941, black Stalinist leader Ben Davis said publicly "the CP is disturbed by the increasing struggle of Negroes for jobs in defense plants." In 1943 black CP leader James Ford explicitly attacked the March on Washington Movement because it "was creating confusion and dangerous moods in the ranks of the Negro people and utilizing their justified grievances as a weapon of opposition to the Administration's war program" (*The Communist*, July 1943). To counter this the Stalinists formed the "Negro Labor Victory Committee" in order to mobilize pro-war sentiment among blacks. So vitriolically opposed to any struggle for Negro rights did the Stalinists become that in 1945 when four black WACs at Fort Devens were courtmartialed for complaining about the lack of medical care for wounded black soldiers, CPer Davis jumped in on the side of the prosecution:

> "The U.S. general staff has on many occasions...proved that they deserve the full confidence of the Negro people.... We cannot temporarily stop the war until all questions of discrimination are ironed out."
>
> —*Daily Worker*, 8 April 1945

When the Trotskyists say that Stalinism is the syphilis of the workers movement, we are not exaggerating one iota. During the war the CP even opposed the fight to integrate the blood banks! In the interests of preserving Stalin's wartime alliance with "democratic" American imperialism, the CP became the bourgeoisie's superpatriotic bloodhounds. In the labor movement they became the most rabid strikebreakers, supporting the CIO no-strike pledge: when John L. Lewis led a coal miners' strike, the CP denounced it as "treason" and slandered Lewis as "part of the pro-Nazi fifth column" (*The Communist*, July 1943). As part of its despicable whipping up of war hysteria, the CP expelled all of its Japanese American members and supported the locking up of everyone of Japanese descent (more than 100,000 people) in American concentration camps "for the duration." Even more despicably they hailed the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. They also cheered Roosevelt on when the federal government jailed 18 leaders of the SWP and the Trotskyist-led Minneapolis Teamsters union, who had led the 1934 general strike there, for their internationalist opposition to the imperialist war. Yet after the wartime "anti-fascist" alliance inevitably fell apart, the CP itself fell victim to the same witchhunting Smith Act.

With the onset of the Cold War and the collapse of the "anti-fascist" alliance, the Communist Party at Stalin's behest criticized some of the more egregious acts of racist class treason it committed during World War II. They were blamed on Earl Browder, general secretary of the CP during that period. But when the CP today calls on the Klan-endorsed Ronald Reagan and the racist capitalist state to "ban the Klan"; when it calls on Congress to trim the anti-Soviet war budget rather than demanding "not a penny, not a man" for the imperialist armed forces; when it backs "progressive" and black Democrats like Tom Bradley, Coleman Young and Marion Barry—it shows that Stalinist-Browderist popular frontism is very much in command in the CPUSA today.

Trotskyists Fight for Labor/Black Mobilization

The CP's treacherous suppression of class struggle at home in the name of "anti-fascism" only encouraged the most right-wing racist elements to come out of the woodwork and attack blacks. While this so-called "war for democracy" was in progress, bloody race-terror attacks were being inflicted on blacks in the U.S. Black soldiers were shot down in cold blood and jailed for demanding their rights. Black doctors like Edgar Keemer of Detroit were denied the right to practice even among segregated black troops. In February 1942 KKK-incited mobs attacked black workers and their families who dared to move into the Sojourner Truth federal housing projects in Detroit. That summer a "hate strike" occurred in Detroit's UAW-organized ordnance plants against blacks being hired into production. The next year an anti-black pogrom took the lives of over 30 Detroit blacks, most of them shot by the police. All this was encouraged by the Jim Crow policies of the Roosevelt government in civilian and military life. The Stalinists' response? When the MOWM blamed the administration for the anti-Negro outbreaks, the CP blamed...*blacks!* According to the *Daily Worker* (18 July 1943), "...Negroes have not rallied sufficiently to strengthen the President's hand" (quoted in the anthology, *Fighting Racism in World War II*).

Under the ferocious bourgeois pressure to "keep Negroes in their place," only the then-revolutionary Trotskyist SWP fought for militant black and labor action against the poll taxers, lynchers and Jim Crow segregationists, while courageously opposing the imperialist war even though it meant jail for their leaders. At the height of the Detroit pogrom by white supremacist mobs, the Trotskyists called for union action to defend blacks:

> "The chief responsibility for defending the Negro people rests today upon the trade unions. The CIO, most powerful organization of the working people in Michigan, was established and grew strong because of its policy of nondiscrimination....
>
> "Flying squadrons of union militants should stand ready to protect the rights of their Negro fellow workers menaced by the mobs. The various local unions should maintain order and clear their respective territories of anti-Negro, antilabor gangs."
>
> —"SWP on the Anti-Negro Terror," *Militant*, 3 July 1943

Today as Reagan gears up a new war drive, this time aimed directly at the Soviet Union, the question of labor/black mobilization against reaction is posed with great urgency. Today it is the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League who fight for labor/black mobilization, such as took place in Washington on November 27. Then 5,000 mainly black workers and youth came out to the SL's call and stopped the Ku Kluxers in their tracks through disciplined and powerful mass mobilization, while the reformists and Democrats blew hot air at a rally a couple of miles away. We Trotskyists continue the tradition of the Communist International in Lenin's day, which proclaimed itself "not simply the organization of the enslaved white workers of Europe and America but equally the organization of the oppressed colored peoples of the world...[whose] duty [is] to encourage and support the international organization of the Negro people in their struggle against the common enemy."■

Detroit...

(continued from page 2)

"socialists" whose friends at Solidarity House supported the curfew in 1976 when it was first enacted. For them the only "burning issue" is how to help the auto bosses steal billions of workers' wages and benefits (the givebacks which UAW tops engineered and DSA supports) and to push racist anti-Japanese protectionism. This deadly poison inspired the murder of Chinese American Vincent Chin by a Chrysler foreman and his stepson. Signs at the demonstration read, "Vengeance for Vincent Chin! Jail the Racist Killers!"

In the present climate of Detroit, to protest the curfew brings you right up front against the ire of Coleman Young and the cops. Despite attempts to isolate the militants, the demonstration intersected an ongoing mood of struggle at Wayne State, where the largely black campus unions face a union-busting campaign and workers are charging racism against the administration. In Detroit, the Spartacist League, SYL and LBSL took the initiative in protesting this curfew and what it will mean—increased police roughriding in this hard-hit labor/black city. The small but important core of workers from River Rouge braved considerable pressure and then faced police intimidation in showing up to protest. At a video showing and forum which followed the successful action, several workers and students who had participated joined the Detroit Labor/Black Struggle League!■

Richmond...

(continued from page 5)

going on throughout America, that the *Examiner* and other bourgeois elements are increasingly concerned to rein in their more flamboyant and far out expressions. But in the main the stories in Richmond take place in towns throughout the South, and increasingly in the Northern urban centers. Blacks know that when it comes to racist harassment and cop violence, Richmond can be Anywhere, U.S.A.

Like many Northern and Midwestern cities, Richmond got its first major influx of blacks when WWII war industries required their labor. From 1940 to 1944, the city's population skyrocketed from 23,000 to almost 100,000, mainly black and white Southerners needed for the shipbuilding industry. But after the war, most of the shipyards closed and unemployment and poverty reclaimed many, mainly black workers. Meanwhile, the capitalists used their strikebreaking police to try to break the unions in the oil industry which organized in Richmond after the decline of shipping. Yet the Richmond cops are affiliated to AFL-CIO Operating Engineers Local 3. All cops are mercenaries of the bosses—paid strikebreakers. We demand: cops out of the unions!

The liberals and reformists are of course all clamoring for a reform of the Richmond Police Department. But for at least 15 years the various reform schemes, reviewing procedures, screening and training techniques, have only resulted in more police brutality. Now there is growing sentiment for a civilian review board. Here as elsewhere such a board will not stay the hand of the cops' racist terror. However, if the issue in Richmond becomes a referendum on civilian control vs. racist police bonapartism, revolutionaries critically support a civilian review board.

The scabherding, anti-union racist cops thrive in this climate of anti-labor offensives and union bureaucrat sellouts and givebacks. But the power of working-class militancy scares hell out of the cops. Before the recent port shutdown in the Bay Area was sold out by the ILWU labor traitors, the longshoremen's mass pickets defied all the injunctions and restraining orders. Here was the biggest "illegal" action in Richmond where the cops delight in beating up residents for parking violations. They weren't about to go up against 700 longshoremen, mainly black and well organized. The racist "Cowboys" didn't want to repeat Custer's last stand.

It will take socialist revolution to at last end the racist terror of the capitalist state. And part of the struggle for workers revolution, and the forging of the multi-racial Trotskyist party needed to lead it, is the mass mobilization of labor and blacks to fight racist violence in all its forms. That is the program of the Spartacist League and the Labor/Black League for Social Defense. Jail the killer cops!■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Ann Arbor
c/o SYL
P.O. Box 8364
Ann Arbor, MI 48107
(313) 662-2339

Atlanta
Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

Berkeley/Oakland
P.O. Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 835-1535

Boston
Box 840
Central Station
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Chicago
Box 6441
Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 427-0003

Cleveland
Box 91954
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 621-5138

Detroit
Box 32717
Detroit, MI 48232
(313) 961-1680

Houston
Box 26474
Houston, TX 77207

Los Angeles
Box 29574
Los Feliz Station
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 663-1216

Madison
c/o SYL
Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701
(608) 251-3398

New York
Box 444
Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk
P.O. Box 1972, Main P.O.
Norfolk, VA 23501

San Francisco
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.
P.O. Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 636-3537

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Vancouver
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C. V6C 2L8
(604) 681-2422

Money Needed to Fight Moonie Libel That Kills

The Spartacist League (SL), initiator and principal organizer of the Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. on November 27, has been libeled and set up by the ultra-right-wing cult of Sun Myung Moon. The Moonies' *Washington Times* article on the massive protest falsely accuses the Spartacists as would-be cop killers and a "violent" criminal organization which should be outlawed. This is a libel that kills.

To defend itself the SL and SYL filed a libel lawsuit on June 14 against the Moonies and their publishing arm, the Times-Tribune Corporation which publishes the *Washington Times* (see SL statement on the libel lawsuit, "Moonie Libel that Kills" and the legal complaint in *WV* No. 332, 17 June 1983). The Moonies must not be allowed to get away with targeting the organizers and participants of the largest and most effective protest in decades against Klan racist terror. If the Moonies have their way, any group or individual in the lead of struggle against the KKK and fascist terror will be marked for destruction.

The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC)—a class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense organization which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League—has launched a campaign to help pay for and publicize this important legal battle. Defeating the Moonies will help to protect all intended victims of the Moonies. This case can be the instrument to strike back against this ultra-right cult's most important thrust for influence and power in America, the *Washington Times*.

It will be a tough fight. We have the truth on our side, but it will take more than the truth to win against the Moonies. The cult seems to be made of money. It has legions of lawyers and right-wing connections in high places. From his giant munitions plants in South Korea to bilking his flower-peddling zombies to his big-money backers, Moon's "holy war" of reaction is well financed.

Everyone on the Moonie hit-list has a stake in this case: parents who have seen their children twisted by the cult, the left and civil libertarians who are marked as "Satan" in Moon's drive for theocracy, clergy and professors deceitfully used to increase Moon's sinister influence, and decent Americans everywhere who hailed the November 27 anti-KKK demonstration as their own and want to see the fascist terrorists stopped.

Your financial support and endorsement are urgently needed to win this lawsuit. Please send contributions to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York City, N.Y. 10013

Lane/Newsweek

Racist Moon said: "White people can contribute in the analytic, scientific area while black people can contribute in the physical area."

Guerrillas in El Salvador

(continued from page 6)

WV: On the fighting in El Salvador, many of the Demoerats in the U.S. favor a "political solution" because they don't want to see the spread of revolution throughout Central America. The Spartacist League on the other hand has called for military victory to the leftist insurgents and a revolutionary war throughout the region. We have pointed out that the United States was defeated in Vietnam not by the "peace movement" in the U.S., although that had an impact, in terms of bourgeois public opinion which toward the end grew quite defeatist, but above all because they were defeated on the battlefield. In terms of El Salvador, you've seen what the oligarchy and the Salvadoran capitalist ruling class is like—what do you think it would take to defeat them?

Rydström: The guerrillas are making progress in the armed struggle, but I think they still have a very long way to go before they can annihilate or defeat the government army. But my impression of the guerrilla soldiers is that that is what they are fighting for. We come back to this question of negotiations. They were fighting and hoping for a military victory. They were talking about "it will take a long time yet, but we are advancing," and they were hopeful about [some day] being able to make the same kind of military triumph as happened in Nicaragua. Many of them would feel it's a crushing anticlimax to all of a sudden stop the war, lay down the arms, and we'll have a little bit better government than we had before. That's not what they're aiming for, they're aiming for military victory.

WV: You think about in this country in the middle of the Civil War if there had been a negotiated settlement, what would that have meant for blacks—no emancipation, slavery would still have existed in some form. That's obviously the implication in El Salvador, that if there were some negotiated settlement obviously it would mean leaving in place the capitalist structure that has made the life of the workers and peasant masses a hell for much more than the 50 years that the military has been running the country. The title of that movie, "Revolution or Death"—for the masses of the Salvadorans, that really is the alternative.

Rydström: I was very impressed. I come from a country that hasn't had any war since 1810 and no war on its territory since 1523, and it was very hard for me to understand the implications of this armed struggle. I was always very impressed with the attitude the combatants had when they were facing death. They had seen so many of their friends die, that they had to live with that possibility that they would be killed in battle. I think that many of the people there had that feeling, that they had done very much and they would die happily if it was in battle.

WV: On Nicaragua, many of the same people in this country who are talking about a negotiated settlement are also trying to pressure the Sandinistas into negotiating with the *contras*. At the same time, the Sandinistas while resisting the *contra* invasion—which is financed by the United States—have tried to follow a "middle road," to have a "mixed economy, nonalignment and political pluralism." What do you feel will happen there? Sweden was always supposed to be the "middle way," as a matter of fact....

Rydström: Well, in the historical situation we see now in Nicaragua I very much doubt that it will be possible to keep this "middle road," and I think that the external aggression and internal conflict will force the government to choose the road to follow. I think that eventually it will be a historical necessity to follow the Castroist road, to expropriate private property. On the other hand, you have to understand the dilemma of a small country liberating itself from the tyrant that Somoza was. If it's a small underdeveloped country, as Nicaragua is, they are dependent upon external aid; and if the United States cuts off all aid, they have to look for material aid from the Soviet Union, and even if they try to maintain an independent path and not to become a new satellite—well, they don't have much of an alternative, do they?

WV: Well, the real alternative would be a workers revolution throughout the area, which obviously could not be limited just to Nicaragua or El Salvador but would have to include the heavy battalions in Mexico. ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area
Fri 5:00-8:00 p.m., Sat 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone (415) 835-1535

Chicago
Tues 5:30-9:00 p.m. Sat 2:00-5:30 p.m.
523 S. Plymouth Court, 3rd Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone (312) 427-0003

New York City
Tues 6:00-9:00 p.m., Sat 12:00-4:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below
Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, N.Y. Phone (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto
Sat 1:00-5:00 p.m.
299 Queen St. W. Suite 502
Toronto, Ontario Phone (416) 593-4138

CWA...

(continued from page 3)

bureaucracy's line, "what's good for the company is good for the workers," is a lie. But what's necessary to turn this into a strike that can win is to forge a new leadership that breaks *politically* from the pro-company, pro-CIA union tops. Fighting for that perspective is the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), a small group of militants centered in the Bay Area and Los Angeles with more than a ten-year history in the CWA.

MAC has been the only grouping in the CWA to demand militant industry-wide strike action against the bosses. In response to the "crime" of exposing collusion of union misleaders with the company and organizing phone workers to struggle, CWA bureaucrats launched a campaign to "Get MAC." Watts wrapped up the '82 CWA convention by declaring: "When we go into negotiations in 1983...the Militant Action Caucus...will be picketing our meetings, will be urging our members to strike and not settle no matter how good a settlement that we might get." That was the signal for Watts' local henchmen to go into action. In both L.A. and San Francisco this year local bureaucrats have launched McCarthyite witch-hunts against MAC—the most notorious being the ongoing eight-month vendetta of SF Local 9415 president Jim Imerzel to expel exec board member Kathy Ikegami.

MAC has fought for a full union shop, elected stewards with the power to settle grievances through strike action, and the local right to strike. MAC exposed the CWA tops' rotten ties to the CIA, and has fought for labor action against imperialist war from Vietnam to El Salvador. Where Watts praises bloody segregationist George Wallace, MAC has helped mobilize phone workers in labor/black actions to stop the Klan and Nazis. In L.A. MAC members sought to mobilize phone workers, including CWA convention delegates, for an emergency rally called to stop the murder of three anti-apartheid militants by the racist South African regime. MAC has fought consistently for independence of the unions from the capitalist state and bosses' parties. MAC calls for expropriation of the parasitic phone monopoly, as part of a struggle to smash the entire private profit system and replace it with a workers government.

A March 26 MAC leaflet demanded: "We can't afford to follow the bureaucrats' program of roll over and play dead. Our jobs and our union are on the line. It will take a sharp break from the present policies of our current misleadership to stop the companies' plans cold. We need one national contract with one expiration date for the entire telecommunications industry. We need contract language calling for uniform wage scales, benefits and working conditions at the highest level—no givebacks because of reorganization. For full CWA representation of *all* non-management job titles in all Bell subsidiaries, spinoffs and reorganized entities. All contract demands have to be based on the fact that the jobs we have are ours and nobody is going to take them away without a fight. It's time we told the company to shut up, we're doing the talking! For strike action to fight the layoffs, downgrades, forced transfers and firings and to fight for jobs for all—30 hours work for 40 hours pay." ■

Barnestown...

(continued from page 4)

Barnestown/Oberlin, polities will out and things heated up for a while between British supporters of Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat" (USec) and Barnesite Fred Feldman. At a workshop on disarmament, Feldman went after the USec majority for its capitulation to the pervasive anti-Sovietism of the European anti-nuke movement (captured in the slogan "For A Nuclear Free Europe from Poland to Portugal"). British USec supporter Brian Smith responded that Feldman's presentation was "slanderous" and challenged the SWP to "open the discussion" and "publish the documents." Starved for political debate, SWPers packed the workshop, which extended for several hours.

Meanwhile, in San Francisco, one Pedro Camejo, formerly a Barnesite top-dog hatchet-man now turned factional globetrotter for the SWP's estranged international USec bloc partners, gave a public talk August 5 to an audience laced with SWP members and ex-members. Will attendance there be a new Barnes pretext for more expulsions, like the alleged recent gathering of minorityites and ex-members on the West Coast? Back in Oberlin, the National Committee was having yet another hush-hush plenum, which we bet didn't spend its time discussing the plight of the working farmer... ■

Direct Report From Sri Lanka

COLOMBO, August 2—The newspapers of 25.7.83 reported a news item released by the Department of Information that 13 army personnel were killed by a shootout and bombing by terrorists in Thirunelveli, Jaffna area on the 22nd around midnight.

The government had made arrangements to bring down the bodies of these dead army personnel and to bury them at Colombo. The bodies were airlifted from Jaffna to Colombo on the 24th of July. Relations and religious dignitaries were invited to attend the funeral. However, the relations wanted the dead bodies to be taken to their villages. The government position and the relatives' stand were counterposed and the result was the police inspector in charge of the arrangement has been attacked. Thereafter all Tamil shops around Borella (Colombo-08) were looted and burnt.

The deaths of the 13 army personnel were published in the newspapers of the 25th, and the anti-Tamil activities in the Borella area on the evening of the 24th were spread through rumours. After that the widespread attacks on the Tamil people were released. On the morning of the 25th all Tamil shops in Fort and Pettah (in Colombo) were destroyed and burnt. These attacks were done by the same thugs that the UNP deployed against the Supreme Court judges and the picketting workers. Some Buddhist monks too supported this attack. Today Colombo stands as a bombed city. This example of attacking the Tamils spread to the North and South of the city by the afternoon. Sinhala communalists looted any Tamil building that they came across and burnt them. Vehicles on the roads were stopped and petrol was taken by thugs from these vehicles to torch the buildings belonging to the Tamils. From Colombo south on the Galle Road up to Kalutara (27 miles) not one Tamil building was left. All were destroyed.

Many factories have been completely burned and destroyed. Some of these belong to Indians. Hundreds of thousands of women workers who were employed in these have lost their jobs.

The government reports that there are 50,000 refugees. The most distressing news is of the murder of Kuttimani and Jeganathan and 35 other prisoners on 26 July who were arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. The radio and TV announced that about 100 other prisoners despite the orders of the prison's officials broke open the cells and murdered these Tamil prisoners. However our information is completely different. That is that the army broke into the cells and murdered these prisoners.

By the 27th these anti-Tamil attacks spread to Kandy. Whilst all these happened the government kept silent. The army completely supported the Sinhala communalists to destroy Tamil shops. We saw that Tamil shops and houses had been looted by Sinhala communalists during curfew hours! They were not stopped. Especially the curfew imposed on the 24th-26th from 2 p.m. was for name sake. Damage was done during curfew hours in the presence of the army.

Newspapers of the 29th reported the second wave of killings in the Welikada prisons. This time 18 Tamil prisoners were killed by Sinhala prisoners on the 27th.

The country is facing a severe shortage of food. Long queues are visible in front of government marketing sales depots.

The majority of the Sinhalese agree and approve this attack. There is no basis for any other observation. However generally leftists do not side with these attacks. But at the moment the left movement does not have the strength to swim against this tide. The government has used press censors and other regulations to stop left opinions from surfacing.

The Prime Minister in his address to the nation on the 29th declared that all organisations demanding a separate [Tamil] state or any organisation that supports such a view is to be banned and their properties confiscated by laws that are to be introduced on the 4th of August, Thursday. Thereafter, he said, the talk of a separate state will end!

There is no chance for a Tamil to walk in the streets in and around Colombo. He will be chased by Sinhala communalists declaring him a "tiger" and hacked to death. We defended our Tamil comrades and our other Tamil sympathisers.

The government will bring their sixth amendment to the constitution to ban any organisation which demands a separate state or the right of self-determination. The amendment will be proposed in parliament on the 4th August. The government intends to get it passed on the very same day. Any party or individual who is guilty of such activity will be punished. Their property will be confiscated and/or they will be sentenced to a 20-years imprisonment or death sentence.

J.R. government is following Hitler's methods and has proscribed the following parties and their printing presses—Nava Samasamaja Party (New LSSP), Sri Lanka Communist Party (Moscow), Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (People's Liberation Front)—under the emergency law. Any party members who break this law will be given death sentences. ■

Kuttimani, Jegan and Dr. S. Rajasunderam: three of the Tamil martyrs murdered in Welikada prison.

PLOT Photos

Sri Lanka...

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village.... Brandishing clubs and knives they checked vehicles for the presence of Tamils." At the Buddhist Temple of the Tooth in central Kandy, a Tamil body was found floating in the idyllic lake.

Few horrifying tales have yet emerged from the sealed-off Northern Province. Several reports tell of the fire-bombing devastation from army helicopters of whole Tamil villages and Jaffna University. Rumors of an army massacre over a week ago are only now being confirmed by government admission. In Jaffna, during a rampage of indiscriminate shootings of Tamils on July 25, government troops ordered at least 20 Tamils from a bus, including women, and shot them one by one in the street.

The international Spartacist tendency has sponsored demonstrations in six countries on three continents as part of an international campaign to save the Tamil people from Jayewardene's rampage. The lives of three million men, women and children—the fate of an entire people!—is hanging in the balance. This life-and-death matter calls for urgent action by the international working class and its allies. We demand: *Smash J.R.'s massacre—Defend the Tamil people! Immediate withdrawal of Sinhala army units from all Tamil areas! Arms for the Tamil people!* The Tamils in the refugee camps are now at the mercy of the same army butchers who engineered and executed this pogrom for their passage to the North. *Patriation of Tamils in Sinhala areas to the North under the protection of the Indian army! No faith in Indira Gandhi! No "UN" troops!*

This atrocity taking place in Sri Lanka marks a watershed in the history of that island nation; that society will never be the same again. The impact of the bloodletting and mass population transfers can only be described as a catastrophe. J.R. has ripped the country apart, forcing separation of the peoples by eliminating Tamils in the south and uplands and shipping the survivors to be compacted in part of the Northern Province. What is posed now as a minimal democratic demand is a plebiscite of the Tamil working people to decide on the formation of an independent state in the North: *For the right of Tamil Eelam!*

The repression and compaction of the Tamils is linked by many strings to a war drive against the USSR. Among a frenzied mounting list of fake villains and alibis J.R. has fantastically accused the Soviets of orchestrating communalism, mass murder and plunder as part of a plot to overthrow his government. By latest reports J.R. intends to throw out 80 percent of the diplomatic staff of the Soviet and East German embassies. In his anti-Soviet frenzy J.R. even threw the Vatican rep out of the country for allegedly collaborating with the Tamil terrorists and denounced Amnesty International as a bunch of communists. Sri Lanka's pretenses to "non-alignment" are utterly sham. The UNP (United National Party) government points an accusing finger at the Soviet Union as the "superpower with a long history of subversion in the Third World," as if it weren't the CIA and IMF which are busy worldwide bringing down governments and starving the people for imperialist profits. It's clear J.R.'s looking to sell Sinhalese labor power and strategic Trincomalee harbor to the "superpower" which boasts about its military might. As retired U.S. Navy admiral Edward Snyder put it when the USS New Jersey was brought out of mothballs: "If you are a Buddhist and someone trains a battleship's 16-inch guns on you: 'Where do I sign up to be a Christian, boss?'" For some time now Sri Lanka has been hegging to get into ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations, pimps for genocidal Pol Pot), the front-line instrument for imperialist attempts to reconquer Vietnam.

It's not for nothing he became known as "Yankee Dickie"—J.R. is Reagan's man in the Indian Ocean. And he surely aspires to be Jeane Kirkpatrick's model of a "moderately authoritarian" dictator. The Reagan administration has praised Sri Lanka as a model for Third World development, a free enterprise paradise for the imperialists. For the Lankan masses it's dollar-a-day wages and slave-labor conditions for women workers in the "free trade zones" and the Tamil plantation workers. The U.S. imperialists have designs on Trincomalee as part of their plan to secure hegemony over the Indian Ocean and encircle the Soviet Union. J.R. is willing to trade the strategically important deep-water harbor of Trincomalee in exchange for access to U.S. markets for cheap goods produced in the "free trade zones." The UNP government has pursued a conscious policy of colonizing Sinhalese into the previously Tamil-majority areas like Trincomalee, not unlike the Zionist policy in the West Bank. The Sri Lankan government's request for military assistance from the U.S., Britain, Pakistan and Bangladesh to repel the threat of a "foreign invasion" appeared to be an open provocation against quasi-Soviet-friend India. J.R., like his big brother in the White House, seems to have no qualms about dragging the world yet another step closer to World War III. *J.R.'s massacres pave the way for the bloody USA! U.S. out of the Indian Ocean! Hands off Diego Garcia! No U.S. base at Trincomalee! Down with the anti-Soviet war drive!*

J.R.—Sri Lanka's Pinochet

The bourgeois press is attempting to portray this conflagration as a spontaneous outburst of communalist racial strife or a backlash against the Tamil separatist movement. This is an obscene lie! The pogromist massacres have been instigated and organized by the government.

The government campaign to annihilate the Tamil nationalists actually started when, at the World Tamil Conference in 1974, the police attacked a peaceful cultural meeting and killed nine Tamils. This led to the birth of the guerrillaist Tamil Tiger movement. The stage was set for the current government pogrom when Sinhalese soldiers abducted and raped several young Tamil women from Palaly Teachers Training College near Jaffna. Two of them, hopelessly degraded by prevailing reactionary values, reportedly committed suicide the next day. Outraged by this atrocity, Tamil youth took to the streets and erected barricades. Two army vehicles of the occupying forces were ambushed; 12 soldiers and one army officer were killed. The army response was to unleash a bloody massacre. Reports of the nightmarish violence all over the island confirm the government's role in the terror. Eyewitnesses tell of army and police standing by for *12 hours* as Colombo burned. According to one account by numerous foreign tourists, nine Tamils were incinerated at Colombo's main railway station as policemen, troops and several European tourists looked on:

> "After being beaten the Tamils were placed on the railway tracks by the crowd which used papers and other debris as kindling to burn the battered but still living people."
>
> —*Guardian* [London], 29 July

Army men were supervising the pillaging, according to reports in *Libération* [Paris] (4 August):

> "On Galle Road Monday afternoon people were in their cars trying to get home, but army men were stopping them and helping the hooligans confiscate their gasoline to set fire to shops and homes. In High Street I saw an

As retired U.S. Navy admiral Edward Snyder put it when the USS New Jersey was brought out of mothballs: "If you are a Buddhist and someone trains a battleship's 16-inch guns on you: 'Where do I sign up to he a Christian, boss?'"

attack upon a recently opened tourist inn. Army men were supervising the looting of fans, furniture, mattresses."

J.R. has done his best to behead the Tamil nationalist movement. The slaughter of 52 leading Tamil activists held under the draconian Prevention of Terrorism Act in Colombo's maximum-security Welikada jail was an act of raw vengeance by the government. Army men opened the jail gates and prison cells to allow professional killers into the cells of these Tamil militants. Groups of ten, armed with swords, rods and pistols, entered each cell. After ten minutes it was total silence. Two hours later, jail wardens leisurely appeared on the scene to claim that some prisoners had broken out of their cells and attacked and killed some Tamil prisoners before order could be restored. Thirty-seven were dead. Two days later 17 more prisoners were butchered in a second sweep that was clearly meant to finish the job. When questioned about the present safety of political detainees in light of two successive massacres, government spokesman Liyanage responded laconically: "We're not the only country which has prison riots" (*Guardian* [London], 3 August).

The overwhelmingly Sinhala army has been an army of occupation in the Northern Province with increasing troop concentrations for several years. Now, like a foreign army of conquest, soldiers rape, burn, maim, pillage and brutalize the population in unspeakable ways. In the east coast port city of Trincomalee 130 Sinhalese sailors broke from their barracks and burned an entire Tamil village to the ground, killing one Tamil and injuring ten others. The government has stampeded tens of thousands of families into ten refugee camps where there is no food, no water, no sanitation, no medical aid. The government is holding up crucial foreign relief aid, food and medical supplies. "We are sitting ducks," said a 32-year-old Tamil clerk in the Pillaiar Hindu temple compound which houses 4,000 refugees in utter squalor on the outskirts of Colombo. "They can throw bombs in here and massacre us all like they did in Lebanon. We can't stay here" (*International Herald Tribune*, 30-31 July). One recalls the carnage of the massacres at Shatila and Sabra.

J.R. is moving fast to consolidate a Pinochet-style dictatorship. The economic interdependence of the Tamil and Sinhala peoples has been systematically destroyed while the survivors of the anti-Tamil pogroms are being compacted in a South African-style bantustan in the North. J.R. carefully prepared the way: first with his ominous "referendum" which extended the life of his UNP-dominated reactionary "long parliament" until 1989; then with showpiece local elections that were boycotted by 92 percent of all the Tamils in the North and East. He rounded up the most well-known Tamil leaders and threw them in jail, where many were then butchered, following torture. He shut down the Tamil paper *Sutantiran* and the English-language *Saturday Review*, both published in Jaffna, to

Der Spiegel

Colombo: Police stood by as Sinhalese mobs burned and looted Tamil shops.

muzzle the main voices of Tamil opinion in the North. Then he unleashed the bloody rampage.

J.R. has now extended his repression to Sinhala leftist parties. The Communist Party, the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) and the Nava Samasamaja Party (NSSP) have been outlawed and many of their leaders thrown in Welikada prison! There have been over 1,000 arrests including prominent leftists—among those jailed or being hunted are Rohana Wijeweera (JVP), Vasudeva Nanayakkara (NSSP) and three leaders of the Communist Party. *Down with press censorship! No ban on* Saturday Review *and* Sutantiran*! Release all victims of UNP terror!*

One Big Lie After Another

J.R. has now concocted a series of big lies to justify his crackdown on the leftist parties. At first he pushed the lie that the violence was provoked by the terrorism of the Tamil Tigers rather than by Sinhala chauvinism. Then he tried to pin the blame on the Russians. Now he has spun an elaborate fantasy about a diabolical plot by the Sinhalese left in collusion with left-wing military officers to exploit the tensions between the Sinhalese and Tamils and unleash civil disturbances in five stages to provoke a coup by the military and national police. Asked by a reporter why he waited five days before publicly appealing for a return to order, J.R. replied, "I might as well have asked George Washington not to start his war of independence or revolution. You people think it is a [communal] riot. It is not. It is a revolution, and we have to adopt counter-revolutionary methods" (*Washington Post*, 8 August).

J.R. wants to blame everybody for the bloodletting except for those who did it—the mutineers in his own army. The *Sunday Times* (7 August) reported:

> "...carefully-worded version of Jayawardene's speech, released to the press by the official censor, hides the fact that after riots erupted on July 24, when 13 soldiers were ambushed and killed by Tamil terrorists in Jaffna, a sizeable number of Sri Lanka's 13,000 troops were in a state of mutiny for four days as they wreaked vengeance against the country's Tamil population....
>
> "Despite vigorous official denials, independent sources confirm that the government did try last week to obtain troops and equipment from Bangladesh, Pakistan, Britain and the US as a back-up force while it undertook a cleansing operation. It was as much the lukewarm response from those countries as the strong opposition from Sri Lanka's own armed forces that led to the plan being abandoned."

Playing the role of the bonaparte in the classic sense, J.R. has shown himself to be a master of the imperialist-derived methods of divide-and-rule. He sets the Sinhalese against the Tamils, the Tamils against the Sinhalese left, and so on while jailing, killing or driving from their homes each oppressed sector. Now blood flows in the streets.

The despicable deep-seated chauvinism and popular frontism of the Sinhalese left, subordinate to the SLFP of Mr. Bandaranaike and later Mrs. Bandaranaike, has given the bourgeois nationalists a firm grip on the Tamil people. The lefts' penchant for coalitions with the SLFP, a capitalist party built on the basis of chauvinist "Sinhala only" policies, has made them anathema to militant Tamil youth. It was under the rule of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike following independence that another social group—the Burghers, descendants of the intermarriage of Europeans with the Sinhalese—were driven out because they had previously occupied the highest positions in the officer caste and civil service under the British. The reformist parties supported the SLFP coalition government of Mrs. Bandaranaike that massacred thousands of embittered JVP-led leftist rural Sinhalese youth in 1971. In response to the current crackdown against the left, Mrs. B has bragged that her own government had locked up the JVP leaders, and that "when he [J.R.] took over, he let them out" (*Times* [London], 1 August).

On August 4, Parliament, with the main opposition party MPs of the Tamil United Liberation Front still in hiding in the North and with a declared TULF boycott, voted a complete ban on separatist politics. The mere advocacy of Tamil Eelam, the formation of a separate Tamil state, now brands one officially an outlaw, threatened with loss of civil rights, life imprisonment or the death penalty! Like the ex-shah of Iran, J.R. has threatened to crush any opposition at home or among the more than 500,000 Tamils living abroad. Prime Minister Premadasa says, "Those advocating any division of the country will not be able to talk about it even in a foreign land because we would punish them upon their return to Sri Lanka" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 3 August). *For the right of Tamil Eelam!*

The TULF, a bourgeois nationalist formation like the early Kuomintang, has been widely discredited particularly among militant Tamil youth for their attempted compromises with the J.R. government. Now with their fundamental principle of separatism plus legalism outlawed, they have reached a dead end. The wretched SLFP not only supported the ban of the TULF, they proposed an amendment to declare advocating separatism an act of treason! The Communist Party, whose own members are being hunted and jailed, supported the ban on the TULF fully. After making this clear, however, the CP MP walked out of Parliament to protest only the outlawing of his own party!

AP

After 1971 youth uprising thousands were butchered by Mrs. B's pop front regime. Above, body of young rebel floats seaward.

No Faith In Indira Gandhi!

In desperation the leaders of Sri Lanka's Tamil community and many Tamil exiles have appealed to India's Indira Gandhi to intervene on their behalf. Gandhi draws significant electoral support from the tens of millions of Tamils in southern India. For six days, the state of Tamil Nadu was virtually shut down with strikes and demonstrations. Militant, daily demonstrations have been held in front of the Sri Lankan embassy in New Delhi. A 14-hour, 45-million-strong protest strike paralyzed Tamil Nadu on August 2. Angry demonstrators marched through the streets of different cities and towns with human skulls atop poles burning effigies of Sri Lankan president Jayewardene and shouting "Death to Jayewardene!" and slogans urging Mrs. Gandhi to send the Indian army to Sri Lanka. Several hundred students vowed in a memorandum to the prime minister to sail 50 small boats across the narrow Palk Straits and join the Tamil Tigers if she refused to act. Five thousand volunteers from different parts of Tamil Nadu took a blood oath to undertake a "pilgrimage of sacrifice to Eelam" which will march 92 miles to the coast, then cross the straits in small boats hewn out of tree trunks. J.R. has stepped up security including armed patrols of the beaches at Rameshawaram to prevent the proclaimed army of political workers from reaching their destination.

In fact Mrs. Gandhi declared, "We are against any secessionist movement in any sovereign country" (*Asian Monitor*, 29 July). Gandhi said she "is willing to send troops to Sri Lanka to reinforce the island republic's army" (*Daily Telegraph*, 1 August)! This should come as no surprise to those who recall that the Indian government sent helicopters and troops to help suppress the JVP-led popular insurrection in 1971. Last week she sent an elephant—the symbol of J.R.'s hated UNP—as a gift from the Indian government for the famous Buddhist holy shrine of the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy aboard a ship that was to transport Tamil refugees! The fate of Lanka's Tamil masses must not be left in the hands of Indira Gandhi, the brutal oppressor of her own national, ethnic and religious minorities in India! She orchestrated the communal bloodletting in Assam, where untold thousands died and a quarter of a million were left homeless earlier this year. When Gandhi went to war with Pakistan in 1971, using the just Bengali struggle for self-determination as a pretext, the Indian army established an iron grip on the East Bengalis, and disarmed and slaughtered the guerrillaist Mukti Bahini which had thrown itself at the mercy of the Indian bourgeoisie. The young Tamil liberation fighters and leftist defenders of the Tamil people—Sinhala and Tamil alike—could certainly meet the same fate.

Today Ceylon experiences the bitter fruit of decades of betrayal and defeat in the class struggle. It is necessary to begin again in the light of all experience since the British left in 1948. But history does not repeat itself. The bloody communal struggle argues that even with proletarian revolution in Ceylon and South Asia generally, a *federated* socialist republic in Ceylon will be necessary to achieve the unity of Tamil and Sinhalese people on the basis of justice and equality (and to not ignore the Sinhalese people's fears of the immense majority of Tamils in south India).

Tamil militants who look to the United Nations must recall the horrible fate of the PLO and Palestinian masses in the hands of these imperialist "peace-

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Sri Lanka...

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keepers"! Disarmed, dispersed and humiliated, the PLO abandoned thousands of civilians to a bloody end at the hands of Zionist/Phalange terror. U.S. troops and those of its NATO allies not only did nothing to stop the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, but set up the massacre at Shatila and Shabra. *No confidence in Indira Gandhi! No to UN troops!*

An Indian invasion would surely result in a brutal reversal of the terms of oppression between Lanka's nationalities, as did the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus. When the Turkish army invaded, the previously oppressed Cypriot Turks turned the tables and perpetrated great atrocities against the Greeks. As Marxists, we are not in the business of revenge of one people (the prior oppressed) over another (the prior oppressor). Rather we believe the eradication of national oppression and true social progress will require a socialist revolution. As Marx wrote in "The Future Results of British Rule in India":

> "When a great social revolution shall have mastered the results of the bourgeois epoch, the market of the world and the modern powers of production, and subjected them to the common control of the most advanced peoples, then only will human progress cease to resemble that hideous pagan idol, who would not drink the nectar but from the skulls of the slain."

The Lankan economy, already ravaged by the starvation austerity measures dictated by the IMF, inflation and unemployment, is now hopelessly in ruins. A critical shortage of staples has in one week jacked up prices 400 percent! This has been exacerbated by the fact that the food commissioner and his deputy, both Tamils, have fled the capital. The Tamil people are, or were, the merchant/professional class in that country, a legacy of British imperialist policy which had incorporated many Tamils in the mechanisms of the British colonial administration. But since independence in 1948 the Sinhalese have overwhelmingly displaced them in government service and higher educational access and the Tamils have become a savagely oppressed minority. The nationalist "Sinhala only" agitation of the mid-1950s, endorsed by the popular-front left as anti-British colonialism, codified anti-Tamil communalism as official state policy.

But if the army-battered North is overwhelmingly Tamil and neither the government nor the "left" sheds any tears over the brutal exploitation of the plantation Tamils who are called "Indian Tamils" and deprived of basic citizenship rights in their native Lanka, elsewhere and especially in Colombo itself, which had no Sinhala majority, Sinhalese and Tamils and other ethnic groupings have historically been economically interpenetrated peoples. In Colombo, Tamil merchants and traders ran fully 70 percent of the retail and wholesale trade, including the crucial food distribution businesses. The gutting of 17 major Tamil-owned factories, mostly textile operations making ready-to-wear garments for export, spells the loss of over 150,000 jobs. The massive scale of the carnage has badly damaged prospects for attracting foreign investment and the formerly fast-growing tourist trade. And just what is supposed to happen to the tea plantations, the mainstay of Sri Lanka's agricultural export economy, which accounts for most of the island's hard-currency earnings, after the Indian Tamil plantation workers are burnt out, thrown in refugee camps or shipped back to India? The Sinhalese peasant smallholders won't work under the grueling slave-labor conditions that the superexploited stateless Tamil plantation workers have been forced to endure.

The Sinhalese ruling class has always sought to manipulate the communalist antagonisms on the island. A recent issue of *Le Monde* (4 August) graphically describes the deep ethnic hatred which has been fueled to a fever pitch by the bourgeoisie:

> "This time we gave them a good lesson, and they should keep their heads down. It couldn't go on like that. In fact, the government should have reacted immediately when Tamil terror first began in the North. Enough is enough. The Tamils are privileged already.... We couldn't let them walk all over us. They came from abroad. They can live abroad. We only have one country, our country. Anything that leads toward independence is unacceptable. Would you allow your country to be sliced up like that?... Of course, our reaction will doubtless have short-term negative effects on the economy, but it was justified."

The international Spartacist tendency has consistently upheld the right of the minority Tamils to form their own state if they so choose. In the wake of the government's anti-Tamil pogrom the bitterness and hostility between the Tamils and the Sinhalese has evidently become insurmountable at least in the short run. J.R. is carrying out the decimation and compaction of the surviving Tamils in the North. A plebiscite on an independent state is merely a necessary democratic measure.

While Marxists unconditionally defend the Tamils' right to form a separate state, we are less than enthusiastic about the prospects for an independent Tamil Eelam in the barren North with the inevitable concomitant economic dependence on India. With or without independence the North alone is economically unviable. With little industry and poor, arid land the region is ill-prepared to absorb the influx of another million or more Tamil refugees. And what is to become of the horribly downtrodden remnants of the Indian Tamil plantation workers in the uplands after the separation?

The formation of an independent state in the North out of the ashes of J.R.'s holocaust would neither ensure survival nor bring national justice for the masses of oppressed Tamils. What is needed is a socialist revolution on the island and its extension throughout South Asia. We have in the past counseled against separation, understanding that a revolutionary policy for Tamil emancipation must include the Tamil estate proletariat, who are integrated into key aspects of the economy. These workers are not only central to our perspective of united struggle by the Sinhala and Tamil working people to destroy capitalism and establish a workers and peasants government in Sri Lanka, they also represent the basis to forge the living revolutionary link with southern India by showing the 60 million Tamils and the dozens of other oppressed nationalities of capitalist India that our internationalist proletarian state has nothing in common with the ultimately genocidal "democratic socialism" of J.R./Mrs. B.

What is desperately needed is the building of an internationalist Trotskyist party in Sri Lanka, necessarily substantially based among the exploited Tamil masses. The struggle against the hideous national oppression of the Tamils and communalism is central to forging such a party. Colvin de Silva, a founder of the Trotskyist movement in Ceylon, said at the time of the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi:

> "Let us remember: communalism is wrong because it subserves the interests of the exploiters and oppressors by enabling them to divert the exploited from their proper struggle and proper objective to a false struggle and a false objective. It turns the minds of the exploited away from the necessity to overthrow the system of exploitation. It plunges them into internecine conflict which lays them prostrate before their common exploiters and oppressors."

The Bolshevik-Leninists of India was a party of both India and Ceylon to which we look as the best of the original Ceylonese subjectively revolutionary formations. An internationalist party, they opposed the imperialist Second World War which many spent in India or in jail and continued the struggle for independence from the British. They organized strikes among the plantation workers and in Jaffna and Trincomalee, winning the respect of a considerable layer of the Tamil intelligentsia and workers. The continuators of this tradition today are we Trotskyists who champion the rights of the Tamils and link the Tamil struggle to the class struggle of the proletariat for socialism. Lasting national and class justice for the Tamils will only be secured through permanent revolution—rule by the workers and peasants—and a socialist federation of South Asia. ■

NOTICE

Workers Vanguard skips an issue in August.

Our next issue will be dated September 9.

Protest Anti-Tamil Terror...

(continued from page 1)

Los Angeles, San Francisco, Canberra, Sydney and Bonn. In the course of the campaign, thousands of copies of *Workers Vanguard* and of the Tamil-language *Illangai Spartacist* and other iSt publications have been sold.

Militant unionists in Canada and the U.S. have raised the call for an international labor boycott of all Sri Lankan goods. In Australia, SL/ANZ leaflets have called on Melbourne dock workers to boycott Sri Lankan cargo on the Indian ship *Vishva Kaumudi* (see box).

Everywhere, both in Spartacist-called demonstrations and in united-front actions with Tamil exile groups, the Trotskyists of the iSt have fought for proletarian internationalist defense of the Tamil people. On several occasions bourgeois elements have attempted to break Tamil militants away from cooperation with the communists. But significant numbers of Tamil youth are rejecting these intimidation efforts, and speaking out against the criminal attempts to divide the protest against Sri Lankan strongman J.R. Jayewardene's Cold War terror.

In addition, there have been a number of incidents of chauvinist retaliation against Tamils in the West. At a demonstration of 200 Tamils in New York July 29, a Sinhala "photographer" set upon a Tamil protester. In Los Angeles on August 6, a Spartacist League spokesman received anonymous phone calls threatening bloody revenge if we dared to demonstrate, and a handful of Jayewardene supporters attempted to disrupt the protest. In France, at least one Tamil has been killed by Sinhala thugs who operate with no apparent fear of deportation (and two Sinhalese have also been killed). The Sinhala gang terror on an international scale is reminiscent of the Iranian SAVAK network under the shah.

New York

"Down with state terror! For the right of Tamil self-determination!" chanted 100 demonstrators outside the Sri Lankan Mission to the United Nations July 28. Among the protesters were two dozen Lankan Tamils, supporters of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Council. At the rally, the SL/U.S. emphasized the connection between the massacre in Sri Lanka and Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. Signs read, "J.R. Terror Paves the Way for the Bloody USA" and "Hands Off Diego Garcia and Trincomalee!" An SL spokesman said:

> "The terror launched against the Tamils is not just an outbreak of mass chauvinism but a pogrom organized by the J.R. government for a strategic purpose linked to the counterrevolutionary perspectives of the American imperialists on a global scale. Under British colonialism, Trincomalee [in the historically Tamil Eastern Province] was headquarters for the British fleet—now the U.S. wants it as a stepping stone in the Indian Ocean to encircle the USSR. Just as the U.S. wants to turn the Caribbean into an American lake, they want to turn the Indian Ocean into an armed U.S. bastion from which to control the Indian subcontinent, Iran and the oil sheikdoms. We oppose all U.S. intervention in the area! For military defense of the Soviet Union and Vietnam against imperialist attack!"

A spokesman for the Tamil Eelam Liberation Council (TELC) called for a United Nations peacekeeping force to stop the terror. But the SL warned that only a year ago these same imperialist armies set up the massacre of the Palestinian people in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon. "No to UN peacekeeping force! U.S. out of the Indian Ocean!" the demonstrators chanted.

London

On July 30 in London, in the largest single protest in the West, 4,000 people paraded past Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's office at No. 10 Downing Street to County Hall. More than 100 militants, largely Tamils, marched behind the Spartacist League/Britain banner, "Halt Anti-Tamil Pogrom in Lanka! Down with Bonapartist JR Regime!" The crowd picked up our chants, "Thatcher arms Lankan butchers—Trade unions: stop it now!" "For Tamil right to separate—Lanka needs a workers state!" "Defend Tamil areas—Imperialist hands off Trincomalee!" A theme repeatedly expressed by Tamil demonstrators was an appeal for protection from the Indira Gandhi regime. One sign captured the spirit, "Mother India Save Us!" In contrast Spartacist placards called for "No Faith in Indira Gandhi—Remember the Fate of the Mukti Bahini," referring to the guerrilla fighters of Bangladesh slaughtered with Gandhi's blessings. While the SL calls for "patriation to the North of Tamils now in Sinhala areas, under protection of the Indian army," we warn against any faith in the bourgeois nationalist regime of Indira Gandhi which presides over its own prison house of peoples, from Assam to Kerala.

Spartacist Britain

4,000 mainly Lankan and Indian Tamils march in London, July 30. Crowd picked up Spartacist chant, "Thatcher Arms Lankan Butchers—Trade Unions: Stop It Now!"

The question of Indian intervention

BOYCOTT SRI LANKAN CARGO!

MELBOURNE, August 8—Reprinted below are excerpts from a leaflet distributed by the Spartacist League/Australia and New Zealand (dated August 5) entitled "Stop Anti-Tamil Genocide in Sri Lanka! Black [hot cargo] Sri Lankan Cargo!" This call for labor action was warmly received, in particular by Indian seamen manning the *Vishva Kaumudi*, an Indian ship carrying Lankan cargo loaded in Fremantle, Western Australia. The following morning the ship's Tamil captain called a meeting of seamen to report an urgent directive from the Indian government that Indian ships stop carrying Lankan cargo and that Lankan goods already on board be unloaded at Bombay, bypassing Indonesia and Colombo.

Seaman and maritime workers must not rely on the manoeuvres of Indian head of state Indira Gandhi! What's necessary is militant labor action, blacking [hot cargoing] goods to Sri Lanka in ports around the world. A Dutch ship carrying Lankan cargo is already reported to be arriving in Melbourne in the next week. Such labor action would also greatly aid the defence of Tamils in Australia and elsewhere now under the gun by Sinhalese rightists, as well as the fight for asylum for Tamil refugees.

...The international working class must act now to save the Tamil people from J.R. Jayewardene's "final solution."

Australian wharfies [dock workers] have a perfect opportunity to score a blow against the butcher J.R. On August 7 at Berth 24 Victoria Dock and days later in Sydney an Indian ship, *Vishva Kaumudi*, will be offloading and taking on Sri Lankan cargo. Waterside workers together with the ship's Indian seamen should see that the cargo on the dock stays there. And it would be a splendid act of working class solidarity if the Sri Lankan cargo now on board stays right where it is until it finds a resting place at the bottom of the Pacific. Australian maritime unions have a long history of such action from the Black Armada of 1945-48 [when Australian dockers refused to handle Dutch shipping to Indonesia during the independence struggle] to strike action in solidarity with the workers and peasants of Vietnam during U.S. and Australian imperialisms' dirty losing war in Indochina. Organised labour must again use its power! Don't let J.R. Jayewardene destroy the Tamil people! Black all cargo to and from Sri Lanka!...

Reliance on the Hawke Labor government to act in defence of the Tamils is a sure way to seal their fate. Hawke knows who his friends are and Reagan's anti-Soviet despot Jayewardene is one of them. Hawke's anti-union government reneged on its promise to resume economic aid to Vietnam but gives at least $12 million annual financial aid to subsidise Jayewardene's genocide. Now Hawke has just thrown in an extra $100,000 bonus! Waterside workers: it's up to you to take action to save the Tamil people. You've got the power—use it! Don't load the *Vishva Kaumudi!*

came up again at an SL/B forum in London July 27 when a spokesman from the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) said, "With regard to the call for help from India.... We are massacred, we are killed there, no food, no medicine.... We can only go to our next-door neighbor and ask for help." SL/B spokesman David Strachan focused on a strategy to "seek to win not the Indian bourgeoisie, but the Indian masses" in powerful workers' action to stay the hand of the Lankan butchers:

> "For instance, this general strike which was called in Madras by the opposition parties—that's something you genuinely want to look to, as something to build on. And international working-class support elsewhere; trade-union bans on military goods, for instance, in this country, because the British imperialists have had a role in training the [Lankan] commandos...."

Middle Eastern Spartacist comrades at the meeting spoke powerfully of the experiences of communalist terror and retribution in Cyprus and Armenia.

Germany

In West Germany the anti-Tamil massacre in Sri Lanka has been brought to the fore by actions of the government in deporting a number of Tamils to certain death at the hands of the Sinhala chauvinists. Last week in Berlin five Tamils were deported. On August 4, the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands demonstrated outside the detention center in West Berlin's Kruppstrasse protesting this "Deportation to Death." A TLD leaflet denounced the West German government for sending millions of D-marks to the butcher Jayewardene while denying political asylum to Tamil refugees from the massacre. The TLD demanded "No Deportations of Tamils!" as well as the release of Cemal Kemal Altun, a Turkish left-wing prisoner in Germany.

On August 4, supporters of the TELC invited and welcomed a TLD contingent at a demonstration in Grevenbroich. But in Bonn the next day, Tamil bourgeois leaders mounted a crude attempt to exclude us, even calling on the capitalist cops. As the demonstration began the TLD, the only German organization present, began to chant, "Arms to the Tamil people!" "U.S. Imperialism—Hands off Trincomalee!" and "Defend Vietnam and Soviet Union!" A TELC leader arrived with a police officer and demanded that our sign, "No Trust in Indira Gandhi, Butcher of Assam and Mukti Bahini" be taken down, threatening to confiscate it. The TLD, under protest, dissolved the contingent and then distributed a leaflet to the demonstrators, informing them of the cowardly betrayal by their leadership and calling on them to protest.

Tamil demonstrators were outraged at the anti-communist exclusion by their leadership. This polarization was made especially clear at the beginning of the demonstration when the TELC leaflet was distributed by young Tamils only in "censored" form. A sentence assuring the imperialists that the Tamils were not infiltrated by communists was obliterated on every single leaflet before it was handed out! The TLD has been the only German organization to take up the cause of the Tamil people, a fact that even the anti-communist leadership has had to recognize. On the back of their leaflet, they had reprinted excerpts from the TLD's leaflet.

In West Berlin on August 7, the TLD held a united-front rally which drew 150, about half Tamils mobilized by the TLD and the Tamil Eelam Welfare Association. A call for the action was endorsed by an impressive list of leftists and defense organizations, individual trade unionists, political and cultural figures.

For International Protest Against Anti-Tamil Terror

From Bangladesh to Assam to Sri Lanka—the cycle of intercommunalist terror is the legacy of the divide-and-rule policies of British imperialism carried out today by the "independent" capitalist leaders. This is reflected in some elements of the Tamil emigré leadership whose hostility to united-front action with socialist groups grows out of an appetite to make themselves "acceptable" not only to the Indian bourgeoisie, but as quislings for Jayewardene himself and his American imperialist sponsors. For Tamil militants, the question is now posed: nationalist isolation or a revolutionary internationalist perspective. As the statement of the German TLD read:

> "So what disturbs the TELC leaders about our militant working-class defense of the Tamils? Bala [TELC official] wants no red flags, no calls for the defense of the Soviet Union, no criticism of imperialism and the Kohl government and does not even want to mention the Tamils facing deportation in West German prisons. This cynical answer is true to the politics of this popular frontist in exile following in the tracks of bloody Mrs. B who paved the way for Jayewardene."

Even should a Tamil Eelam state come about, it can only be an isolated bantustan on the barren north coast of Ceylon, dependent for its existence on the overlordship of the Indian army. The fate of the Tamil people will depend on a struggle for a socialist federation of South Asia, which can liberate all the many oppressed peoples of the region, including the almost 60 million Tamils in India. This perspective was raised in Paris July 29 at the demonstration organized by the Ligue Trotskyste de France joined by 400 supporters of the TELC and the Tamil People's Liberation Organization. The LTF spokesman concluded:

> "Comrades and friends, we want to end the demonstration with the singing of the Internationale. Tsarist Russia was another country which suffered bloody pogroms. What put an end once and for all to these tsarist pogroms was when the Russian working class led by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party took power. This is the same perspective we want to bring you today. For the socialist revolution, for the socialist federation of South Asia!" ■

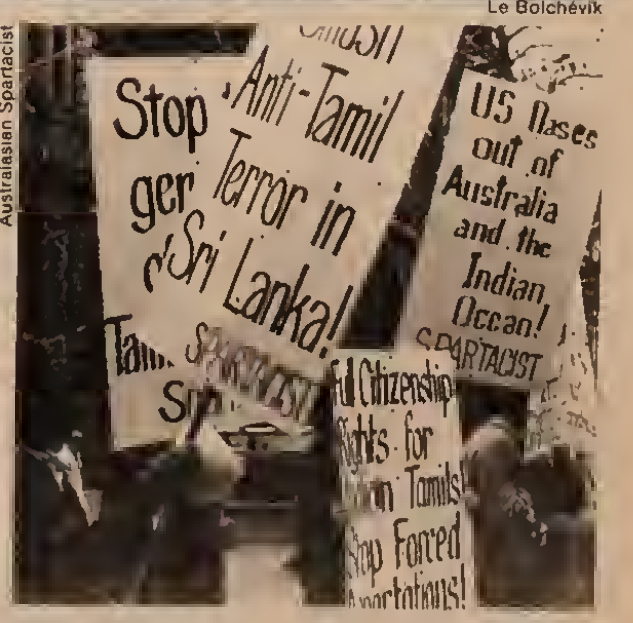
In Paris, July 29, 400 Tamils joined protest initiated by Ligue Trotskyste de France.

Le Bolchévik

WV Photo

200 Tamils march in New York City, July 29 (left).

Australian Spartacist League campaigns for an international labor boycott of Sri Lanka to save Tamils. Protest in Sydney on July 23 (right).



Australasian Spartacist

WORKERS VANGUARD

Massacre in Sri Lanka

AP Photos

In Colombo, Jayewardene's army and Sinhalese mobs unleash hideous terror against Tamil minority. Body of Tamil victim lies burning in street (right).

Arms to the Tamil People! U.S. Out of the Indian Ocean!

AUGUST 9—Would-be strongman President J.R. Jayewardene found himself at the head of mass, bloody, burning butchery of Tamil families, youth, defenseless prisoners and pathetic plantation laborers as his "strength through Third World capitalism" schemes fell apart last week. J.R.'s dictatorship sought to rest on (1) the hostility and bitter disappointment among the Sinhala masses in the miserable experience of Mrs. B's former popular front of left Sinhalese nationalists with the revisionist Communist Party and LSSP; (2) the attempt to placate the oppressed Tamil masses with too little, too late and lying promises; and (3) his real base politically among the Sinhalese upper classes, militarily based upon the Sinhalese officer corps, soldiers and police, and upon foreign imperialist economic penetration together with collaboration with the aims of U.S. foreign policy. All this was to make him President for Life.

The outcome was the gruesome picture above of a body burning in the street, which only gives a glimpse of the bloody massacres incited and executed by the government. A returning Norwegian tourist reported that she and her daughter witnessed a Sinhalese mob halt a bus in front of them on the road, block all exits, pour gasoline over it and set it aflame while "hundreds of spectators" stood watching the twenty Tamils inside incinerate. "Hundreds, maybe thousands must have been killed already.... Women, children and old people were slaughtered. Police and soldiers did nothing to stop the genocide" she reported (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 29 July). On July 28 a Tamil was beaten and chased naked from carriage to carriage of a speeding train between Colombo and Kandy until he dropped dead. His mutilated body was tossed from the train. ABC correspondent John Mills reported, "I was told that Tamils in shops or houses during the riots were given the choice of burning to death inside or coming out and being beaten or axed to death. Most, I'm told, chose to burn to death inside." Tamil houses were systematically marked for arson attack by men carrying voters lists in their hands (*Hindustan Times*, 30 July). Over 100,000 have fled their burned-out homes in desperate fear and are still huddling in concentration camps. In the upland interior, a *Times* (London) reporter told of "gangs of young men [stopping] vehicles in every

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Emergency Demonstrations Protest Anti-Tamil Terror

As the smoke rises over burning Colombo, as the Tamil people are murdered and driven into concentration camps, and now with the mass roundup of leftists, the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) has mounted an emergency campaign of protest to "Stop Anti-Tamil Massacre in Sri Lanka!" For the past two weeks there have been more than a score of such demonstrations in six countries.

In Melbourne, July 27, the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (SL/ANZ) and some 60 supporters of the Tamil Association of Victoria demonstrated outside the Ceylon Tea Centre. In New York, July 28, 100 protesters came out to the call of the Spartacist League/U.S. (SL/U.S.) to picket the Sri Lankan Mission to the UN. In Paris on July 29, 400 Tamils joined a demonstration initiated by the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF); on the same day in Toronto over 100 answered the call of the Trotskyist League of Canada. In London, July 30, a contingent from the Spartacist League/Britain (SL/B) participated in a mass march of some 4,000, mainly Lankan and Indian Tamils. And in Berlin on August 7, 150 militants came out to the call of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD). Other demonstrations sponsored by or with contingents from the iSt have been held in Boston,

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WV Photo

New York City, July 28—Demonstrators in protest called by SL/U.S. at Sri Lankan mission to UN, part of an international campaign.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 337

9 September 1983

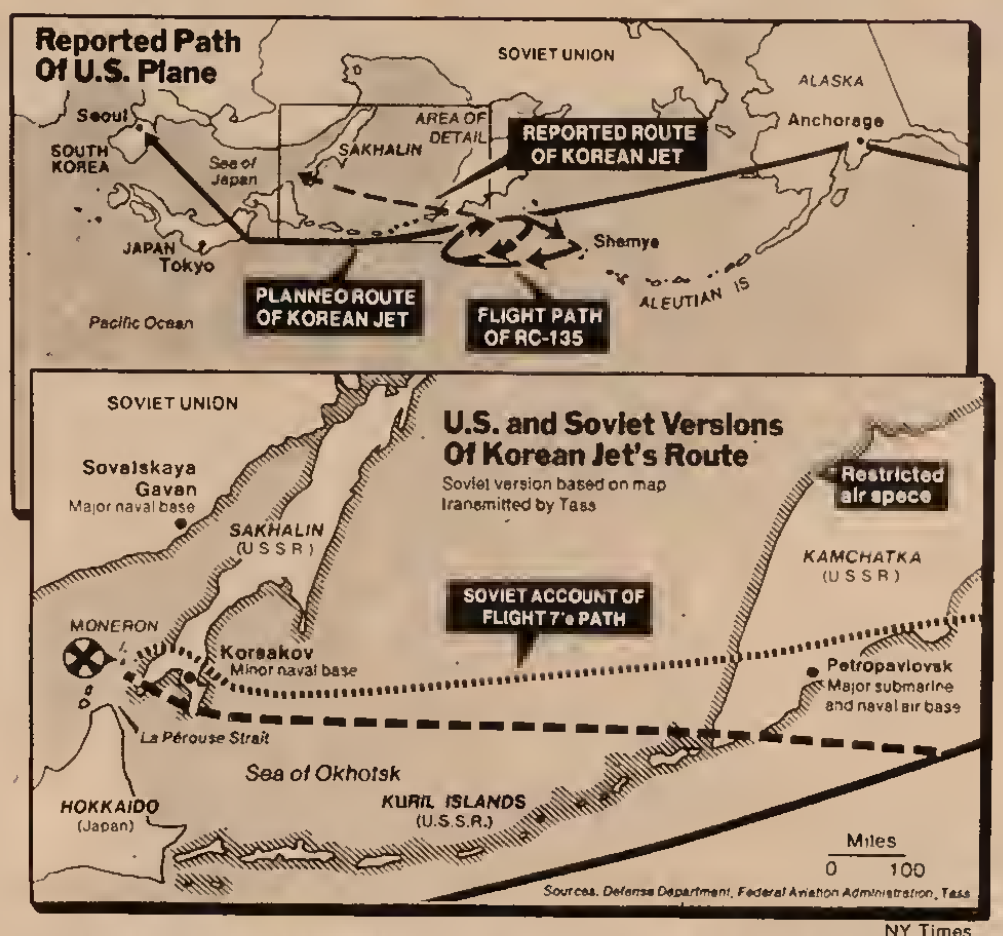
Mission 007: Cold War Provocation

Reagan's Story Stinks!

SEPTEMBER 6—When Korean Air Lines Flight 007 took off after refueling in Anchorage, Alaska in the early morning hours of August 31, it headed southwest down the international corridor known as R-20, the closest of five air lanes to the Soviet peninsula of Kamchatka. Some time after it passed the last American radar checkpoint in the Aleutians, it apparently veered off to the right and thereafter followed a steady course some 300 miles to the west of its assigned path. According to ABC-TV, two hours after takeoff "it passed over one of Russia's most sensitive military installations, the submarine base at Petropavlovsk" on the southern tip of Kamchatka.

In response to this blatant violation of Soviet airspace, KAL Flight 007 was picked up by Soviet radar and pursued by Soviet fighter planes as it crossed the Sea of Okhotsk inside the Kuril Islands chain. Two hours later, shortly after 3:00 a.m. Japanese time, the plane overflew the Soviet island of Sakhalin passing near the Korsakov air and naval base. Continuing its course would have taken the jetliner over the port of Vladivostok, home of the Soviet Pacific fleet. But Western reports say that at 3:38 a.m. the South Korean Boeing 747 jet plunged into the sea just off Sakhalin, taken out by the Soviets.

Now Ronald Reagan accuses the Russians of the "Korean Air Line massacre," an "act of barbarism" by an evil society in which "shooting down a plane...with hundreds of innocent men, women, children and babies, is part of their normal procedure." What shameless hypocrisy! Who took the civilian passengers as hostages on this cold-blooded Cold War provocation in the first place? This criminal game of "chicken" by the Korean military pilots, with the cooperation (at least) of U.S. and Japanese authorities who were closely tracking Flight 007, was more heinous than any hijacking. A Soviet TV commentator compared it to the Nazis, pointing out that "when the Hitlerites attacked, they forced women and children in front of them."



What was the sinister mission of Flight 007? Its flight path over the most militarily sensitive areas of the USSR was a deliberate anti-Soviet provocation.

It is highly suspicious that the U.S. government seemed immediately to know all about the incident while Moscow was patently still trying to figure out what the hell *did* happen. (P.S. So are we, and so is the rest of the world, except for the most rabid chauvinists.) The plane certainly didn't "stray off course," it deliberately *changed* course, and not just in any direction but heading straight toward Seoul and passing over a succession of military bases. Flying without navigational lights, KAL 007 refused to follow repeated radio and visual instructions by Soviet interceptors to land. When challenged over Sakhalin, it engaged in evasive action. Clearly this was a deliberate provocation, and if it wasn't a preplanned spy mission, it might as well have been.

If the government of the Soviet Union knew that the intruding aircraft was in fact a commercial passenger plane containing 200-plus innocent civilians, despite the potential military damage of such an apparent spying mission, if they deliberately destroyed the airplane and its occupants, then, to paraphrase the French, the act of shooting it down would have been worse than a barbaric atrocity, it would have been an idiocy worthy of the Israelis. But the piecemeal facts and obvious falsifications argue that this was not the case, and something resembling what really might have gone on is rapidly being pieced together internationally.

What are the Americans up to? As a statement by the Soviet news agency TASS (printed on page 6) put it, it "is necessary to find out the truth on who and for what purposes sent this plane to Soviet airspace." As the Russians have pointed out, Washington badly wanted an incident that would give it an excuse to break off or sidetrack arms control negotiations and undercut demonstrations against the stationing of new U.S. missiles in Europe this fall. Meanwhile, they would like to put the Soviets in a situation like in 1919: no trade, no communication, no transportation, a complete world blockade. This isn't 1919 and it won't work. But that's the meaning of the ban on Aeroflot landings, begun by Reagan's flunky in Canada. This deadly provocation is preparation for imperialist war.

The U.S. evidently needs about a two-year buildup for war with Russia. It's

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Greetings From Our Comrades

Under the Terror in Sri Lanka

REVOLUTIONARY GREETINGS TO SL/U.S.

Spartacist League/Lanka
Colombo
8 August 1983

The Spartacist League/Lanka (SL/L) sends these warm greetings to the seventh National Conference of the Spartacist League/U.S. at a time when Sri Lanka is enveloped in the most severe political complexities ever recorded in its recent history.

The six-year administration of the pro-American, rightist J.R. Jayewardene's UNP [United National Party] government has not solved any problems of the people. Instead, they have become aggravated from had to worse. The "open economy" and the "free trade zone" theories that the government sought to use as supporting pillars for the crashing economy, are now cracking under the unbearable burdens that rest upon them. By abolishing one by one the rights of the people and by introducing tough legislation the government keeps away the people from the path of struggle. This cruel government that appeared to brighten up not only the earthly life of the people but even their lives after death, and boasted that it laid the foundation for a "Dharmista" [Buddhist righteousness] society, has now got all its dictators' medals soaked with agony and blood of the Tamil people—the victims of violent suppression during the last weeks. The intellectuals' and students' movements within the judiciary, religious and human rights organisations and also in the other layers of society are filled with unrest. More than at any time before, the poorest sections in the island are now facing brutal military law and the force of thugs.

The government, to keep up with its friends, is using all public media, political platforms and forces to declare a "cold war" against the Soviet

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Under the Terror in Sri Lanka

(continued from page 1)

Union. To serve American and other imperialists' interests, Sri Lanka is invitingly waving its hand to American forces via capitalist trade tactics. It is seeking to join ASEAN [the Association of Southeast Asian Nations] and other counterrevolutionary organisations in an attempt to disgrace the Red victories in Afghanistan, Vietnam and Kampuchea. The government is highly respectful of the Solidarity trade-union movement activities in Poland whilst denying the right of the local workers to demonstrate, picket and strike! The fierce government, having been unable to get out of the capitalist crisis, is now gradually absorbing military juntas into its administration.

As a part of the International, we of the SL/L today join you not only to fight capitalism, but social democracy, reformism and centrism too. Our part in the world is extremely difficult. Risky. We are devoted, as a propaganda group against all types of reactionaries, to building a party on the lines of Bolshevik traditions.

Comrades, Colombo is filled with guns, bayonets, barbed wire, fire, ash and burnt remains, and refugee camps. And from this city, with deep comradely feelings we hold your hand that is raising the red banner of struggle in the conference today.

- The main enemy is at home!
- Indian/Lankan workers key to the socialist revolution in South Asia!
- For the rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

For the Right of Tamil Eelam! U.S. Out of the Indian Ocean!

The seventh national conference of the Spartacist League/U.S. was held in August. International Spartacist tendency (iSt) fraternal delegates and observers were present from seven other countries. Unable to be with us were comrades of our section in Sri Lanka. That small Indian Ocean island nation was being torn apart by Sinhala chauvinist terror against the national/religious minority people, the Tamils, as pogroms instigated and organized by sections of the governing United National Party (UNP) of J.R. Jayewardene ripped the country apart along national lines. The army which has for years terrorized the overwhelmingly Tamil North simply ran wild, while in Colombo and throughout the South Sinhalese mobs carried out wholesale burning of Tamil-owned businesses and wholesale massacres. Tamil men, women and children were incinerated inside buses, thrown from moving trains, beaten and torn to shreds in the streets.

The anti-Tamil terror is severing the economic and geographical interpenetration of Lanka's peoples. The systematic destruction of Tamil-owned factories and stores (incidentally destroying 150,000 jobs) has wiped out formerly important Tamil commercial layers of Colombo and the South (and the government has now seized all damaged property). The orgy of bloodletting is compacting the Tamils into the North as 100,000 or more have fled in terror for their lives. Among the tens of thousands of homeless refugees still starving in government camps are many "stateless" plantation workers from the uplands. This superexploited plantation labor force (legally disenfranchised in 1948) has been central to the island's economy since British colonial days.

Despite the government's press censorship, the foreign press has documented the wholesale army rampages in the North and the participation of the cops and army in the killing elsewhere. *India Today*'s comprehensive story (31 August) on the terror stressed the leading role of the UNP and rightist Buddhist extremist groups, and the organized quality of the terror: e.g., "spontaneous" Sinhalese mobs had voters lists and detailed addresses of Tamil-owned property. Eyewitness accounts in the foreign press have also destroyed the government's claims, absurd on their face, that the massacre of 52 Tamil activists inside Welikada prison was carried out without the connivance of the authorities. Some of the most prominent Tamil spokesmen on the island—Kuttimani, Jeganathan, Rajasunderam—were slaughtered in this atrocity aimed at beheading militant wings of the Tamil nationalist movement.

J.R. responded to the pogroms by refusing to even hypocritically criticize the anti-Tamil terror for weeks, illegalizing advocacy of a separate Tamil state (Eelam), cracking down on three Sinhalese leftist parties (but not the hopelessly discredited reformist shell of the LSSP), and quietly sounding out the possibility of U.S. imperialist or other foreign help against his mutinous army, spinning for such a purpose fantastical tales about "Marxist officers" and a Soviet-planned or JVP-inspired "left-wing" military coup. (Swift protest from India against the prospect of Sri Lanka bringing foreign powers into the region brought denials from Jayewardene and the expulsion of the UPI correspondent who broke the story.)

It has since become a commonplace that the mutinous ringleaders of the anti-Tamil pogroms were rightists, virulently chauvinist forces high up in the UNP and the military. Figures like hard-line chauvinist UNP demagogue Cyril Mathew and the increasingly prominent Douglas Liyanage have emerged as factional powers within the UNP. Meanwhile, with India acting as mediator in negotiations between Jaye-

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Linda Jarreau

EDITORIAL BOARD: Charles Burroughs, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Mary Jo McAllister, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Marjorie Stamberg

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No. 337 9 September 1983

SL/Lanka

Sri Lankan army and Sinhalese mobs burn down Tamil shops in Colombo.

Direct from Colombo

Colombo
Friday, July 29th 1983

We are now witnessing the cruelest attack on the Tamil people in Lanka ever recorded in recent history. It all began on the evening of the 24th, when the government wanted to bury some bodies of soldiers, killed by "northern terrorists," secretly in a cemetery in Colombo. Relatives of these dead soldiers wanted the bodies to be taken to their home towns (in Sinhala areas). As a show of protest they began attacking all Tamil shops and commercial establishments around the cemetery area, Borella (Colombo-8). By morning on the 25th the whole area was burned, and people who gathered in the city were agitated by newspapers in bold thick headlines. These people, encouraged by utterances and behaviour of some cabinet ministers and Members of Parliament of the UNP during the last few years, ran amok in the city.

All hell broke loose when mobs, gangs, thugs, private armies armed with knives, krises, iron bars, steel hammers, daggers got on to the streets searching for Tamils. From all the high-rise buildings in the Fort [downtown Colombo] area to the slums in Peliyagoda every Tamil property was set afire, destroyed.

I walked through the city on Monday. Colombo was wrapped in a mist of dark black choking thick smoke. Men, women, little children were running for their lives. Half-naked, drunken thugs were chasing after Tamils who like on any other weekday reported to work. Huge flames of fire were swallowing Tamil kovils (temples), hotels, jewelry and textile shops, and finally spread and gutted the huge factories of Cyntex, KG Plastics, St. Anthony, Consolidated Engineering, Getro, Tata textiles. All this happened in the presence of the police who were by that time deployed on the streets....

I saw a hundred [Sinhalese] chasing a Tamil man running for his life (towards a police post) and several cops, armed, just watching this man fall and then be set upon by the crowd that followed. I saw logs being placed on roads, vehicles stopped and the search for Tamils going on. What happened when an armed patrol passed by? They waved and cheered. But what shook me most was when I saw *workers* on McCullum Road (J.R. Wijewardena Mawatha) defending the government, smashing vehicles and demanding national identity cards. The same men and the guns they stood to defend today will be the death weapon not only of themselves but of the entire labour movement of Lanka....

Arson, looting, murder continued on Tuesday. Burning, charred cars, lorries, coaches still remained on the roads smoking.... Wednesday, "officially," curfew was declared the whole day....

Then came the most disgusting news—the very people who we demanded be released were hacked to death in their prison cells. Kuttimani, Jeganathan and others (37 some say, 75 others say), all Tamil political prisoners and suspects, were beaten to death. Believe it [the official account]—these prisoners were in the maximum security section, hard-core terrorists as they were known, transferred from the Army Cantonment at Panagoda—fellow Sinhala prisoners broke open their own cells, pushed aside the guards in a maximum security section (in the largest prison in the island), broke into the cells of the Tamil prisoners and simply crushed them to death! How many shots were fired by the guards?... Then it happens again, the following day, the prison riots repeat and 18 Tamil prisoners are slaughtered. All these prisoners and suspects were held under that act that we demanded be repealed—the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

Thursday, and now people begin to feel the impact of the riot. Long queues form opposite government retail stores and distribution centres. The "bread queue" is the longest. Food prices soar, black marketeers and racketeers make the buck. Many who came to their workplaces found them smashed, burnt, looted or closed down.

Friday, the President's and Prime Minister's speeches are already heard and read by everyone.... On August 4th legislation will be introduced in parliament to proscribe the call for a separate state. So this is going to be the UNP solution (with the SLFP) to the national question. What legislation cannot the UNP pass in parliament with its 6/7 majority?...

So now we have refugee camps (concentration camps) holding over 40,000 Tamils in Colombo alone. Another attack in the North, and will not the gates of these camps be opened to the communalists, who will simply repeat Shatila and Sahra here in Lanka?...

It appears that all political parties of the left (leave aside the bourgeois Sinhalese and Tamil parties) lack a correct solution to the National Question. Some even say they recognise the right of the Tamils to separation, but none raise the call: Not Sinhalese against Tamils but class against class! Lankan/Indian workers key to the socialist revolution in South Asia! Sinhalese, Tamils, men, women, forward towards a workers and peasants government!

Attempt to Poison Nicaraguan Foreign Minister

CIA Murder Inc. in Central America

SEPTEMBER 5—Yankee imperialism and its Central American butchers continue to seek a "final solution" to the struggle of the workers and peasants for social justice. Having already unleashed a bloody reign of terror, unprecedented in brutality and scope, Reagan and his henchmen are preparing an all-out assault to annihilate social revolution and restore unquestioned oligarchical domination. In the U.S. Reagan cynically compares his campaign to a "neighborhood watch" while in the *barrios* and *pueblos* of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala U.S.-aided forces are leaving a path of death and destruction.

From American battle fleets off each coast of the isthmus to CIA hit squads in Nicaragua to a U.S.-engineered coup in Guatemala, Reagan is mobilizing his forces for one thing: bloody counterrevolution in the service of an overall strategy of regaining world supremacy. While the ultimate targets of this strategy are the degenerated and deformed workers states of the Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc, his immediate targets are the struggling masses of Central America. Over 100,000 have been killed and hundreds of thousands more displaced in this U.S.-backed war on the workers and peasants of Central America.

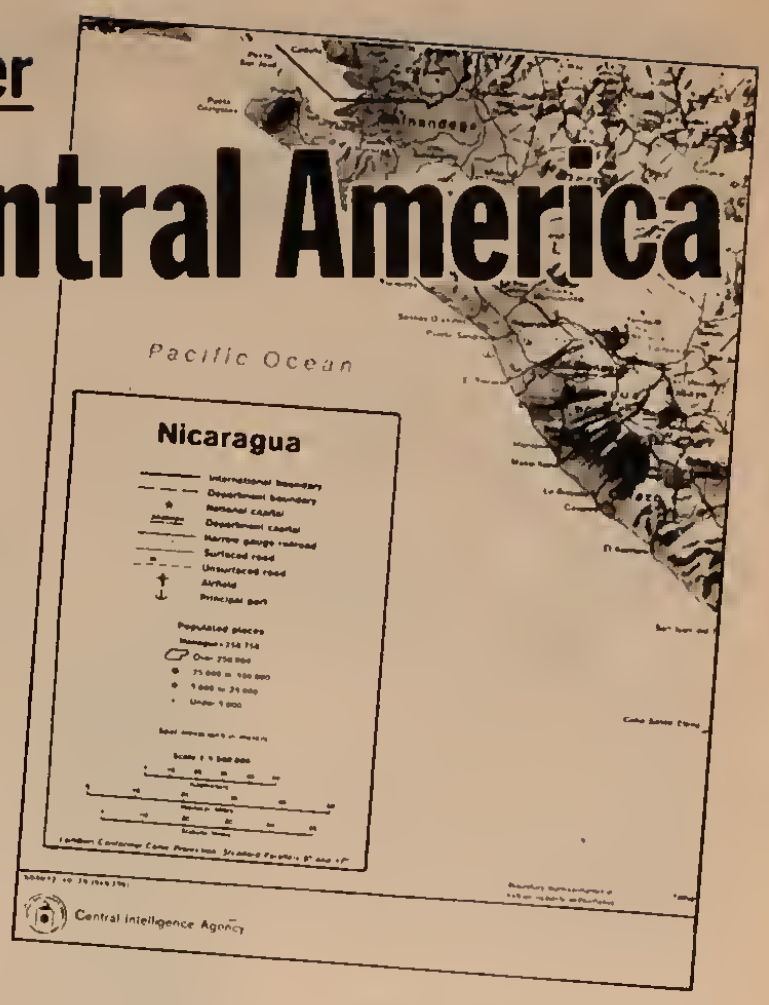
Liberals and not-so-liberals within the American ruling class fear that Reagan's war in Central America will backfire, like the war in Vietnam. They fear that the *contras'* assaults on Nicaragua will only rally the populace behind the radical-nationalist Sandinista government, and force it irreversibly onto the "Cuban road." They also fear that the "9-to-5" army in El Salvador will lose to the leftist insurgents. So the liberals are pushing for a "negotiated solution" to *disarm* the Central American workers and peasants in the face of U.S. imperialism and its local lackeys.

U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency report dated 16 July 1982 makes a more accurate description. The report describes the 15 September Legion, one of the major *contra* organizations, as a "terrorist group" which "has claimed responsibility for the December 1981 bombing of a Nicaraguan civil airlines AERONICA Boeing 727 in Mexico City, the October 1981 hijacking of a Costa Rican SANSA airliner from San José, Costa Rica and the 20 February bomb blast in a suitcase [which killed four] unloaded from a Honduran SAHSA aircraft at Sandino Airport in Managua" (*CounterSpy*, September-November 1983).

Working from within Nicaragua are other CIA operatives. On June 6 the Nicaraguan government announced the expulsion of three U.S. spies who had been working out of the American Embassy in Managua. The three, David Grieg, Ermilia Rodriguez and Linda Pfeifel, were accused of attempting to assassinate FSLN leaders, manipulating right-wing political parties and labor unions and otherwise plotting to "destabilize" the government. The Sandinistas caught them red-handed, displaying videotapes of Nicaraguan double agents meeting with the embassy officials, and assorted espionage paraphernalia including a bottle of poisoned Benedictine liqueur intended for Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto Brockman. U.S. Embassy first secretary Grieg had been named over a year ago by Philip Agee as CIA station chief in Managua (*Soberania*, June 1982).

To "prevent proliferation of Cuba-model states" in the region, the U.S. government provided a multi-million dollar budget to build up the CIA's "secret" exile army in Honduras and counterrevolutionary operations inside Nicaragua. Such murderous actions, in addition to those already mentioned, included last December's CIA operation, code-named *Navidad Amarga* (Bitter Christmas), involving plastique explosive smuggled into the country in Mickey Mouse lunch packs and designed for sabotage of buses, automobiles and supermarkets.

And these are only the known cases of CIA terrorist actions in Nicaragua. In late April, TV reports on CBS News and CNN, followed up by Raymond Bonner's exposé in the *New York Times* (11 May), "Secret Pentagon Intelligence Unit Disclosed," documented the existence of a top-secret army intelligence unit targeting Nicaragua and El Salvador. Created in 1980, this was the special commando unit which botched the Teheran Embassy job. Now called the Army's Intelligence Support Activity (ISA), it was so secret that even the other intelligence forces didn't know about it. CNN connects it with a secret U.S. base in Arizona, complete with 12,000-foot runway, myriad Spanish translators, spy satellites, as the nerve center for a not-so-future full-scale war in Central America. In this evermore ominous developing situation it is urgent to *smash the U.S./CIA terror in Central America!*



CIA maps out counter-revolutionary military offensive to overthrow radical nationalist Sandinista government in Nicaragua.

A chilling glimpse inside the reign of terror in Central America was provided in a June 27 PBS program "Crossfire El Salvador," which included an interview with a death squad member. Speaking fluent English, he described himself as a member of a five-man hit squad, one of 20 such squads terrorizing Usulután province. The interviewer asked him to describe their torture techniques. Replying with the nonchalance of someone relating last Sunday's football game, the terrorist answered:

> "Uh, well, the same thing you did in Vietnam. We learned from you. We learned from you the means, like blowtorches in the armpits, shots in the balls. You know that very well. The weak ones we just tell them we're going to kill them and they speak. But the tough ones, I mean, the toughest ones, we have to pop their eyes with a spoon.

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Arming Contras, Training Torturers

Honduras continues to be the major staging area for the counterrevolution. Once a sleepy banana republic, it is being transformed into a major U.S. military staging ground as each new wave of C-130 transport planes ferries in more men and war materiel. A vanguard of 1,500 U.S. troops will soon be in residence to coordinate and supply 3,500 other members of the U.S. Army, Navy, Marines and Air Force. In the strategic Choluteca area in southern Honduras near the borders of both El Salvador and Nicaragua, U.S. troops will outnumber Honduran troops by four-to-one by mid-September.

Under this U.S. "security shield," Honduran artillery and CIA-trained and supported counterrevolutionaries (*contras*) have increased their attacks in recent weeks, attempting to establish control over a part of northern Nicaragua. Along with the smaller Costa Rican-based force of ex-Sandinista turned traitor Edén Pastora, the *contras* aim to overthrow the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and restore Nicaragua to the banana republic wretchedness of the hated Somoza dynasty. While avoiding head-on clashes with FSLN units, the Somozaists have concentrated on sowing terror: kidnapping hundreds of peasants, blowing up day care centers, machine-gunning buses, often leaving their victims with their throats slit after an attack.

These are the wanton killers Reagan hails as "freedom fighters." A secret

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WV Photo

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Legal Smokescreen Exposes Cult's Lies

Fight Moonie Libel That Kills

The Moonies are trying to squeeze through a legal loophole in an evident attempt to avoid the charges against them in the Spartacist League (SL) libel suit. But it won't work. The Moonies' *Washington Times* article, "Left-Wing Group Linked to D.C. Riot," is such an obvious pack of lies, the Moonie lawyers are left with no defense. Thus the Moonies' lawyers' first response, on July 20, to the SL libel suit was a "motion to dismiss" based on nothing but a legal technicality, claiming that the SL, as an unineorporated association, doesn't have the right to sue

The Moonies' *Washington Times* falsely and dangerously branded the SL—initiators and prineipal organizers of the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the KKK in Washington on November 27—as would-be cop-killers, criminals and outlaws engaged in "provoking violence" against the poliee. They made up the most absurd and grotesque elaims that the SL was some kind of terroristic, beret-wearing paramilitary outfit. No lie was too vile or too wild for the libelous press of the Moonies: they wrote that on November 27 the SL handed out "heavy metal bolts" and rocks to throw at the police, "even to ehildren."

These libels not only attacked the successful and important mass action against racist terror, they directly threatened the members of the SL and Spartacus Youth League (SYL). So the SL/SYL was forced to sue this dangerous, ultrarightist cult and its publishing arm, the Times-Tribune Corporation, publisher of the *Washington Times*. As we stated on June 14 when we filed the libel suit: "In short, we are being set up to be shot first and questioned later.... These are libels that kill" (see "Moonie Libel That Kills," *WV* No. 332, 17 June).

But now the Moonies don't want to answer for their despicable libels. Instead, they claim the SL and SYL cannot sue them because we are "unincorporated associations" and as such are not "legal entities." Their "motion to dismiss" and its accompanying "memorandum of law" argues that as "unincorporated assoeiations, plaintiffs laek capacity to sue and eannot be defamed." The Moonie lawyers had 20 days to respond to our complaint. Their lawyers asked the SL for an extension and received one. Now this is how the Moonies have chosen to make their first response to our libel suit. This, the flimsiest legal smokescreen, is the *sole* ground for their motion to dismiss. Their total and guilty silence on the substance of the issues involved speaks loudly to the fact that the libel charge is incontestable.

Lane/Newsweek

Moon: "Even god lies very often." Bo Hi Pak (right), Moon's right-hand man and publisher of the Weshington Times.

Political organizations, religious organizations, labor unions and many other organizations including Moon's Unification Church take the organizational form known legally as "unincorporated associations." In a minority of states and jurisdictions in the U.S. such "unincorporated associations" cannot sue or be sued as organizations. The members are recognized as "legal entities" but the organizations themselves are not. Already most states and jurisdictions have rejected this anachronistic common law holdover and are recognizing the legal rights of "unincorporated associations." But to its discredit the District of Columbia is not one of them.

Of eourse, the Moonies' legal tactic was anticipated. The Moonies and their lawyers know full well we have other options to pursue in our libel case. They know we can withdraw the suit from the District of Columbia and file it in New York State court where the legal restrictions on "unincorporated associations" do not obtain. Therefore, the Moonies are trying first of all to duck the substantive questions of the libel case and failing that to drive the case as far as possible from the Washington, D.C. area where the Klan was stopped cold.

An impartial observer might think that both sides would want to try the case in Washington. After all that is where the event took place. It is the home of the *Washington Times*, its reporters, editors and, one assumes, its readers. Washington *is* where the SL wants to try this case. The lawyers for the SL wrote to the Moonies' lawyers on July 26 arguing to keep the issue joined in Washington because of the SL's "desire to get to the substance of this case." The letter challenges the Moonies pointblank to drop the legal technicality and pursue this case where it happened:

> "Since your motion, if successful, cannot dispose of our clients' elaims—but merely their ability to bring their claims in Washington—we urge you to consider our suggestion that the case proceed in Washington, D.C. We believe that the alternative is costly and time consuming motion practice which will not resolve the merits of the claim which must ultimately be addressed in an appropriate tribunal."

We want to try this ease in Washington because we are telling the truth. We want to put our case before the people who know what happened on that day thc KKK was stopped in its tracks on November 27. We would welenme a jury of Washington residents who are close to the events in dispute and who felt the impact of the Labor/Black Mnbilization. They know what it would have meant if the KKK had marched in Washington, D.C. for the first time sinee 1925. They know that it would have meant more black families' homes firebombed and more burning crosses.

No wonder the Moonies want to drive this case as far from the scene of the concrete facts as possible. Maybe Sun Myung Moon will have his lawyers try to find a way to get a change of venue to South Korea where they deal with charges against open Marxists in ways doubtless more to the liking of the Moonie messiali. He thinks he has the divine right to publish any lie about Marxists and others on his widely drawn enemies list. He does not think his holy crusade need answer for its libels in a court of law or anywhere else. The Moonies say: Marxists are "agents of Satan." The Moonies' lawyers say: throw this case out—after all, Marxist organizations do not legally exist. And they invoke this legal technicality against "unincorporated associations" even though the government has used it to go after them (see article below).

The Moonies will not take the issues head on because they have no case. But

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SL Files Amicus Brief in Moonie Tax Case

IRS Case Threatens Left

It must have eome as a surprise to the Moonies and their lawyers when the Spartacist League (SL) submitted an *amicus curiae* "friend of the court" brief to the U:S. Court of Appeals against the government's methods in the 1982 conviction of Sun Myung Moon for income tax evasion and fraud. After all, the Moonies had just set up the SL for murder with their libelous article on last year's November 27 anti-Ku Klux Klan protest in Washington, D.C. But the SL was compelled to file both the libel lawsuit against the Moonies' publishing empire and submit this *amicus* brief as urgent matters of self-defense, as partisans of the working elass and its right to organize and as partisans of all those concerned for the defense of demoeratie rights.

The government's trial of Moon has generated opposition from a broad range of religious groups, who otherwise detest the Moonies. The National Council of Churches and four of its constituent organizations filed an *amicus curiae* brief which explicitly disclaims sympathy for Moon or agreement with his doctrine which is described as "not eonsistent with that of traditional Christian theology as believed through twenty centuries." But if the means by which the government obtained its conviction of Moon are upheld on appeal it will be an attack on the legal foundations upon which many institutions—including religious organizations, political parties and trade unions—are organized in this eountry. It was to raise these larger questions especially as they affeet the democratic rights of "unpopular minority politieal organizations" that the SL submitted its own *amicus* brief.

In prosecuting Moon, the government did not dispute the Unification Church's claim that it is a religious institution or that Moon is its spiritual leader. But the government denied Moon the exercise of legal precedents granting religious groups the right to establish and control money entrusted to them. Also, the government would not allow Moon to explain the "religious reasons for and religious meaning of [his] conduct," nor allow the Unifieation Church authorities to make its own determinations of organizational form and expenditures. Central to the government's claim that Moon committed fraud and tax evasion was the eontention by the government that the Unifieation Chureh has no legal status, since it is an unineorporated association. Therefore all money received must be simply Moon's personal ineome. Ironically, the Moonies attempt to exploit the very same legal taetie in attempting to have the SL libel suit dismissed on the grounds that the SL is an unineorporated assoeiation (see artiele above).

The government's ease against Moon poses an obvious and immediate threat not only to religious organizations, but especially to "unpopular, minority political organizations." *All* political organizations are sustained by contributions by members, supporters and friends (sometimes received and held by an individual in trust for the organization and its members). Further, the normal funetions of political organizations inelude not just running for elected offiee but publishing newspapers and other literature, organizing demonstrations, purchasing equipment, hiring employees—any of which could be deemed the functions of a "business." In this country, political organizations have historically existed legally as "unincorporated associations"—including the Democratic and Republican Parties. But the two main bourgeois parties do not generally have reason to fear government prying and witehhunting prosecution. Leftist groups, however, have been the target of state assault. Indeed, the one and only exeeption made by the Internal Revenue Serviee (IRS) regarding the receipts of politieal groups, which otherwise have *not* been treated as ineome, was in the case of the Communist Party U.S.A. The IRS' 13-year persecution of the Communist Party saw the CP's newspaper suppressed, its assets seized and its premises sealed.

The SL brief argues that if the means by which the Moonie conviction was obtained are upheld it will provide the framework for prosecuting political organizations singled out for harassment and vietimization.

> "Denying minority and unpopular political organizations the right to explain the source and intended use of

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August 27:

Black Democrats Push Liberal Mush

WASHINGTON, D.C.—"Keep on Dreaming (and Vote Democratic)": this was the message for 300,000 blacks and other protesters gathered at the Lincoln Memorial August 27 to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the 1963 Martin Luther King "March on Washington." The crowd broiled under the August sun in the name of "jobs, peace and freedom," but what they got was hour after hour of Walter Fauntroy, Jesse Jackson, Andrew Young, the widow King, etc., preaching their gospel of getting out the vote to dump Reagan... and bring back the Democrats. Yet it was Jimmy ("ethnic purity") Carter and the Democratic Congress who let the racist mobs kill busing in the streets, who chiseled away at the gains black people won in struggle. As we said in our article for August 27, "both Democrats and Republicans have been steadily dismantling even the token gains of the civil rights movement."

WV Photo

"Jesse James" Jackson

While virtually the entire American left was calling to "fulfill" MLK's "dream," in which plantation owners like Senator Eastland would hold hands with the grandchildren of his grandfather's slaves, the Spartacist League (SL) proclaimed that black liberation will only come about through finishing the Civil War, through socialist revolution. We insisted that:

> "To the jobless, angry and hungry black people of this country, the march organizers say: 'Let 'em eat dreams.' And what is their lousy dream when you strip away the preachy milk-and-honey rhetoric? They dream of putting a Democrat in the White House. That's all. This march isn't about jobs, nor freedom, nor peace."
>
> —"Labor, Blacks: Don't Crawl for the Democrats!" *WV* No. 336, 12 August

And that's the way it was. "We are here because we are committed to the elimination of Reaganism from the face of the earth. Reagan no more in '84. Reagan no more," intoned NAACP executive director Benjamin Hooks. The crowd dutifully chanted back, "Reagan no more in '84!" Democratic presidential hopefuls Walter Mondale and Alan Cranston oiled their way through the crowd, riddled with liberal capitalist causes like the "nuke freeze" or consumer advocacy. It was the quintessential anti-Reagan popular front. But the politics of the march amounted to such empty platitudes that even Ronald Reagan could send greetings to the rally!

Even the bourgeois press couldn't miss it. A *Washington Post* (28 August) editorial compared the rally to "time killing sessions at a Democratic National Convention when speaker after speaker jumps up and down on the Republican adversary." The *New York Times* (29 August) called the event "unfocused except for one aspect: It was almost universally anti-Reagan," and noted that the "activist left" had now gone over "almost entirely to the Democrats." The *Times* also gloated that "there was no call to radicalism," and thus it was "a belated vindication of Dr. King's tactic of nonviolence and reconciliation, which in 1963 was being challenged by a number of black organizations that subsequently splintered and disappeared in the waves of urban riots that swept the cities."

WV Photo

Preachers of defeat. For the black masses, M.L. King's dream has become a living nightmare.

It sure wasn't a rally for black freedom. Not once did the black Democratic rally organizers, who've been selling out struggles for years by trading on their reputations as old civil rights activists, even mention the fight for busing. What about racist cops murdering black people in their own homes? Or bloody Ku Klux Klan terror on the rise again—the "BEOs" ("black elected officials") weren't going to mention *that*. Because it was the Walter Fauntroys and Marion Barrys up there on the platform who tried to keep blacks and labor *off* the streets last November 27 when the KKK threatened to march in Washington. In contrast to the vapid rhetoric and politics of defeat, the Spartacist League's message to August 27 was "We Stopped the Klan!" It was the SL which spearheaded the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization on November 27 which stopped the Klan from parading in the nation's capital.

The big event on August 27 was the appearance of the Rev. Jesse Jackson who has been touting himself as a black presidential candidate (in the Democratic primaries, of course). Jackson began with his usual rap, trying to fool black youth into thinking they can make it in the system through individual achievement (and when he repeats "me-me-me," he also means none other than J.J. himself): "I am somebody! Respect me—protect me—never neglect me! Down with dope! Up with hope!" Jackson made clear that all he was interested in was pushing his drive to amass the black voting bloc that all Democratic Party leaders see as a key to victory in '84: "There is a freedom train a-coming! But you got to register to ride!" His rally speech explicitly sold his candidacy to head off the danger of riots and revolution:

> "We need not explode through riots, nor implode through drugs. We can use

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November 27 and August 27

Labor/Black Mobilization vs. Democrats' Voter Registration Rally

By Cliff Carter

On the date of August 27, 1983 a March on Washington took place with a National Director, Walter E. Fauntroy, and seven co-chairpersons which included Jesse Jackson and entertainer Stevie Wonder. This March on Washington, as very clearly stated to the workers of the world, was basically for two major things.

First, it was to honor the 20th anniversary of Martin Luther King's 1963 March on Washington (MOW), which was nothing but a farce, yes, nothing but farce. Matter of fact it could very well have been the farce of the decade, for it was a comedy with exaggerated situations and ridiculous actions, and, too, it was a failure. It was a failure because the revolution was supposed to have started in 1963, but King along with the other five black House Negroes and white Handkerchief Heads accepted money and broke bread with the Democratic Party and when they finished with the supposed "revolution" the workers were in the streets "singing instead of swinging."

What happened in 1963 was nothing but a circus, a sideshow attraction. In the '20s or '30s it would have been called a "minstrel show." King read a speech from a piece of paper, now called "I Have a Dream." I will agree with him there, for in order to have a dream, one must be asleep, and Brother King was very much asleep then. If King had been awake and not having his dream, he would have taken the money President John F. Kennedy offered and the other five black leaders and thrown it in his face. King should have stayed out of the March initiated by ghetto workers of cities around the country. Second, King, while in his sleep, was trying to love everybody, and you just cannot do this for you cannot love the Ku Klux Klan. This is something for Fauntroy and Mayor Marion Barry to remember. Third, King wasn't getting fully involved with the labor unions around August, 1963. Any change to help the workers of the world will have to be done by the workers of the world.

The March on Washington of August 27, 1983 called for Jobs, Peace and Freedom. Did you read any literature directly connected to the March on Washington, August 27, 1983 with a positive *program* for Jobs, Peace and Freedom? No, you didn't, because the initiators weren't concerned about jobs for the working class, they (the initiators) have themselves a job, they just wanted votes for the Democratic Party. As for peace and freedom, less than a year ago, November 27, 1982, Fauntroy and Marion Barry would have made it possible for the Ku Klux Klan to march down the streets of Washington

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WV Photo

Washington, November 27, 1982: We stopped the Klan!

TASS Exposes Flight 007 Provocation

MOSCOW, September 1 (TASS)—An unidentified plane entered the airspace of the Soviet Union over the Kamchatka Peninsula from the direction of the Pacific Ocean and then for the second time violated the airspace of the U.S.S.R. over Sakhalin Island on the night from Aug. 31 to Sept. 1. The plane did not have navigation lights, did not respond to queries and did not enter into contact with the dispatcher service.

Fighters of the antiaircraft defense, which were sent aloft towards the intruder plane, tried to give it assistance in directing it to the nearest airfield. But the intruder plane did not react to the signals and warnings from the Soviet fighters and continued its flight in the direction of the Sea of Japan. ■

MOSCOW, September 2 (TASS)—As it has already been reported, on the night from August 31 to September 1 this year, an unidentified plane had rudely violated the Soviet state border and intruded deep into the Soviet Union's airspace. The intruder plane had deviated from the existing international route in the direction of the Soviet Union's territory by up to 500 kilometers and spent more than two hours over the Kamchatka Peninsula, the area of the Sea of Okhotsk and the island of Sakhalin.

In violation of international regulations the plane flew without navigation lights, did not react to radio signals of the Soviet dispatcher services and made no attempts to establish such communications contact.

It was natural that during the time the unidentified intruder plane was in the U.S.S.R. airspace Soviet antiair defense aircraft were ordered aloft, which repeatedly tried to establish contacts with the plane using generally accepted signals and to take it to the nearest airfield in the territory of the Soviet Union. The intruder plane, however, ignored all this. Over the Sakhalin island, a Soviet aircraft fired warning shots and tracer shells along the flying route of the plane.

Soon after this the intruder plane left the limits of Soviet airspace and continued its flight toward the Sea of Japan. For about 10 minutes it was within the observation zone of radio location means, after which it could be observed no more.

Now a hullabaloo has been raised in the U.S.A. and some other countries around the disappearance of a South Korean plane carrying out a flight from New York to Seoul.

One's attention is drawn to the fact that already in the first report about this reference was made to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. Further reports emanating from the United States provide increasingly more grounds to consider that the itinerary and the nature of the flight were not accidental. It is indicative that now, post factum, the American side not only officially admits the fact of that plane's violation of Soviet airspace, but also cites data which indicate that the relevant U.S. services followed the flight throughout its duration in the most attentive manner.

So one may ask that if it were an ordinary flight of a civil aircraft which was under continuous observation, then why were there not taken any steps from the American side to end the gross violation of the airspace of the U.S.S.R. and to get the plane back to an international flight route?

Why the American authorities, which now resort to all kinds of dirty insinuations about the U.S.S.R., did not try to establish contact with the Soviet side and provide it with the necessary data about this flight? Neither was done, although there was more than ample time for this.

It is appropriate to recall that instances of deliberate violation of the state frontiers of the Soviet Union by American planes, including in the Far East, are far from rare. Protests have repeatedly been lodged with the U.S. Government over that matter.

In the light of these facts the intrusion into the airspace by the mentioned plane cannot be regarded in any other way than a preplanned act. It was obviously thought possible to attain special intelligence aims without hindrance using civilian planes as a cover.

More than that, there is reason to believe that those who organized this provocation had deliberately desired a further aggravation of the international situation striving to smear the Soviet Union, to sow hostility to it and to cast aspersions on the Soviet peaceloving policy.

This is illustrated also by the impudent, slanderous statement in respect of the Soviet Union that was instantly made by President Reagan of the United States.

Tass is authorized to state that in the leading circles of the Soviet Union regret is expressed over the loss of human life and at the same time a resolute condemnation of those who consciously or as a result of criminal disregard have allowed the death of people and are now trying to use this occurrence for unseemly political aims. ■

MOSCOW, September 3 (TASS)—Washington is feverishly covering up traces of the provocation staged against the Soviet Union with the utilization of the South Korean plane, which has flown out of the United States and intruded into the Soviet Union's airspace.

The White House and the Department of State are mounting a worldwide rabid anti-Soviet campaign. The tone is set by the U.S. President. In his statement permeated with frenzied hatred and malice for the Soviet State, for Socialism, using as a cover-up bombastic phrases about "humanism" and "noble feelings," the head of the White House is trying to convince public opinion that the U.S.S.R. allegedly is guilty of loss of life. Issuing forth torrents of vicious abuses, representatives of the U.S. Administration want to avoid answering clear questions: Why did the plane happen to find itself in the airspace of the Soviet Union, deviating by 500 kilometres from the existing international route? Why did the authorities of the U.S. and Japan, whose air traffic controlling services control flights of planes on this route, knowing that the plane had remained for a long time in Soviet airspace, had not taken appropriate measure to put an end to this flagrant violation of the sovereignty of the Soviet Union?

U.S. journalists also have been putting these questions to the U.S. Administration, and each time its representative has been wriggling out of answering them. However, the answer is necessary to find out the truth on who and for what purposes sent this plane to Soviet airspace.

Let us quote a statement on this score, which was made on French television by General Gallois, a specialist of France in strategic issues. He declared: "the Soviet armed forces have two zones which may be considered as being top secret; the area of Murmansk in the Kola Peninsula and the zone of the Sea of Okhotsk, where the Kamchatka Peninsula and the island of Sakhalin are situated." There are, the general said, "a considerable part of the Soviet Navy concentrated and intercontinental ballistic missile testing facilities located there." General Gallois recalled that several years ago the Soviet Air Force in the area of the Kola Peninsula compelled what also was a "South Korean" plane to land. Now an aircraft of the same company emerges in another strategically important area of the U.S.S.R. The scientific commentator of the French television program TF-1 summed up explicitly what had happened: "the Boeing 747 deliberately veered off course with the purpose of performing an intelligence mission."

Professor Stephen Meyer from the Massachusetts Technological Institute said that in the existing conditions the corresponding Soviet bodies had every reason to suspect that the plane was fulfilling an intelligence mission over a strategically important area.

U.S. officials are striving to prove that all this is "mere coincidence," that the plane "wandered off its flight path," that it "lost communication contact," etc. What "loss of communication contact" can it be, if the U.S. authorities admitted that they had been following the flight throughout its duration? The flimsiness of the attempts of the White House to justify the "appearance of the South Korean plane in the airspace of the Soviet Union by some technical malfunction" is also made obvious by the statements of the former head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Japanese armed forces, at present the military observer of the newspaper "Mainichi Shimbun" G. Takeda. "With 'Boeing' having a computer on board, two pilots and a system of double-triple checking, the deviation of the plane of the South Korean air company looks more than strange," he writes in this newspaper. This is also confirmed by a report published by The New York Times.

Materials, which were made public by the Japanese news agency Kyodo, prove the discourse of U.S. Administration spokesmen about some "technical troubles" on the intruder plane to be wholly untenable. Quoting sources which had been carefully monitoring that flight, the news agency reported that "the South Korean liner's radio communications with Japanese air traffic controller stations had been maintained almost until the very moment of the plane's disappearance." Thus, the Washington version that the plane's radio equipment got out of order and that its crew could not respond to the signals given to it does not correspond to reality. This is confirmed also by the fact, reported by Kyodo, that more than an hour after the Soviet planes' first attempt to establish contact with the Boeing, a telegram was sent from aboard the plane, which said, in particular, "the plane's navigational equipment is operating normally."

According to Australian newspapers, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency followed the plane's flight most closely. A BBC broadcast pointed out that U.S. and Japanese tracking services had been continuously tracking the South Korean plane over the entire length of its route but had not adopted measures to correct its path.

The Western press reported also that the crews of the South Korean liners on this route are made up solely of air force pilots.

The Australian newspaper Sydney Morning Herald pointed out, in its turn, that the South Korean plane could have been taken in the Soviet Union for a U.S. spy plane since on radars it looked like an intelligence plane of the U.S. Air Force, and that it could also well be mistaken for a U.S. E4B bomber.

All this corroborates the fact that the corresponding U.S. services had a direct relation to this provocation. The conclusion drawn by the New York correspondent of the Australian radio and television network ABC that the C.I.A.'s conduct in that whole affair appeared very suspicious, therefore, looks to have its grounds. Isn't it the involvement of the well-known terrorist center of the United States in the whole affair that caused U.S. State Department spokesman Hughes to sidestep on more than one occasion at a press conference in Washington journalists' questions of why the corresponding U.S. and Japanese services had not warned the plane that it had violated the airspace of the U.S.S.R. and why they had not guided it out of there.

In this connection, it is proper to ask: what the thoroughly hypocritical "sorrow" demonstrated by the White House is based on? Or does Mr. President believe that the very concept of national sovereignty no longer exists and one may intrude with impunity into the airspace of independent states? Or is he viewing the whole world now as a "zone of U.S. vital interests"?

There is one more side to this question. The U.S. President asks: How one can conduct negotiations with a state which is capable of such actions?

This phrase in itself explains a great deal. Why so? Because the U.S. Administration is going out of its way to disrupt the process of the normalization of the situation in the world, to evade solving problems facing the world which are vital to the interests of nations.

The head of the White House is shedding hypocritic tears over what has happened! More than once the world has witnessed the situation when Washington officials speak of "humaneness," while at the same time U.S. marines, acting in concert with Israeli aggressors, commit mass killings in Lebanon, when under the guidance of American instructors bandits perpetrate atrocities in sovereign Nicaragua and make short work of Salvadoran patriots. The world knows the worth of this "sorrow" and "concern for humaneness." Some time ago it brought about the killing of several million people in Indochina.

The purpose of this provocation with the plane is more than obvious. However, the Washington Administration will be unable to put the Soviet Union and its people in a bad light, as it is frantically trying to do these days. Its designs are frustrated by irrefutable facts. It will be impossible to cover up the traces of dirty deeds with the help of vicious abuses. ■

Mission 007...

(continued from page 1)

insane, but then the Reaganites are insane. And to whip up war hysteria, their battle cry will be "Remember the Korean Air Line Massacre," Reagan's version of Teddy Roosevelt's "Remember the Maine." As Trotskyists we unconditionally militarily defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack because it embodies gains of the first workers revolution overthrowing capitalism, despite the bureaucratic degeneration under Stalin and his heirs. While rad-libs and reformists fell prey to Jimmy Carter's "human rights" crusade over Afghanistan, we hailed the Red Army fighting against Islamic reactionaries. We have exposed Washington's "yellow rain" hoax and the phony "KGB kill pope plot." From the Caribbean to Poland, we have defended the Soviet bloc deformed workers states against counterrevolution, and today vigilance is more necessary than ever in defending the homeland of the October Revolution.

007 Big Lie

We offer below some of the innumerable contradictions in the American story. To begin with: how did the South Korean airliner get over Soviet airspace in the first place? Reagan suggests mistaken information fed into the plane's computer or machine malfunction, "no one will ever know." At least he hopes so. But the KAL 747 carried three state-of-the-art inertial navigational systems made by Litton Industries, which cross-check on each other. According to the *New York Times* (3 September) "the odds against more than one computer malfunctioning are enormous." Before being fed in, the coordinates are supposed to be checked by a second crew member. In addition the plane had a weather radar which can pick up land masses up to 200 miles away, and standard operating procedure along route R-20, because it is so close to Soviet territory, is to point the radar down and scan at every waypoint. Was it possible, Ted Koppel asked on ABC's "Nightline," that you had a problem with the computer, *and* the lights were out, *and* the radio wasn't working? "To have them all fail simultaneously or even in close sequence, the odds against it are astronomical," answered Captain Tom Ashwood, vice president of the Airline Pilots Association.

Then there is the course followed by Flight 007 once it left the standard route. "The plane did not veer off suddenly in some completely random direction," said a senior intelligence official, "It was on the wrong path for several hours, never deviating from a line that would have taken it straight to Seoul" (*New York Times*, 4 September). While intentionally flying through Soviet airspace was "unthinkable" to experienced pilots, officials said other explanations like machine malfunction are "even more unlikely." And there can be no doubt that all pilots on the route are aware of the danger. The most widely used navigational map, the Jeppesen, carries a specific warning over Sakhalin Island saying that aircraft flying over Soviet territory "may be fired on without warning" (see illustration). The pilots of Flight 007 knew what they were doing.

This was further demonstrated by the plane's actions after being pursued by Soviet interceptors. According to the U.S., Russian fighters scrambled to chase the plane as soon as it passed over Kamchatka, but at no time in the next 2-1/2 hours did the KAL pilots radio to American or Japanese air controllers that they were in trouble. When approaching Sakhalin Island, the plane radioed its position to Tokyo airport as longitude 147 east, latitude 41 north. The press speculates they may have had the coordinates reversed, but then the plane swerved directly west across the Korsakov naval-air base. At 3:12 a.m., according to the U.S., Soviet pilots report visual contact with the plane. At 3:15 a.m., again without reporting any problems, Flight 007 requested permission from Tokyo to climb to 35,000 feet, which it did without receiving permission. As a *Philadelphia Inquirer* (4 September) article pointed out,

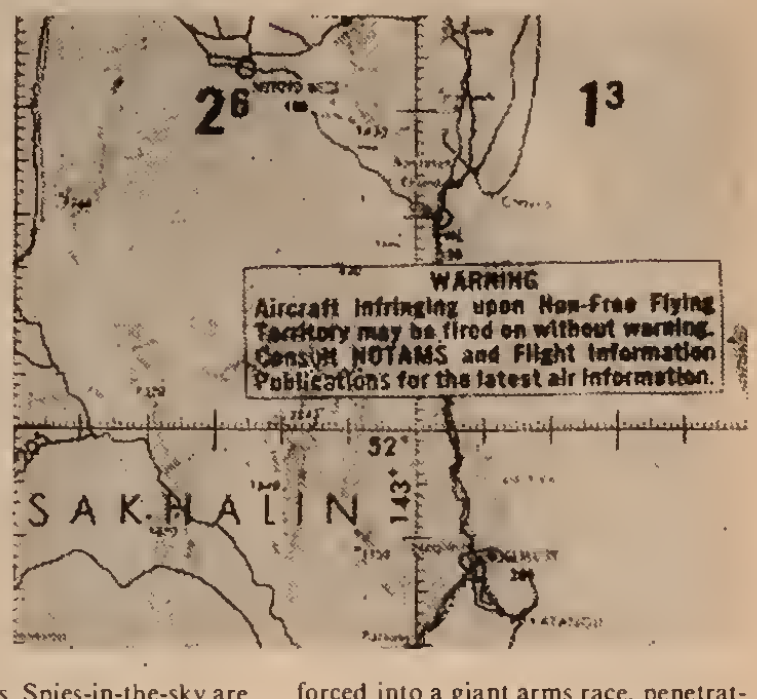
> "...to interceptor pilots, who want to force the intruder to land, that is defiant action.... he may have been trying to shake the fighters as [former National Security Agency director and former CIA deputy director Admiral] Inman speculated."

What, then, about the Japanese air controllers, U.S. and Japanese "communications monitors" who were closely tracking the plane? The Americans claim to know precisely when Soviet radar picked up the KAL plane, how many fighters were sent after it, what the pilots said to their ground control. The Japan Defense Agency said its radar showed the plane crossing Sakhalin Island. But, noted the *Washington Post* (2 August), "Despite the monitoring, there are no reports of anybody's warning the flight that it was badly off course. Nor is there any indication that the pilot radioed for help or sounded alarmed." And, as TASS points out, no one bothered to inform Soviet authorities either. So why wasn't there any attempt to notify *anyone*? One only has to recall the imperialist fury against Gary Powers, the U-2 pilot in 1959, for having brought his crippled plane down and lived, rather than dying in a fiery crash—which would have let Washington go on peddling the lie that it was only a "weather flight." These are supposed to be suicide missions if you get caught. The KAL pilot did his job.

Then there is the 22-hour gap between when the airliner went down and when it was reported by U.S. Secretary of State Shultz. Everyone remembers the Rosemary Woods 18-minute gap, of Watergate fame, but this one is of monumental proportions. Especially considering, as the *Washington Post* put it, "somebody's radar knew a great deal about the progress of Flight 007." The U.S. claims it didn't know the KAL jetliner was in trouble until *after* it was downed, and excuses the delay with the difficulties of translating from Russian to Japanese to English. Both of these claims are contradicted in press reports. The *Washington Post* (3 September) reports that "intelligence specialists... listen to air communications as they take place," and that "the information arrived in Washington sooner than has been publicly acknowledged." Besides which, if the evidence is so conclusive, why haven't the unexpurgated tapes been played for public consumption?

What about the Soviet side? At the United Nations, the American delegate accused the Russians of "wanton, calculated, deliberate murder." The Soviets say that they were not aware that the intruding plane was a commercial airliner. Whom to believe? In the first place, Reagan in his speech last night said "the 747 has a unique and distinctive silhouette... there is no way a pilot could mistake this for anything other than a civilian airliner." Wrong. There is a military plane which has *exactly* the profile of a Boeing 747, namely the E4B. Ronald Reagan is certainly familiar with this, since they are used as command-and-control centers for nuclear warfare. The Soviets have also said that their pilot might have mistaken the 747 for an AWACS radar plane. The AWACS has a bubble on the top; a 747 has a bulge. At 3:30 a.m., a Soviet pilot who probably had never seen a 747 before, since they aren't in the habit of straying into Russian airspace, might well have thought he had an AWACS in his sights, a particularly dangerous aircraft.

And the RC 135, a U.S. spy plane that was admittedly in the area and even crossed the flight path of KAL 007? Washington said nothing about this until House Democratic leader Jim Wright inadvertently leaked that the Russians at first identified the South Korean airliner as an RC135. Yesterday's *Pravda* reported that the U.S. had *seven* RC135s flying off the Soviet Far East during this time period, in addition to three American naval vessels. "I'm sorry it was ever mentioned," said Senate Democratic leader Robert Byrd. So, no doubt, is Ronald Reagan. But the fact is that Washington does conduct aerial surveillance of the Soviet Union on a 24-hour basis. Spies-in-the-sky are not limited to satellites. Moreover, the United States now concedes that the one RC135 they admit to was tracking the KAL 747. Curiouser and curiouser.



Standard navigation map provided for international airliners warns against flying over militarily sensitive Soviet area.

"We Don't Spy and We Don't Lie"—Oh, No?

The 2 September *New York Times* quoted Major General George Keegan, former chief of Air Force intelligence, saying:

> "I have never failed to be surprised at how careless the Koreans are, despite the risks of flying near Soviet airspace. Despite all that the Soviets had there, the Koreans continued to fly too close. The Koreans continued to bruise the Soviets on this. What happened today they invited."

A Korean predilection for playing with fire, perhaps? There is indeed a precedent of another KAL flight, in April 1978, which belligerently intruded on Soviet airspace and was shot down. On that occasion, the South Korean airliner flew north from London on a polar flight, headed west over Greenland and then doubled back, 1,000 miles off course, flying straight over the strategic naval base at Murmansk on the Kola Peninsula. That time, as well, the South Korean pilot took evasive action...and received a blast of machine-gun fire from Soviet fighters. An "enormous navigation error"?

Washington is pretending that civilian airliners never spy, or at least not for the "free world." Ha! In the first place, there are the "routine reconnaissance" flights of the U-2 or SR71s. Then there are the more than 400 American "listening posts" surrounding the Soviet Union, from Helsinki to Hokkaido. And the use of commercial flights for espionage against the Soviet bloc is hardly novel. John le Carré's novel, *The Looking Glass War*, begins with a scene of a British intelligence agent waiting in Finland for the pilot of a civilian airliner contracted to go off course and photograph sensitive installations in East Germany. Impossible? In the *Philadelphia Inquirer* interview, ex-NSA chief Inman said that the U.S did not use passenger planes for spy missions, because it had adequate information from satellites. Of course, the U.S. "might at one time have used commercial aircraft for spying, 'perhaps in the Berlin Corridor'"...but that is supposedly ancient history.

On the 1 September program of ABC-TV's "Nightline," former CIA director (under Democratic president Jimmy Carter) Stansfield Turner repeatedly referred to Soviet "paranoia" about instrusions into their airspace. Paranoia, but explicable paranoia. "When the Koreans five years ago went 1,000 miles into Soviet territory, and then have done it again this time, I think that makes them suspicious." And "paranoia" with good reason. What Hitler's Germany did to Soviet Russia was Pearl Harbor on a giant scale, the equivalent of seizing and destroying all of the U.S. east of the Mississippi. Meanwhile, the USSR is besieged by American imperialism in every known malicious way, forced into a giant arms race, penetrated, damaged, you name it. In fact, a good part of the Western tourists, newsmen, scholars, etc., etc. that do turn up in and around the Soviet Union *are* spies. Take for example the 1980 salvage operation on the HMS *Edinburgh* related in the book *Stalin's Gold* by Barrie Penrose. Presumably a straight commercial venture, yet a British "scientist" involved attempted to set off underwater charges in order to run tests in the shallow seas just off Murmansk.

And then the 747 is supposed to be the preeminently civilian aircraft. Never mind that it was originally designed as the world's largest military transport with a cargo capacity of 75 tons (almost double any other commercial plane). It's not hard to imagine KAL's Flight 007 with 30 Korean military men down in the freight compartment with various kinds of sensing devices: who would know the difference? And the South Koreans are not novices at this game. Ernest Volkmann, "national security editor" of *Defense Science* magazine, said in an interview broadcast by the Canadian CBC network on September 2 the Korean Air Lines, among others, was "notorious" for placing "special sensors and photo equipment" on board their planes. He also noted that "the pilots and crews of Korean planes are all military personnel." In fact, the pilot of KAL Flight 007, Colonel Chung Byung, was the airline's senior 747 skipper, who piloted Korean dictator Chun Do Hwan to Washington when he visited the U.S. in 1981.

But it's not some kind of Korean specialty. The *New York Times* (2 September) noted that "this week's incident came against the backdrop of an aggressive American effort to develop technical intelligence penetration of the Sea of Okhotsk over more than 30 years and after more than a score of such incidents...." The purpose of aircraft penetration would not only be for surveillance but also to test Soviet responses.

In particular, the Pentagon and NATO strategists are concerned to thwart a supposed primeval Russian drive to conquer access to "warm water ports." Located atop the Eurasian land mass, the Soviets can reach the high seas only through four main passages. On the northwest, the Red Banner Fleet based in Murmansk must pass through the narrow passage between Norway's North Cape and the Arctic ice pack. The Baltic Fleet operating out of Leningrad

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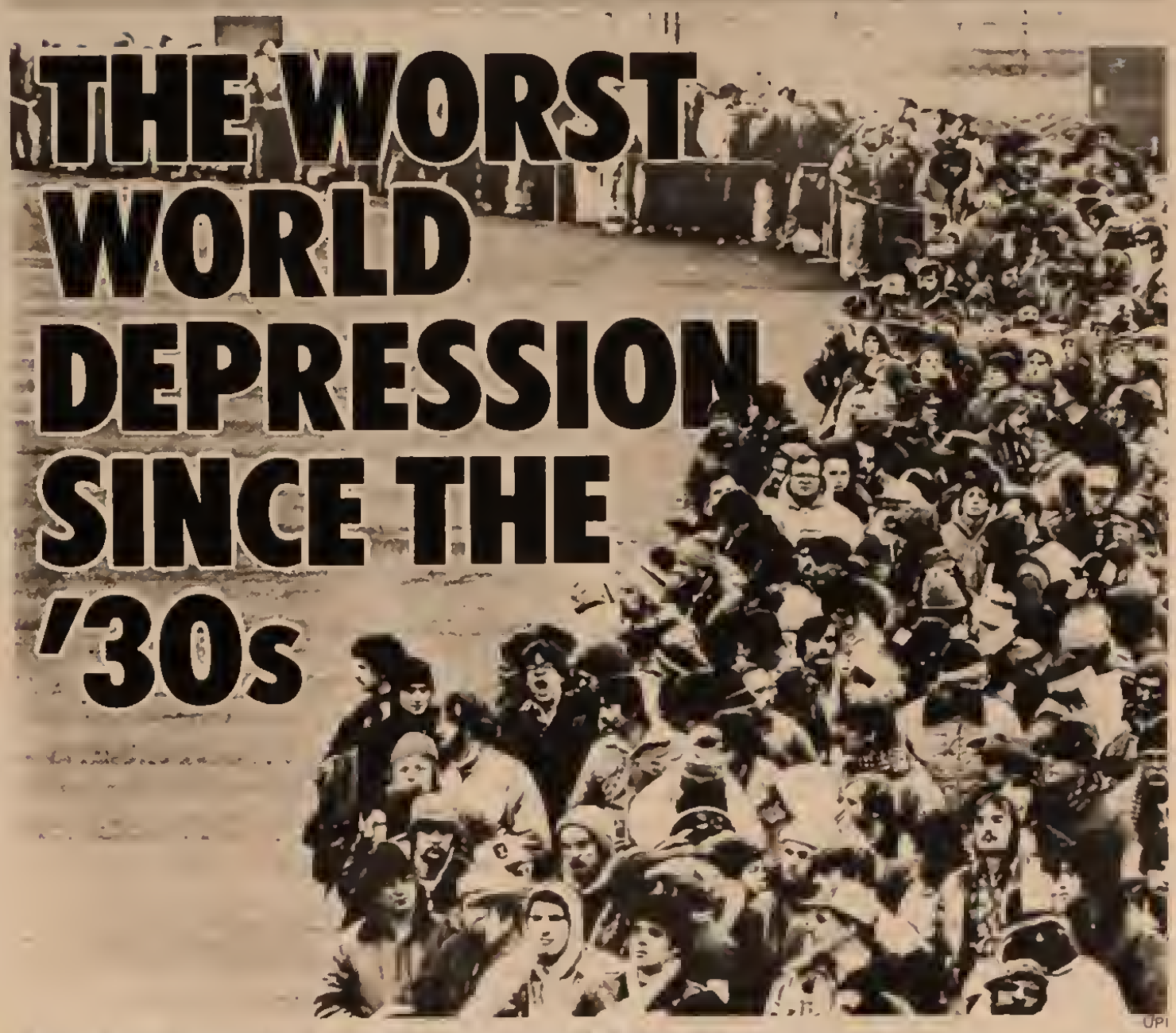
Neither "Socialism in One Country" Nor Keynesianism in One Country But International Workers Revolution

THE WORST WORLD DEPRESSION SINCE THE '30s



UPI

Almost a thousend job seekers line up for 30 positions at e Pennsylvania oil refinery.

The following is an edited presentation on the world economic conjuncture given by comrade Joseph Seymour at the Spartacist League's seventh national conference.

It has become a journalistic commonplace that the world economy is in the worst shape since the Great Depression of the 1930s. In every major capitalist country without exception the level of unemployment is today higher than at any time since the immediate postwar period and in the U.S. since before World War II. Right now there are more people unemployed in North America and West Europe than at the depth of the Great Depression. Since the Great Depression was unique and occurred in a different historic setting, perhaps a better comparison is with the second worst contraction. At the depth of the 1974-75 downturn there were 16 million people unemployed in North America and West Europe. There are today more than twice that many.

Another interesting measure is how far back do you have to go in time to get a level of industrial production lower than today. For the U.S., you have to go back to '77; for Britain, '72; France and West Germany, '78. Only in Japan is the level of industrial production slightly higher than in the late '70s. And since the population has increased, that means in the past half decade there has been an *absolute* decline in industrial production and also capacity per capita—an absolute decline in world capitalism.

Despite the moderate recovery in the U.S., there is by no means expected any significant improvement. Europe is lagging behind. In France, in particular, things are going to get worse. The official government forecast in France is half a million more unemployed in the next year and a half. And that's not merely a forecast; it corresponds to the *intent* of the Mitterrand government, which is exercising an austerity program to break the inflationary spiral and restore international confidence in the ever-shrinking French franc.

There are three political responses to the economic conjuncture which are particularly important for us. One is the marked—in some ways qualitative—shift to the right within the bourgeoisie with the oncoming of the contraction following a period of inflationary stagnation. This shift to the right in economic policy goes by the rubric of monetarism. Second is the tendency—in the short run irreversible—toward national economic protectionism. And third, there is the well-publicized danger of an international financial collapse triggered by one of the big Latin American or, less likely, East European countries defaulting on its debt. One of the small pleasures of reading the business press (economics really is the dismal science) is all the doomsday scenarios. My favorite is from the *Wall Street Journal*, which had the new Argentine government, headed by a minister Thomas Aquinas-Marx, defaulting on its $55 billion in debt. This came as a particular shock to international bankers, who thought they had only lent Argentina $40 billion.

Until a few years ago the predominant bourgeois propaganda in the advanced capitalist countries was: Things have never been better. Capitalism is more prosperous than ever before. The Great Depression of the '30s would never, could never happen again. But what we've seen now across the board is a very different kind of bourgeois propaganda: We've been living beyond our means. We can no longer afford the present level of social security, unemployment insurance, hospitalization, wages, etc.

UPI

IMF-imposed austerity pauperizes Mexican workers. Unemployed carpenters, painters, electricians forced to offer their skills in front of Mexico City cathedral.

Beginning in Britain with Thatcher, you not only had a right-wing government displacing Labour—this had happened before—but the most right-wing government in half a century. Then Reagan displaced Carter, again giving us the most right-wing government in half a century. Then the Christian Democrats replaced the Social Democratic-led coalition which had governed West Germany for the previous 13 years. What's significant is not merely that these governments naturally denounced the policies of their predecessors for ruining the economy, but that they denounced the basic economic policies of the *entire* postwar period, contending that decades of Keynesianism or welfare-statism had ruined the economy.

The doctrine known as monetarism has basically two elements. One, to cut back government-supplied social services in the hope of transferring these resources into private profit or, in the case of the United States, into military spending. And two, to use fiscal and especially monetary policy to deliberately induce mass unemployment to break the power of the unions and increase the rate of exploitation, which has been particularly successful in Reagan's America.

The question of protectionism is important for us because in a sense it is the labor bureaucracies' and reformists' answer to monetarism. We do not do much political combat with the advocates of Milton Friedman except occasionally on campuses and usually in a very hostile setting. (*Interjection*: Yeah, they drive cars at us!) It is rather different with the advocates of national economic protectionism, who not only in the U.S. but also in West Europe are often found on the left wing of the reformist establishment—Benn in Britain, Chevènement and the Stalinists in France. (*Interjection*: Imagine an international conference of the presidents of all the steel unions in all the big producing countries—a bloodbath!)

So this is often sold with a lot of left-wing, populist, anti-capitalist rhetoric. Michael Harrington recently had an op-ed article in the *New York Times* in defense of the UAW's domestic-content bill. He argued: We socialists, we trade unionists have never accepted the free workings of the capitalist market. Why should the multinationals determine the auto trade? Responding to this kind of demagogy, we say that if anti-Semitism is the socialism of fools then protectionism is the economic planning of fools.

One of the effects of the inflationary conditions of the 1970s, associated with the OPEC oil boom, was to completely distort world financial markets. There were periods when real interest rates were actually negative. Naturally a lot of the tinpot generals in Latin America and some of the stupider Stalinist bureaucrats in East Europe went on a borrowing binge. And bankers, too, believed that inflation was the wave of the future. Particularly after the downturn in the U.S. and West Europe in 1979, bankers concentrated their loans on a few Latin American countries which had oil, meat and other primary products which were still going up in price. And in their own way bankers understand that the East European regimes are planned economies. While they have no faith in the tinpot despots of the Third World, they did believe that the Stalinist bureaucrats would honor their debts. So they were

quite disappointed with the Poles.

Then last year the shit hit the fan. The loans of the top nine banks in the U.S. to Argentina, Brazil and Mexico alone amount to 113 percent of their equity capital. If even one of these countries goes and if there is no U.S. government bailout, then some of these banks are going to go. It's hard to conceive that the American bourgeois state would not bail them out. But that's not costless. It further distorts financial markets, it drives up real interest rates, it inhibits industrial investment. It's not costless.

It's rather speculative to consider the effect of the financial crisis on the creditor countries, because a lot depends on government policy. What is not speculative is the effect on the debtor countries. The regional synchronization of economic crises is fairly common. But the regional synchronization of *political* crises is not, because there are different types of governments, different balances of class forces, different national traditions. What one now has in the so-called Southern Cone of Latin America is therefore unusual. There are a number of countries with deeply unpopular military regimes which now have to impose savage austerity openly and nakedly dictated by the IMF [International Monetary Fund] on behalf of the Yankee bankers. It is hard to conceive of a situation more likely to cause social explosions. The imperialist exploitation is so naked and the regimes—Pinochet, the Argentine and Brazilian juntas—so unpopular and shaky even before the present economic crisis.

Reaganomics of World War III

During the 1980 presidential race we pointed out that these elections were defined by a bourgeois consensus extending to both the Democrats and Republicans: (1) to reassert the U.S. role as world policeman, centrally by attempting to reestablish first-strike nuclear capability against the Soviet Union; (2) to break the inflationary spiral, which by early 1980 was spinning up to banana-republic levels; and (3) to reverse the catastrophic decline in industrial productivity relative to its main trading rivals. One of the reasons Reagan got elected was that the American bourgeoisie believed he would be more determined, more aggressive, more ruthless in carrying out these aims than the wishy-washy Carter.

We also pointed out at the time that these aims are mutually contradictory. American imperialism does *not* have the real economic resources to simultaneously modernize its industrial plant and restore conventional and nuclear military superiority over Russia. For the past two decades the net savings rate in the United States—retained corporate profit, trust funds, pension funds, etc.—has been about 7 percent of gross national product. These are the resources available as economic surplus.

Sygma

Poissy, France, July 21—Predominantly North African auto workers at Peugeot take the lead in resisting austerity program of Mitterrand popular-front government.

At present the federal and state government deficit is about 6 percent of gross national product. This means there is only 1 percent of social product available for modernizing and expanding the civilian industrial sector.

The bourgeoisie is acutely aware of this problem, but it doesn't know what to do about it. No section of the American ruling class is prepared to abandon the ambition to restore the "American century" and adjust the U.S. role to its real and shrinking economic potential. Willy-nilly, they have collectively opted to go for military superiority at the expense of long-term economic health. Maybe they think they can win a nuclear war against Russia and that would solve all their problems.

Reagan's peculiar contribution to this dilemma was to finance this massive military buildup by cutting taxes. Here you have a government which preaches nineteenth-century bourgeois virtues—a penny saved is a penny earned. Yet in the next five years the U.S. government is going to run a deficit *greater* than in the previous 200 years of the history of the American state.

When Reagan first launched this policy, I made a false prognosis. I didn't think he could do it without inflationary finance. I didn't believe he could do it purely through monetary policy nor did I anticipate the extreme depth of the industrial collapse. One of Reagan's more acerbic Wall Street critics, Sam Nakagama, said that attempting to control inflation entirely by monetary policy is the economic equivalent of strategic bombing: it works by leveling the country's industrial plant. Reagan chose to finance the military in a way that had the most immediate, direct and maximal impact on cutting back industrial investment and also depressing the housing industry.

It had another impact. Tight money in a world of open financial flows sucked in a lot of money-capital from other countries. Reagan exported austerity. He financed U.S. military spending in a way that maximally caused problems for the rest of the capitalist world. Thus, Helmut Schmidt—by no means an anti-American demagogue—exclaimed that real interest rates in Germany were the highest since the time of Jesus Christ.

What about the immediate conjuncture? As Marx wrote in *Capital*—contrary to Gerry Healy—there is no such thing as a contraction which goes on forever. The contraction produces the mechanisms which restore the rate of profit. In this case, there has been an increase in the rate of exploitation—the union givebacks, probably far greater cutbacks in non-union shops—and also a sloughing off of marginal facilities. These factors created conditions around the beginning of the year for some kind of recovery, which, however, remains very narrowly based. In terms of the industrial economy, we are seeing basically an inventory buildup and some recovery in housing. It does *not* extend to capital investment.

Even though the recovery is only a few months old, even though there really isn't much demand to finance capital expansion, already private investors are running up against the huge amount of government borrowing. A few weeks ago the head of the Federal Reserve, Paul Volcker, stated: "As things stand now, the rising private credit demands, a reflection of rising private activity, are beginning to clash with heavy borrowing needs of the government." As a result in the past few months bond issues have fallen, new stock issues have fallen and mortgage loans have fallen as the military sector eats up the available economic surplus. Under these conditions it's hard to foresee a very vigorous economic recovery, which would necessarily have to be based on massive capital renewal, which god knows this country needs.

Spectacular Failure of the Mitterrand Popular Front

In France there have been a number of dramatic changes in the political situation which are a direct product of the world economic conjuncture. This is important, because of all the major imperialist countries France has a postwar history of being the least stable. One thinks of de Gaulle's coup in '58, the prerevolutionary situation in May '68. Also the Ligue Trotskyste de France is in a sense the second section of our tendency, so what happens in France has a very considerable effect on our tendency.

The political and economic developments in France have differed from the general pattern in the rest of the advanced capitalist world. Monetarism came to France well in advance of the present world contraction beginning in 1979. The right-wing Giscard/Barre government of the mid-late '70s attempted to increase productivity by modifying the traditional economic policy known as *dirigisme* [government control]. This has a long history in France. At the time they were about to build the palace at Versailles, the Republic of Venice was the world's major producer of glass. The French monarchy did not want to share its wealth with the Venetians and so set up a state-owned glassworks. This is the origin of the Saint Gobain trust.

The Giscard/Barre government bucked this tradition and dismantled some of the *étatiste* [state-controlled] elements of the French economy. This had two major political effects. When the world downturn hit France in 1979 there was a popular tendency to blame this right-wing government and its "free-market," monetarist policies for the worsening economic conditions. At the same time, a section of the bourgeoisie, concentrated in the Gaullists, opposed these Giscardian policies. They wanted a more nationalistic, more statist economic policy.

Mitterrand came to power in 1981 promising renewed Keynesianism—he promised to create a half a million new jobs, mainly in the public sector—and a policy to "reconquer the domestic market." And these policies had a certain amount of bourgeois support, mainly backhanded support from the Gaullists. Two of the key economic ministries were given to former Gaullists: the ministry of trade to the loudmouth Michel Jobert and the ministry of finance to Jacques Delors.

Mitterrand embarked on a policy which the snotty right-wing London *Economist* called "Keynesianism in one country." The predictable result was record budget deficits, record balance-of-payments deficits and record international indebtedness. In the first year Mitterrand was in power the French government's foreign borrowing more than doubled. France was on its way to becoming the Poland or the Mexico of West Europe.

After Reagan informed him that the U.S. would not subsidize the French social democrats, about a year ago the Mitterrand government did a U-turn and has attempted to impose an austerity program *more severe* than anything Giscard and Barre ever tried. A government which came to power promising to create half a million new jobs is now, two years later, promising half a million more unemployed. A very dramatic shift.

So you now have a government in France which in different ways has alienated all sections of the population. The immediate effect is to demoralize the proletariat, that is, the native French proletariat. The large population of foreign workers, mainly North African, are more combative since they never identified with the Mitterrand popular front to begin with. The petty bourgeoisie, hit by higher taxes and reduced social benefits, is driven into a frenzy of hostility to the government. And the big bourgeoisie is prepared to encourage extra-legal violence against a regime it believes has ruined the economy. Jobert resigned from the government in protest and said that Mitterrand has brought the country to the brink of the economic equivalent of the fall of France in 1940. This is, of course, a crazy exaggeration. But it is indicative of how significant sections of the French bourgeoisie are feeling.

As a result last spring there was a massive right-wing mobilization extending into a section of the police. The group of ultrarightist police symbolically marched on the presidential palace. The working class has been slower to move. There has recently been some resistance to mass layoffs in the automaker Peugeot, the largest private firm in France. This resistance is centered on the foreign workers. When the population returns from their August vacation, it looks like France is heading for explosive times.

Andropov's Russia Under the Gun

One hears a lot about the so-called Soviet economic crisis, the Soviet economic collapse from the Reagan

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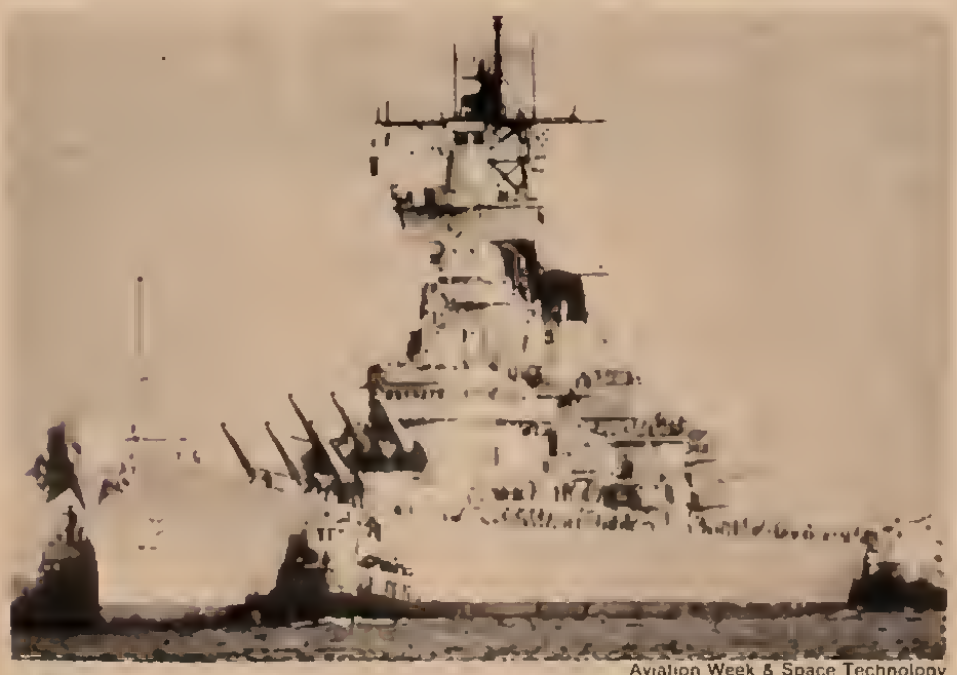


Aviation Week & Space Technology

Battleship New Jersey refitted with cruise missiles. Runaway U.S. military budget eats up available economic surplus.

World Depression...

(continued from page 9)

administration and its supporters. Behind this are a couple of things. One is a tendency to view the Soviet Union through the distorting prism of Polish Solidarność, a belief that what happened in Poland could be extended to Russia. That is nonsense. The other factor is a revival in Washington—not just limited to the Reaganites—of a notion pushed by Nelson Rockefeller in the 1950s. Rockefeller argued that since the Soviet Union had a per capita income about half that of the United States, this was a society which could less afford an all-out arms race. Thus, the arms race was not only to achieve military superiority—which the U.S. had in the '50s—but to force the Soviet leaders to cut standards of living and hopefully therefore create popular discontent. There has been a revival of this doctrine, which is a motivation for the arms race apart from purely military considerations. At one level all this is simply bourgeois false consciousness, that is, wishful thinking. The Soviet economy is *not* going to collapse, and the problems the Soviet Union does have will lead to a very different popular response than the clerical-nationalist, pro-imperialist Solidarność in Poland.

The Soviet Union has, however, suffered a marked *deceleration* of growth—not negative growth as in the West, but a deceleration. Last year the rate of industrial growth was less than 3 percent, the *lowest* rate since World War II. To put the present problems of the Soviet economy in perspective, one should remember that during the first ten years (from 1965 to 1975) of what is now referred to as the Brezhnev era per capita consumption in the Soviet Union increased between 40 to 50 percent. At the same time, in part because the U.S. was bogged down in Vietnam, the Soviet Union was able to achieve rough nuclear parity. And in the early '70s the Soviet Union even had sufficient resources to massively subsidize East Europe, mainly by selling it oil far below galloping world market prices. (This wasn't such a good idea, since the East Europeans now waste oil.)

During this period the Soviet bureaucracy no douht thought that the world was basically going its way. This, I believe, accounts for the extreme conservatism, the immobilism, the complacency of the late Brezhnev era. However, in the late '70s things began to unravel for the Soviet leaders. Here I will focus on the worsening domestic economic performance.

There are a number of conjunctural reasons why. During much of the '70s the Soviet economy benefited from a highly favorable international situation. tts main exports are oil, natural gas and gold, all of which increased multiply in terms of world market prices. However, in the beginning of the '80s these prices fell.

Abstracting from these kinds of conjunctural factors, the Soviet bureaucracy has run into a more fundamental problem. Historically, the pattern of Soviet economic growth has been what economists call *extensive* growth. Basically this means building new factories and drawing upon a seemingly inexhaustible supply of labor from the peasant population. Historically, the structure of Soviet investment is very different from that in the advanced capitalist countries, a much larger proportion going to constructing new factories, a much smaller proportion going to retooling and modernizing existing factories. By the late '70s the possihilities for this type of extensive growth had pretty much run out. The Soviet Union must have the highest labor force participation rate in the world with the possible exception of East Germany. Furthermorc, extensive industrial growth worsens the problems of Soviet agriculture as the labor force on the collective farms becomes older, less efficient.

The bureaucracy recognized that it would have to turn to *intensive* growth, increasing the productivity of the *existing* labor force. At this point all of the *micro*-economic inefficiencies which have long characterized the system, their weight, their significance, become magnified. The tendency to cheat on the plan, to produce shoddy goods, to produce goods in odd sizes and assortments (the famous mammoth nail in the *Krokodil* cartoon), the conservatism toward innovation—all these factors, which in the past had a relatively smaller drag on the economy, suddenly have a much greater drag.

Andropov campaigned for office, as it were, with the equivalent of John F. Kennedy's slogan in 1960: "Let's get this country moving again." There's been a lot of speculation about big changes in the economy. So far there's only been little changes. Mosi of the speculation centers around a shift toward a more market-oriented, decentralized system. This is the so-called "Hungarian model." Andropov has a long association with Kadar's Hungary, which in 1968 decentralized the economy, giving factory managers much greater free play.

Within the framework of Stalinism there is an immanent tendency toward economic decentralization as an *alternative to workers democracy*. Since you can't subject managers and workers to the discipline of Soviet democracy, and a return to Stalin's methods is very unlikely, what is the alternative? To subject them to the discipline of the market. Clearly this is an option with which the Soviet bureaucracy is flirting.

But "market socialism" has its own contradictions, its own dangers and also its own points of resistance. Another aspect of the Hungarian experience is that workers resist the discipline of the market. They resist getting laid off if the firm they're working in docsn't happen to make a profit. They resist piece-rate wages. They resist earning 20 percent less for doing the exact same thing as a worker in a neighboring firm. And the Soviet working class has a fairly strong sense of egalitarianism. So market-oriented "reforms" would cause problems for the Soviet bureaucracy with the proletariat.

There must be an increasing sense within Soviet society that the promises and the policies of the bureaucracy have proven false. The Soviet people must know that détente has broken down and that they are faced with a war drive by an American government whose open program is nuclear superiority. They must know that the economy is running down and that, one way or another, the economic situation is likely to get worse. There must exist in the USSR one of the elements which Lenin said defined a potentially revolutionary situation. That is, both the bureaucracy and the working masses, each in their own way, know that things cannot go on as before. If for us in the Spartacist League of the U.S. the defense of the Soviet Union begins in Central America, for the Spartacist League of the USSR to bc the defense of the Soviet Union means taking back political power from the usurpers in the Kremlin. ■

Der Spiegel

Reagan wants to wage economic warfare against Russia, but the attempt to sabotage Soviet gas pipeline to West Europe blew up in his face.

Terror in Sri Lanka...

(continued from page 2)

wardene and the bourgeois-nationalist Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF, which formally advocates Eelam), the occupying army continues to rule the North under the murderous "emergency" regulations, round-ups of leftists and others reportedly arc continuing, government workers are being forced to undergo loyalty oaths (eschewing advocacy of Eelam), and the whole island is poised for the next outbreak of catastrophic anti-Tamil terror.

Until shortly before the American national conference convened, we had received from Sri Lanka no information on thc safety of our comrades, who while a very small group had become known in the course of their work as outspoken and active defenders of Tamil national rights on the island, including by seeking to link up the leftist student movement at Colombo University with the militant Tamil nationalist activism on the Jaffna campus. Over the past sevcral years international protests against the anti-Tamil terror in Lanka, including united fronts between exile Tamil groups and iSt sections, have also received significant publicity on the island.

The main document adopted by the conference, written before the massive government-inspired pogroms in Lanka, noted "the increasingly ominous backdrop of anti-Tamil terror and state semi-bonapartism." The document further noted:

> "Ours are Sinhalese comrades whose main work, in aecordance with their Marxist-Leninist propaganda, is necessarily linked to the defense of the Tamil people, which makes them a unique Bolshevik formation on that island. The fight against Lanka's incorporation by U.S. imperialism is intimately linked to opposition to the anti-Tamil terror. The J.R. Jayewardene government, which has been moving large numbers of Sinhalese into the traditionally Tamil Eastern province where Trincomalee is located, sees the prospect of Trinco as a military base for U.S. imperialism as the trade-off to secure aecess to the U.S. market for the cheap manufactured products produced by the superexploited, mainly female workforce in the Free Trade Zone."

Right before the conference, we received our first word from Sri Lanka, a press release which we published in *WV* No. 336 (12 August). The SL/U.S. national conference adopted a motion of communist solidarity with the Spartacist League/Lanka comrades. The greetings from the Lanka section published here were not received in time to be presented to the conference. We are also publishing on page 2 another special dispatch from Colombo, which has been excerpted and slightly condensed for reasons of space.

Sometimes heroism is not a matter of doing things, but just of being there and standing fast. Forward to a federated socialist republic of Eelam and Lanka! ■

Asylum for Tamil Refugees!

Nineteen Tamils seeking political asylum from the bloody government-instigated anti-Tamil massacres in Sri Lanka are currently being held in the Brooklyn Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) detention center. Some of those presently detained are among the over 70,000 Tamils from the Colombo area alone who fled their homes in terror only to be driven into the squalid refugee camps where they were held at the mercy of the murderous Sinhalese army without food, water, sanitary facilities or medical aid. Others were among the thousands evacuated by ship to Jaffna in the North.

Fearing for their lives, these Tamils fled Colombo the last week of August. While en route from Paris to Montreal it was learned that the Canadian government would refuse them admittance. They were hauled off the plane in Boston and interrogated by the INS. In urgently appealing for political asylum in the U.S., the Tamils pointed out that their names and passport numbers had been recorded by security personnel at Colombo's Katunayake Airport. The Tamils were then carted off to thc seedy, miserable INS-style concentration camp in Brooklyn where they are treated like prisoners. We demand the Tamils be freed at once and given immediate political asylum! Stop anti-Tamil massacres in Sri Lanka! Political asylum for all Tamil refugees!

The Eelam Tamils Association of America has taken up this case. They ask that telegrams and letters demanding political asylum for the Tamil refugees be sent to: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugecs, Washington Liaison Office, Suite 405, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036; and Congressman Mario Biaggi, 2004 Williamshridge Road, Bronx, New York 10461. Contributions toward legal expenses can be scnt to: Eelam Tamils Association of America, 66 Glen Street, Somerville, Massachusetts 02145.

Murder, Inc....

(continued from page 3)

> "Interviewer: Pop their eyes with a spoon?
> "Death squad member: You have to film it to believe it, but boy, they sure sing."

The Only Solution: Workers Revolution

In the face of this brutality and military aggression, the reformists within the Salvadoran opposition Democratic Revolutionary Front/ Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FDR/FMLN) and the Nicaraguan Sandinistas have sought to meekly conciliate the imperialists. The FDR/ FMLN popular front is pursuing dialogue toward a political solution to the civil war, last week meeting with Reagan envoy Richard Stone, a former PR man for the Guatemalan junta. But a negotiated settlement would necessarily leave the bloody military officer caste, the protectors of exploitative privilege, intact. Neither would it affect the death squads which will exist as long as the wealthy oligarchs who fund them. A negotiated settlement then would only open the way for even a bigger bloodbath. That is why the Spartacist League (SL) calls for military victory to the leftist insurgents.

Here in the U.S. the various Salvadoran and Nicaraguan popular front "solidarity" committees have for the past three years been orienting to the Congressional liberals to oppose only military, not economic aid; to put "human rights" certification riders on appropriations bills, and now most recently to cut funds for "covert" CIA operations in the region. We have warned repeatedly that the liberal Democrats have only tactical differences with the Reaganites, that both share commitment to the global anti-Soviet war drive in which Central America is currently the front line. On June 7 Democrats in the House Foreign Affairs Committee voted for a massive *overt* aid budget of $80 million, using the same pretext as Reagan, to stop the supposed flow of arms from Nicaragua and Cuba to the Salvador leftists.

The SL takes a side in the class struggle in Central America and elsewhere, the side of the workers and peasants. That is also why we defend the Soviet and Cuban workers states, despite their bureaucratic misrulers, against imperialist attack. Here in the U.S. we call for labor action in support of Central American workers and peasants, such as the proposal for a 24-hour port shutdown in opposition to military and economic aid for El Salvador, as advanced by class-struggle militants in the West Coast longshoremen's union. Because we insist that imperialism can be defeated only through implacable class struggle—not by supporting the liberal "doves"—the reformists in the Central America protest movement have sought to exclude our revolutionary politics with violence and the capitalist cops.

To defeat U.S./CIA terror in Central America requires an all-out revolutionary war, completing the Nicaraguan revolution by wiping out the capitalist fifth column and expropriating the bourgeoisie; not a treacherous negotiated sellout in El Salvador, but a fight for military victory for the leftist insurgents to open the door for workers revolution throughout the region and to extend it to the heavy battalions of the Mexican proletariat. The key to this perspective is not the petty-bourgeois nationalism of the Sandinistas or FDR/FMLN, but proletarian internationalism and the creation of Trotskyist parties throughout Central America. ■

Liberal Mush...

(continued from page 5)

> that balance to have change through elections, and not through bloody revolutions."

And to cries of "Run, Jesse, Run!" he called out: "From slaveship to championship! From the outhouse to the statehouse to the courthouse to the White House!"

Jackson's "from the outhouse to the White House" rap is his version of the Urban League's "hands that once picked cotton now pick the president" slogan. In the same way, its purpose is to use black people as voting cattle to bring about a new Democratic lash-up. And Jackson's so-called "Rainbow Coalition" is so broad it includes open appeals to racist Dixiecrats. A few months ago Jackson traveled to Alabama for a chat with Governor George ("Mr. Segregation") Wallace about electoral strategy, and declared to the Alabama state legislature, "The South can rise again!" This black traitor who raises the slogan of Dixiecrat racism in the center of the old slavocracy should be reviled by every defender of black freedom.

At the rally everyone noted the presence of many whites and a diversity of interest groups. Unlike '63, however, when there was tension between the blue-workshirted, overall-clad young black Southern civil rights organizers and the preachers on the platform, this time around the various constituencies ranged from union and church groups, T-shirted "no-nukers," middle-aged environmentalists in braids, and so forth. As we have emphasized repeatedly, Ronald Reagan killed sectoralism: welfare mothers, PATCO strikers, Salvadoran peasants—he hates *everybody*. The reformists' answer is a utopian *ultra*sectoralism, trying to pull all the sectors together in one great pop front in the sky, by-and-by. But in the worst capitalist economic depression since the 1930s, the proverbial pie has shrunk drastically; in competing for a piece of it, the most oppressed, particularly blacks, won't even get crumbs. In the face of givebacks for the unions, cutbacks for blacks and send-backs for "illegal" Latinos, what is needed is a struggle for socialist revolution, based on the power of the working class and drawing behind its banners all sectors of the oppressed.

As the *Times* article noted, "Differences that split coalitions in the 1960's and 70's still exist." While the August 27 "Coalition of Conscience" blathered about their wonderful "unity," these guys only backstabbed each other up to the very day of the march. Fauntroy wanted to dump any mention of abortion or homosexual rights, leading to a last-minute gay sit-in in his offices; Zionist organizations screamed hysterically against any black sentiment to criticize Israeli terror against Palestinians (even the mildest criticism of U.S. policy and calls for "Mideast peace" were dumped from official statements). The Lane Kirkland/Bayard Rustin die-hard Cold Warriors of the AFL-CIO found the call for "peace" too much—war against Russia, hot or cold, is more their speed. Though they formally endorsed, the AFL-CIO tops spent most of their efforts building the Labor Day "Solidarity Day III" marches for the following week.

When Malcolm X called the 1963 march the "Farce on Washington," he accused Martin Luther King and the other established leaders of turning the event into "a picnic, a circus." So what was the reaction of the so-called socialist left to Farce on Washington II? They were down there on their hands and knees crawling for the Democrats. The Communist Party banner called to "End the Reagan Nightmare—Make the Dream Come True." *Workers World* printed a banner with portraits of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King together, as if the two were collaborators instead of bitter political opponents. The ultra-reformist Socialist Workers Party did them one better, printing in its *Militant* speeches by both Malcolm and MLK, but *not* Malcolm's scathing attack on the '63 march or King's sugar-coated "dream."

The Communist Workers Party (CWP), however, may be having some trouble over their open support to these black Democratic Party hustlers. CWP leader Jerry Tung has come out for supporting Jackson for president. But at their virtually unattended conference at the University of the District of Columbia on the day before the march, while CWPer Nelson Johnson (one of the survivors of the 1979 Klan/Nazi Greensboro massacre) lamely tried to defend this line, another black CWP leader, Phil Thompson, told the SL he wasn't voting for Jackson!

Only the Spartacist League provided an alternative to the Democratic Party popular front on August 27. We sold over 2,200 *WVs* with the headline "Labor, Blacks: Don't Crawl for the Democrats!" and altogether over 3,000 pieces of SL lit that day. Of the 363 new subs to our press, more than one-third came from the D.C./Tidewater area and another 40 from the South. We spoke with many black workers who had participated in the successful action that stopped the Klan in D.C. November 27—their memory and their feeling for this victory runs strong. One young black worker from S.E. Washington compared how much more powerful we were that day, even though there were far fewer people. "We stopped the Klan, and it really *meant* something," he said.

Many sectors of the strategic black proletariat in this country are not blinded by the "dream" talk of the black Democrats and their pseudo-socialist cheerleaders. One bus coming down from Detroit was made up mostly of laid-off Chrysler workers from the Jefferson Avenue plant. An hour or so out of Detroit a local bureaucrat at the front of the bus tried to get a "toast" to the "great Martin Luther King," but the workers remained silent, and the bureaucrat sat back down. Most of them probably figured they couldn't "eat" eulogies to MLK. Black workers on the buses from Tidewater considered the November 27 Labor/Black Mobilization their own. As one told us: "Labor/ black mobilizations, yes. But what we really need is socialism." ■

November 27 & August 27...

(continued from page 5)

in full dress, had it not been for the workers that stopped them before they started.

I do not see the workers of America sharing a dream, but I do see a great many workers in a real deep sleep laying in beds made up by the Democratic and Republican Parties and also beds made up by black and white *mis*leaders as was demonstrated at the August 27, 1983 MOW. This was from the interviews and discussions I had with the workers at the 1983 March. These were marchers who believed that Jesse James Jackson and the Horrible Fauntroy will give them "Johs, Peace and Freedom" by voting for the Democratic Party.

In 1963, with John F. Kennedy as President, the House and Senate controlled by the Democrats, the workers received the same treatment as we are getting now, NOTHING but unemployment and union-busting tactics. What we the workers of the world need is our own Workers Party and with a positive program we can make this country a better place to LIVE.

Just remember that not the first one of these "pro-jobbers," "pro-peacers" and "pro-freedomers" were nowhere near the place we stopped the anti-johhers, anti-peacers and anti-freedomers of the Ku Klux Klan. Since the federal government doesn't intend to stop the Ku Klux Klan in any way, then it is our duty as workers to stop them. The government used to talk about stopping the Klan, but now they have made it perfectly clear the Klan is one of the federal government's tools.

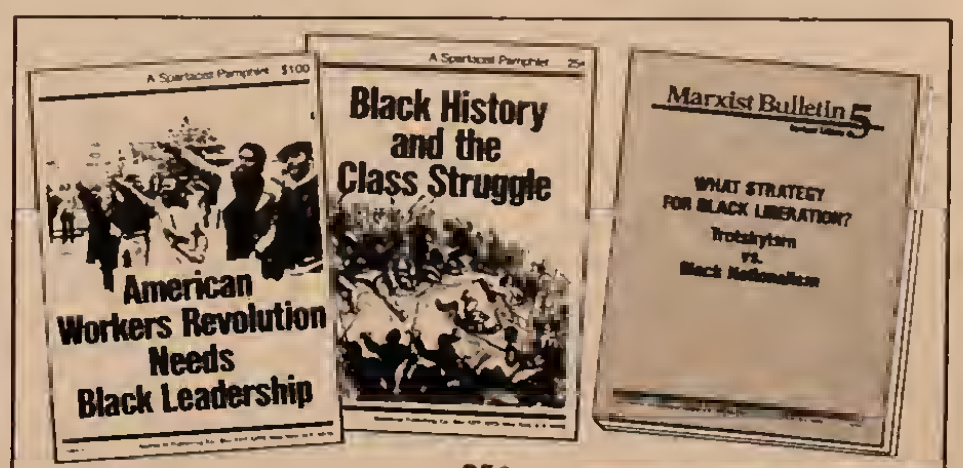
Of all the people that appeared on the Official Celebration Program of the August 27, 1983 Voter Registration Drive for the Democratic Party, not the first one showed their faces on the date of November 27, 1982 to help stop the Klan. I know you do not like me calling this August 27, 1983 thing a Voter Registration Drive for the Democratic Party, but you bring me face to face with Jesse Jackson, Coretta Scott King, Walter E. Fauntroy and all the other phony "JPFers" (jobs, peace and freedomers) and I'll make them eat their words.

Dr. Martin Luther King in 1963 said, "I have a dream." Well, one has to be sleeping and completely out of their minds to even mention obtaining Jobs, Peace and Freedom from a Democratic or Republican government. This is just impossible for a capitalist system to deliver—jobs, peace and freedom—for it is the same as trying to force a Rhode Island Red chicken to lay a duck egg, because the R.I.R.'s system is composed to lay only chicken eggs.

You can have a march 52 Saturdays a year and draw a half million people of all walks of life, make all types of speeches from the Jesse James, the Fauntroys, the Youngs and all kinds of House Negroes and the only thing you will receive is a Sunday morning tired and all worn out.

We, the working people of the world, have to stop depending on the racist-minded rulers to determine who we vote for at the polls. You may think you are electing a government official, but think back a while and you will realize that there are only two parties to select from and they are the Democrats and Republicans. The ruling class picks who they want to run in the elections as far back as the primaries.

What we need is a workers party for the working class and we can pick whom we want to run the country. Remember November 27, 1982, there wasn't a single elected official with us (they were told by the ruling class to stay away) and we did just fine. ■



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Larry McDonald, All-Purpose Ultra-Rightist

Portrait of a "Real American"

Larry McDonald is no longer among us. One of the nastiest enemies of human progress went down with the 007 Korean airliner on its mission of Cold War provocation over sensitive military installations in Soviet territory.

The U.S. capitalists cynically weep all over the front page and six o'clock news in mock sorrow for the passengers who were set up on the death-plane provocation against the USSR. But their tears for Larry McDonald are genuine. If those passengers were made hostages and then human sacrifices on the altar of anti-Sovietism, Larry McDonald might have been the only one of them to accept the mission as part of his anti-Communist duty. Indeed, here was a man who truly embodied the sinister purpose and hideous spirit behind that flight: as a focus for mass hysteria in the anti-Soviet war drive.

McDonald's congressional aides declared him the "first casualty of World War III." It is certainly their hope to have apocalypse now. War against the Soviet Union was McDonald's driving ambition, anti-Communism his obsession. Not only McDonald's friends, but his enemies as well—and these included nearly everyone to the left of Hitler—understood that there was something historically appropriate, nearly poetic, about his being shot out of the sky by the Russians.

Larry McDonald's wife—who wants to inherit his witchhunter's seat in the House of Representatives—and the rest of the New Right think they have confirmed their wildest conspiratorial fantasies of Soviet malignancy. They insist the 007 was shot down to get their man. McDonald, who missed his scheduled flight to Seoul by only a few minutes, was one of a gaggle of ultrarightist U.S. politicians on their way to Seoul for a three-day privately funded celebration of the U.S./South Korea military alliance against the Soviet Union. Jesse Helms went as Reagan's representative. The whole gang of them regularly lobby for massive U.S. military and financial support to this "free world democracy" torture capital.

Universally acknowledged as the most right-wing member of Congress, McDonald was the head of the fanatic John Birch Society, a pillar of the New Right (a member of some 30 of their reactionary committees), the most vicious and active witchhunter in Congress using private agents provocateurs and official police agencies to stamp out "The Red Menace" under the beds or anywhere else. He was a racist who called even the liberal Martin Luther King a Communist "wedded to violence." He opposed everything from abortion to the Panama Canal treaty ("It's ours") to food stamps for the poor. And he supported everything from the-sky's-the-limit military expenditures and the use of nuclear weapons against Vietnam to creating a new HUAC and "unleashing" the FBI/CIA. A hater of Jews and homosexuals, he campaigned against the rights of women, minorities and dissenters of every kind, labeling them Communist dupes with an abandon so reckless it would have awed the original McCarthy, whom McDonald lionized as a "real hero."

It isn't surprising that all the right-wing and fascistic elements in the U.S.

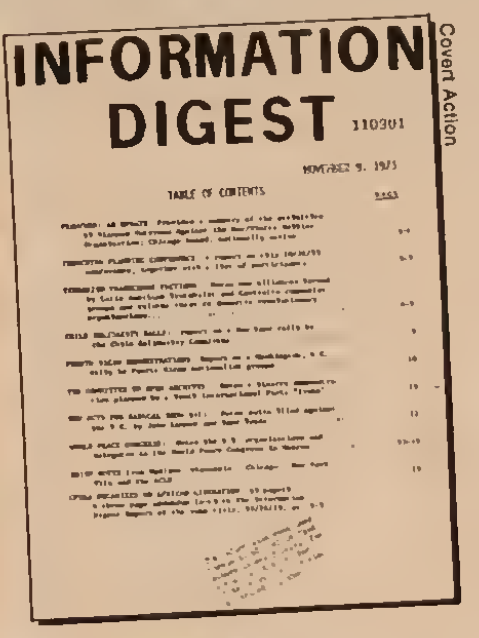
In These Times

are trying to make McDonald into an instant anti-Soviet martyr. About 100 Ku Klux Klan fascists in their white hoods of racist terror took over Marietta Square in McDonald's home district of Marietta, Georgia on Saturday. Their "memorial" to McDonald is the threat of burning crosses and lynch ropes for blacks. The race terrorists who work the fringes of the Cold War want to make McDonald and the 007 a battering ram in a racist and anti-Communist offensive.

The New Right's godfather and computer-mail fundraiser, Richard A. Viguerie (who helped fund McDonald's electoral campaigns), demanded that the entire month of September be observed as a national month of mourning. He wants all Americans to tie black ribbons around their trees. (For this suburban Wizard of Oz, ownership of a tree is evidence of citizenship.) The Moral Majority's televangelist for nuclear armageddon, Jerry Falwell, is planning a McDonald memorial mobilization in Marietta, Georgia on September 11, while the John Birch Society simultaneously broadcasts a film on "Communist subversion" on Ted Turner's national TV network. The Birch Society has demanded that the U.S. break diplomatic ties to the Soviet Union. And Jhoon Rhee, bigwig in the dangerous ultraright-wing Moonie cult, railed against the Soviets and hoped that through McDonald's death America would be "woken up." McDonald served on a number of committees engaged in keeping the bucks flowing to South Korea's military dictatorship. He was closely connected with the private, tax-exempt outfit founded by two aides of Jesse Helms, the Institute on American Relations, which sponsored McDonald's fateful trip to Korea via Kamchatka. The Klan and the Moonies, the Moral Majority and the Birchites—all of them have made Larry McDonald a shrine for their wailing chorus of anti-Soviet hatred.

Nut Case in the Cold War Mainstream

It is politically important that Larry McDonald will not only be mourned by Kluxers, Birchers and Moonies. Larry McDonald was a product of the far-right fringe, but the political mainstream has shifted his way. The renewed Cold War launched dramatically by Carter/Mondale and escalated during the Reagan years has given even Larry McDonald some political influence. Of course Jesse Helms is the prime example of yesterday's ultrarightist in the wings who is now at the center of political power.



Larry McDonald and his lists.

When he died, Lawrence Patton (after General George Patton, he says) McDonald was 48 years old, a fourth-term congressman from the district of Georgia which stretches from Atlanta to Tennessee including some affluent suburbs. He had been a flight surgeon in the navy and was a captain in the naval reserve. He was a veteran member of the House Armed Services Committee, a member of the Special Armed Services Panel, and chairman of the House Special Operations Forces Panel.

An early member of the John Birch Society, McDonald became its chairman last March when founder Robert Welch retired at 83. The Birchers are not much different today than when they labeled President Eisenhower a "comsymp," but they are gaining a wider audience. McDonald spent much of his time in Congress reading the tracts of the John Birch Society into the *Congressional Record* along with the names and supposed activities of leftists "discovered" by his private spy agency. McDonald received awards for Americanism from the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars, and was named "the most conservative member of Congress" by Young Americans for Freedom. He even received an award from Chile's butcher Pinochet.

McDonald was not only a furious right winger—he was a certified crackpot. Like most American right-wing nuts, he had a medical angle. Larry McDonald was a doctor, "the only urologist in Congress," the *New York Times* noted. So he could carry out the program of the John Birch Society to cure the world of cancer through the apricot pit poison known as laetrile. According to the Birchers only the "Communist Conspiracy" (exerted often through that well-known Red Front, the AMA) prevented the American public from being cured of cancer. McDonald was the legislative representative for laetrile, but also as a practicing physician he prescribed it regularly. In 1978 he was sued by the family of an Alabama postal worker who died under McDonald's laetrile "cure." The family claimed McDonald was engaged in "quackery" when standard medical treatment could have been effective. The court forced McDonald to pay the family $15,000, but did not find him guilty of "wrongful death" (*New York Times*, 6 February 1978).

McDonald seemed to exhibit the stuff of parody of the right-wing crackpot. According to an article in *CounterSpy* (Spring 1976), he had "some sexual problems centered around his extreme versions of patriotism." The details are left to the imagination, but one is forcefully reminded of the character General Jack D. Ripper in *Doctor Strangelove* who was obsessed with fear that the Communists were sapping his precious bodily fluids.

McDonald had a special hatred (and fear) of homosexuals. And here he had some success in Congress. Every year he offered his amendment to bar the use of Legal Aid funds to "promote, defend, or protect" homosexuality. The 1981 version passed the House overwhelmingly even as the Gay Men's Chorus was performing on the steps of the Capitol Building. More recently McDonald displayed his idea of humor suggesting that homosexuals should be assessed a "users tax" to pay for AIDS research. Then when this disgusting statement met with general revulsion, McDonald must have remembered how well gay-baiting worked for McCarthy as he responded: "Some of us thought it would be appropriate to have a user tax so that we could merely tax the participants of the program to finance it.... But I'm afraid, with the current make-up of Congress, that we couldn't pass that. They (congressmen) would not want to raise taxes for themselves" (*Atlanta Constitution*, June 7).

Witchhunter with a Drawn Gun

McDonald was certainly a right-wing crackpot, but no less dangerous for all that. He was one of the most sinister witchhunters in the United States. When he first arrived in Congress he tried to become a member of the new HUAC, but when it was abandoned, McDonald moved on his own.

As founder and chairman of Western Goals, McDonald had his most ominous project. Western Goals is a private tax-exempt multimillion-dollar high-tech operation to spy on the left and the rest of his political opponents. Western Goals is said to have computerized dossiers on more than a million "subversive" Americans—a computer bank which rivals the FBI's. Western Goals would supply "information" to the police and official U.S. spy agencies. A cozy relationship of exchange seems to have developed. Now there is a grand jury investigation of the relationship between Western Goals and the LAPD's "Red Squad" who, it is charged, gave Western Goals Los Angeles Police Department files.

Providing "research" for Western Goals is John Rees, the husband of Louise Rees, McDonald's Congressional aide. John Rees' (a.k.a. John Seeley) career included FBI and police informant, agent provocateur (along with his wife), and editor of the police informer "newsletter" called *Information Digest*. The *Information Digest*'s secret subscribers include the FBI, CIA and NSA. Immune from prosecution for libel as a Congressman, he could read the charges of *Information Digest* into the *Congressional Record*, and then others interested in blacklisting for instance could pick it up with the "authority" of the *Congressional Record*. Thus he was the central link in this chain of vigilante spying and disruption of the left. McDonald was particularly interested

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—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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Moonie Libel...

(continued from page 4)

they have lots of tricks and of course, what they call "heavenly deception." More importantly, the legal tactics of the Moonies reflect their sinister political motivation to set up Marxists as outlaws without rights. In this regard it is interesting to note the Moonies' choice of lawyers for this case. The Moonies demonstrate a considerable care in the use of expertise. And they have hired experts for this case, but not experts in libel. The Washington-based firm of Schwalb, Donnenfeld, Bray and Silbert is well known for its connections to the government's prosecutorial agencies. Schwalb, Donnenfeld and Silbert all served with the U.S. Justice Department; Earl Silbert, the most noted in the firm, was the U.S. attorney for Washington, D.C. during the Watergate years (1974-1979) and the principal assistant U.S. attorney for the District of Columbia in 1972-73.

Given the connections and experience with the government's witchhunters the Moonies seem less interested in defending against libel as in threatening to aid the government's stepped-up surveillance and disruption of the left. And the Moonies' lawyers seem very well connected to those agencies like the FBI (part of the Justice Department) which look for reasons and excuses to treat Marxist political organizations as if they were terrorists, outlaws and criminals.

But precisely because these are libels that kill, we must continue the political and legal fight. The Moonies will try to avoid the issues in this case with legal technicalities, but as we said in our statement at the time of filing the suit: "*The working class and the workers party have the right to organize.* Socialists have a right to speak and to organize for their views without being set up as cop-killers, terrorists and criminals by the Moonies or anyone else. In particular, we Marxists must have the right to organize the power of labor to defeat fascist terror on the streets. If the Moon cult prevails in their libel of us, any group or individual in the lead of struggle against fascist terror will be marked for destruction." ■

Amicus Brief...

(continued from page 4)

> its assets or the political purpose of ostensible 'business' functions converts the financial conduct of political organizations into behavior which is suspect. Holding an unincorporated structure to be the equivalent of a fraudulent existence or of non-existence is to relegate political organizations to outlaw status. The application of the prosecution's formulation of the issues below and the court's rulings to unpopular, minority political organizations will have disastrous consequences, serving to criminalize heretofore established and lawful practices."

Even though the U.S. Court of Appeals is still considering Moon's appeal which was heard on March 23, the court rejected the SL *amicus* as "untimely." Further, Moon's lead attorney, Harvard professor Lawrence H. Tribe, wrote SL general counsel Rachel Wolkenstein on July 7 *opposing* the SL *amicus* because: "it can only confuse the issue and injure the purpose you may have had in mind in writing it...." Constitutional lawyer Tribe knows full well the broader First Amendment issues raised in the Moon conviction. But his opposition to a "friend of the court" brief by a Marxist political organization, on behalf of his client who is trying to set up that organization for

You Can't Fight the Moonies Without the Money

The Spartacist League (SL), initiator and principal organizer of the Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. on November 27, has been libeled and set up by the ultra-right-wing cult of Sun Myung Moon. The Moonies' *Washington Times* article on the massive protest falsely accuses the Spartacists as would-be cop killers and a "violent" criminal organization which should be outlawed. This is a libel that kills—it gives the cops a reason and excuse to shoot on sight.

To defend itself the SL and SYL filed a libel lawsuit on June 14 against the Moonies and their publishing arm, the Times-Tribune Corporation which publishes the *Washington Times*. The Moonies must not be allowed to get away with targeting the organizers and participants of the largest and most effective protest in decades against Klan racist terror. If the Moonies have their way, any group or individual in the lead of struggle against the KKK and fascist murder, is hardly surprising.

At issue in Moon's 1982 tax fraud conviction are the fundamental democratic principles of separation of church and state and freedom of association. Yet the Moonie doctrine, especially its goal of theocracy with Moon as messiah and autocrat, is antithetical to these very democratic rights. These values were established not in the courtroom but in the mighty social revolutions of the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries. In defense of these values, as well as its own self-defense, the SL has launched its libel suit against the Moonies' murderous frameup and an *amicus* against the government's repression of the Moonies. The all-sided defense of democratic rights is indeed left to Marxists for whom socialism is the means to free man once and for all from every form of social oppression. ■

terror will be marked for destruction.

We have the truth on our side, but it will take more than the truth to win against the Moonies. The cult has legions of lawyers and right-wing connections in high places. From his giant munitions plants in South Korea to bilking his flower-peddling zombies to his big-money backers, Moon's "holy war" of reaction is well financed.

Everyone on the Moonie hit list has a stake in this case: parents who have seen their children twisted by the cult, the left and civil libertarians who are marked as "Satan" in Moon's drive for theocracy, and decent Americans everywhere who hailed the November 27 anti-KKK demonstration as their own and want to see the fascist terrorists stopped.

Your financial support and endorsement are urgently needed to win this lawsuit. Send contributions to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

in the broad appeal of the 1976 campaign to save the Chilean miners leader Mario Muñoz organized by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) and supported by the Spartacist League. "The PDC's list of endorsers of the Muñoz campaign is very interesting and revealing," he said as he read pages of names into the *Congressional Record* in a lying attempt to connect them with "international terrorism."

Although McDonald liked the techniques of Joseph McCarthy, he was clearly engaged in the new style of witchhunting which falsely cites the left as "terrorist" in order to be able to blow them away. This is what happened to the Black Panthers. McDonald stood for and helped to pioneer the new McCarthyism with a drawn gun.

McDonald had formed his private spy agency to counter what he considered the Watergate exposures' "crippling" effect on illegal U.S. secret police spying. While the liberals were threatening to curb CIA/FBI "abuses," McDonald supplied one of the ways to keep it all going. What an example of government cooperation with private enterprise. Now with the new FBI guidelines providing for stepped-up infiltration of the left on the basis that political opposition is equivalent to terrorism, McDonald will be sorely missed by the secret police.

There is little question that if a fascist movement began to make its bid in America, Larry McDonald would have been part of it. We know that there will be other "Seven Days in May" types to take his place as the Congressional voice of anti-Communist police-state terror. Until the victorious workers revolution, the decaying capitalist system will continue to turn out its Larry McDonalds. A few years ago they were embarrassed by such types. Today their embarrassment is mixed with admiration—tomorrow in fear of a mobilized working class they could well turn to them. But for now one can only say that there is one less. ■

Mission 007...

(continued from page 7)

must traverse the shallow Oresund between Denmark and Sweden. To the south, the Soviet navy operating out of Odessa in the Black Sea is bottled in by the Dardenelles. And in the Far East, ships leaving Vladivostok must either go through the La Pérouse Strait between the Soviet island of Sakhalin and the Japanese island of Hokkaido or pass the Tsushima Strait between Korea and Japan. In the Russo-Japanese War of 1904, the tsar's Far Eastern fleet was destroyed at Tsushima. Today the imperialists seek to close off these strategic routes of access.

The Americans would like to repeat Britain's (successful) tactics against the German navy during World War II, when they destroyed the U-boats as they came out of their pens, from Hamburg to the Bay of Biscay. This military-strategic calculation underscores the importance of the Soviet naval base at Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam (and explains Washington's obsession with it). Likewise, it highlights the importance of opposing the U.S. imperialists' attempts to forge a string of anti-Soviet naval bases from the Cape of Good Hope through Diego Garcia, Trincomalee (Sri Lanka) and Singapore to Japan.

A recent critical study, "Pacific Command: The Structure and Strategy of the U.S. Military," notes that:

> "...the homewaters of the Soviet Pacific fleet is the almost landlocked Sea of Japan. By building up its forces in the Northwest Pacific the U.S. Navy hopes to 'cramp' the Soviets in their prime base of operations, thus depriving them of the maneuvering space provided by the high seas. As the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff put it in their recent annual 'Defense Posture,' a major U.S. advantage 'is the ability of American forces—including those in Japan and Korea—to bottle up the Soviets' Pacific Fleet at Vladivostok.'
> "This strategy of high confrontation is, of course, accompanied by war plans to insure preparedness if an 'incident' occurs....
> "To prepare for the possibility of such a swift knock-out punch in the Sea of Japan, a massive deployment of forces is currently taking place in the area....
> "This naval buildup in the Northwest Pacific has been accompanied by U.S. saber-rattling. Current Pacific command chief Admiral Robert Long, for instance, told an astonished Japanese correspondent, 'This region [the Pacific], I believe, is most probably where we shall witness a confrontation with the Soviet Union'."
>
> —Walden Bello, Peter Hayes and Lyuba Zarsky, "Preparing for War in the Pacific," *CounterSpy*, September-November 1983

South Korea: Launching Pad for World War III?

The Koreans have acquired a pretty bad odor in Washington, what with the stench of corruption over "Koreagate" and the issue of maintaining U.S. troops at a cost of a few hundred million dollars a year or more. Moreover, Reagan is due to meet President Chun in November (on his Asian tour which includes a visit to murderous Philippines dictator Marcos). Perhaps the provocation-minded quislings in Seoul decided they could hand their American godfathers a present. Engineered by the KCIA, seconded by the CIA, no doubt they could bring in the Japanese as accomplices—after all, it would take place over the Kurils and southern Sakhalin, both claimed by Tokyo.

The South Koreans evidently aspire to play the role of Israel in the Far East. KAL pilots, like those of El Al, are on military service, whether openly or "in reserve." Such local allies of U.S. imperialism can play an explosive role. The Israelis, for example, are said to be "only a screwdriver turn away" from having an atomic bomb. They have local delivery systems, but not long-range rockets. If they wanted to try to hit Russia, they would have to drop it off a plane with a 5,000-mile radius. So some of those El Al 747s may well be fitted with bomb bays. They're subsonic, and it's a very primitive system requiring a lot of luck. But they're probably better performers than the American B52s. If an Israeli 747 approached the Soviets' southern perimeter, you can bet they'd try to interdict it. And who's to say a KAL jetliner couldn't serve the same purpose against the USSR's most strategic Far Eastern installations?

As the *New York Times* (3 September) noted in passing, "The airliner incident could hardly have come at a worse moment for Soviet efforts to generate support for the Western antinuclear movement and the campaign to halt American missile deployments in Western Europe this year. This fact alone makes any Soviet motivation for the incident inexplicable...." In contrast, Reagan's interest in generating an "incident" to show that the "godless Communists" lie, cheat and steal is self-evident.

Reagan's efforts to use the shooting down of KAL flight 007 to whip up anti-Soviet hysteria have encountered increasing skepticism, especially outside the United States. If Reagan is holding back from major new economic sanctions against the USSR, it is because he knows that the West Europeans and Japanese won't go along. But whether or not the Korean plane provocation succeeds in further inflaming anti-Soviet sentiment here and abroad, the rulers of U.S. imperialism are on a headlong war drive against the Soviet Union. They have in their hands the means to destroy civilization and they will not be restrained by the universal horror of nuclear war. Only socialist revolution—by disarming the capitalist class—can prevent imperialism from unleashing its awesome technology of death.

Meanwhile, over 200 innocent civilian travelers are dead, not the first and, surely, not the last in this mad game on the road to the threatened nuclear holocaust engulfing us all. ■

Steelworker Militant Anwar Defends Picket Line

Bosses' Court Says "Thou Shalt Scab"

We reprint below a leaflet issued 5 September 1983 by Keith Anwar, a steel worker fired four years ago by Inland Steel for respecting the picket lines of a fellow United Steelworkers (USWA) local.

The fight to establish our right to honor picket lines was set back by a recent ruling of the U.S. Appeals Court in Chicago. As many District 31 steel workers know, I am a member of Local 1010. I was fired by Inland in 1979 when I refused to cross picket lines set up by USWA Local 8180, which was on strike. The federal court took a big swipe at one of our most crucial weapons—picket line solidarity—by overturning a Labor Board decision that ordered Inland to put me back to work. This ruling was a direct slap at the thousands of District 31 steel workers who have supported the picket line case. Earlier this summer the same court backed U.S. Steel, which had slammed a 38-day suspension on Gene Goldenfeld of Local 1014, another union brother who honored picket lines. The effect of these rulings is to outlaw honoring picket lines under most union contracts in this country.

This anti-labor "justice" must be overturned! For over four years these giant steel companies have mobilized an army of lawyers to squash picket line solidarity. But steel workers throughout the Chicago-Gary area readily backed the Keith Anwar picket line fight. Our District 31 conference in 1979 unanimously passed a resolution demanding my reinstatement. Local 1010 held a rally to defend the right to honor picket lines. Union members donated thousands of dollars to help the legal expenses. Now the steel bosses are forcing me to appeal to the Supreme Court, and the case will need active support and financial backing like never before. Steel workers must fight to *get the USWA behind this case.* We need a fighting labor movement based on the principle that *picket lines mean don't cross!*

These rulings are more than a vicious blow against the Steelworkers union; they tighten the no-strike straitjacket on *all* of the labor movement by extending the no-strike clause in most contracts to prohibit respecting of picket lines. The judges who made these rulings have rewritten not just the law but hundreds of collective bargaining contracts as well. This is an assault against union independence from the government! In their own words, the judges' main concern was to achieve "uninterrupted plant operations," i.e. profits. The importance of these rulings was noted by the capitalist *Wall Street Journal* (August 2), which had a front page article gloating that "no-strike clauses get more teeth."

The bosses are going after our right to honor picket lines because they know that labor solidarity makes us stronger. The companies want to see more labor defeats like the PATCO strike, where the AFL-CIO brass refused to shut down the airports in solidarity, allowing Reagan to fire 12,000 workers and giving a big boost to every company to attack unions. Had the Machinists, Teamsters, Pilots and other unions backed the air traffic controllers, we could have stopped Reagan cold.

Strong picket lines can smash the "divide and rule" tactics of the bosses. Back in 1978 the Inland bricklayers showed how it's done: with one day of mass picketing they shut down construction of Inland's No. 11 coke battery and forced the company to meet their demands. I was there on the picket lines with the brothers of Bricklayers Local 6. They showed that workers solidarity isn't just a phrase—it's a *weapon.*

The USWA urgently needs this class-struggle weapon and many others, to turn back the steel companies' attacks of recent years. We need sit-down strikes to halt the layoffs that have decimated the USWA in District 31. We need labor/black mobilizations to stop the race-haters like the Klan and Nazis who want to march into our communities with their genocidal program. We need industry-wide strike action to reverse the $4 billion concessions, and we need to back up our strikes with mass picket lines that no one dares to cross.

But at the time when we need these weapons most, our "leaders" are giving them away! As part of the give-back contract last March, [USWA International president] Lloyd McBride wrote a "letter of understanding" to the steel companies that supported the arbitrators' awards which upheld my firing and Goldenfeld's suspension. The letter said, "The Union deems itself bound by those awards, in particular the rulings that the broad language of the no-strike clause barred work stoppages... by individual employees for purposes of expressing sympathy with other unions...." The company and USWA officials felt compelled to *rewrite the contract* in order to prevent our union from exercising the weapon of labor solidarity, which was a hard-won gain of past struggles in the CIO. This was a real stab in the back to my case and the union as a whole.

But McBride isn't the only USWA leader to betray the thousands of steel workers who have fought for this case. Former district director Jim Balanoff stalled on taking the case to arbitration for a year, and after it lost there, he refused to pursue it further. And the president of Local 1010, Bill Andrews, went to the *Daily Calumet* (October 12, 1982) to say that a victory in my case would "cause problems at Inland and all over." Sure, labor victories always "cause problems" for the bosses. First they gave up our right to strike, then our right to honor picket lines—these days many steel workers have even been robbed of their right to a job! This retreat must stop!

We've got to turn this union around and get it fighting to defend the elementary traditions of labor struggle. We can't rely on the Supreme Court or any other agency of the bosses' government to do it for us. Look at the Appeals Court: it views the picket line case as an excuse to shackle us and millions of other workers with a stroke of the pen. From the striking coal miners in 1978 to USWA copper miners in Arizona today, the government uses anti-union injunctions and armed strikebreakers in an effort to smash labor struggle.

The only real way we can win back our picket line rights is through mass labor struggle—building picket lines, not crossing them! Mobilizing the USWA to defend my job is part of that battle. Let's get the union behind the fight for picket line solidarity—let's get the union off its knees! ■

Framed Up...

(continued from page 16)

recent negotiations, Meehan tried to pull employees of his unit out of the union on the grounds that when he had to prosecute unions, there would be a "conflict of interest"!)

PT&T is so insane with hatred of union members that it called *four cop cars* to SLDA on September 1 when Lauren and Ray stopped outside before their court appearance to talk to a friend. This outrageous violation of basic democratic rights, intended to intimidate the SLDA employees, who stand behind Lauren and Ray, raises the question: Where are we, in South Africa?

The violence in this strike has come from the other side: the company, its scabs, the cops. CWA members have been systematically struck with vehicles, beaten, threatened with guns, harassed and arrested. Supervisor Joe Flores hit a woman picketer with his car on August 17 at Doolittle Drive. She has a blood clot in her leg as a result. The cops' response to this murderous hit-and-run assault was to threaten the *victim* that filing "false" charges is a felony! In LA 18 CWA members—the whole picket line—were arrested at Madison frame. There are numerous additional examples (see MAC leaflet "Full Amnesty for All Strikers!"). Nor is company violence limited to strike time: earlier this year at Bancroft CO in Berkeley, a racist supervisor assaulted black workers on two occasions. This scum is still on the job, while our co-workers had to go on disability. Bancroft should have been shut down by the CWA until the thug boss was tossed out. Restitution must be given to the victims. But PT&T stands by its cowardly thugs.

Lauren and Ray are widely respected by their co-workers and symbolize the kind of union member we need more of. Lauren Mozee, 36, is the mother of two children, aged 17 and 13. She comes from a strong union family of auto workers, originally from Missouri, and was once fired by Freight Line Trucking for trying to organize office workers into a union. Lauren is well known as a long-time fighter for black rights. She has worked as an installer at the 21st Avenue garage in Oakland for four and a half years, and was active in the fight against forced overtime there. She is a member of the Militant Action Caucus.

Raimondo (Ray) Palmiero, 30, also a MAC member, worked as a Directory Assistance Operator in San Leandro for four years. Immediately before the strike he was transferred to a repair tech job in San Francisco. The son of Italian immigrants (a laborer and a seamstress), he was briefly a member of the Steelworkers and postal unions, and during a stay in Italy was fired from a department store for respecting a regional general strike. He has been active in the struggle against Klan and Nazi racist terror.

From Haymarket and the Molly Maguires, to Sacco and Vanzetti, Mother Jones, Tom Mooney, and Big Bill Haywood, to Flint and Little Steel, to the 1978 miners' strike, the very existence of unions in this country has been won and defended only by hard-fought struggles against frameups, gun thugs and strikebreaking cops and courts; and by the defense of self-sacrificing and courageous union militants like Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero. So are you *company* or are you *union*? As the song asks, "Which side are you on?" "Don't scab for the bosses, don't listen to their lies; we workers haven't got a chance unless we organize."

Today that means organizing to defend Lauren and Ray and all other victims of phone company union-busting! ■

Urgent!

The frameup of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero must be stopped! Lauren and Ray have been fired by Pacific Telephone, and if convicted on several pending felony counts face several years in jail. The bosses and their government not only want to put away Lauren and Ray, but make an example of any good union member who believes in building and defending picket lines. A Phone Strikers Defense Committee has been formed with the demands that: Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero be reinstated at their jobs with full back pay; amnesty be granted to all victimized phone strikers; all charges against Lauren Mozee, Ray Palmiero and all other phone strikers be dropped! Contact and send contributions to:

Phone Strikers Defense Committee
c/o Box 24951
Oakland, CA 94623

Vote Down Phone Sellout!

The settlement ending the three-week nationwide phone strike did nothing to beat back the company's job-slashing attack on the unions. The bosses were unsuccessful in humiliating the unions, but the contract accepts the dismantling of national bargaining, and its "job security" provisions are a farce that won't prevent a single layoff or forced downgrade or transfer. There's nothing to prevent subcontracting to scab firms. Outrageously, the union tops sent the ranks back to work with felony counts and company disciplines hanging over the heads of numerous militants. Phone workers must demand union action to insure no retaliation against any striker. Vote "no" on this rotten deal and prepare to fight!

There's an old saying that "there's more education in the end of a policeman's nightstick than there is in four years of college." The strike gave the lie to the no-fight line of the pro-company, CIA-loving Glenn Watts bureaucracy of the CWA. *Strikes are necessary*, and you need militant class-struggle tactics to win. Picket lines mean don't cross—keep out management and the rest of the scabs and shut the bosses' operations down tight. To beat Ma Bell, phone workers need mass building occupations, backed up by the power of the labor movement, to smash government strikebreaking.

Phone workers need to replace the treacherous Watts gang with a new, militant leadership. The only grouping in the CWA with a class-struggle program is the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), which called for building mass picket lines, and fought to defend and build the existing picket lines in this strike. In a leaflet issued August 24, MAC summed up its fighting perspective:

> "The only strike strategy worth a damn starts from the understanding that the partnership of labor and capital is a lie; that our interests are in irreconcilable conflict with those of the companies; and that the outcome of the struggle in each case is decided by the relative strength of each side at the given time. Our allies are the workers and oppressed; our enemies are the capitalists with their president Reagan and their Democratic mayors who unleash cops on striking workers." ■

Striking phone workers arrested for stopping scab delivery truck (right).

Local bureaucrats finked on union militants who fought to keep out company scabs.

L.A. CWA Militants...

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and a stroke tally that everyone took part in as the trucks were turned away.

"That afternoon the cops singled out MACer Manuel Delgadillo for arrest. The cops approached Manuel by name after a conversation with [local president] Janice Wood. Actually, he was detained by the labor squad from the LAPD—these guys are incredible, they have three-piece suits, they look like business executives. One of these guys went up to the picket line and said, 'Manuel, you're coming with us.' And they'd never been formally introduced before! When he was detained in the squad car, they kept him there for about half an hour right next to the picket line, so a few of us started chanting, and the whole picket line picked up the chants 'Picket lines mean don't cross' and 'Free Delgadillo!' over and over again, and they eventually let him go, right there.

"So the next morning at 7:30 a truck tried to get in, and at the peak we probably had about 40 people on the picket line. And of course there were no union bureaucrats to be seen this day. What happened was the cops showed up in force. The labor squad guys first came, told us to disperse, and then the cops showed up—I think about ten cars and a paddy wagon. I guess there were about 25 to 30 cops as well as the paddy wagon. The cops then started arresting people. The first person was being choked when a MACer intervened to prevent a choke hold. Manuel was then arrested, then the rest of the picket line, for a total of 18—14 men and 4 women. As the paddy wagon drove off, you could hear the chant 'Picket lines mean don't cross' coming in a muffled roar out of the wagon. So we were taken in and booked for 'obstructing the sidewalk,' a misdemeanor, and one of the cops inside the station was surprised that we weren't let out on 'OR' [own recognizance] fairly quickly. But the labor squad made sure, they wanted a hundred dollars bail on each person and they only accepted bail bondsmen. So they wanted to keep us there for a while. And they really went after the women, kept them in Sybil Brand [women's prison] for 18 hours and separated one of the women—I think they stripped her and put her in prison garb and kept her in a cell. So it's really outrageous.

"As soon as we got into the prison, after being booked, we started calling immediately the union hall. And we got responses like, 'Don't bother us, we're working on it, stop calling all the time, our lawyer's office is handling it.' So we called the lawyer's office, and he said, 'Well, Janice Wood did call at 8:00 this morning and told us that there might be some problems today but we haven't heard a thing since.' A lot of union members are really pissed off at the bureaucrats, that they were sitting on their thumbs while union brothers and sisters were rotting in jail.

"So as we came out, when the men were released at 2:30 p.m. there was an explosion of lights as every TV station in Los Angeles was there with their main reporters, and the first question we get is, 'The union has disavowed all your actions, what do you have to say about that?' Manuel responded, 'The union leadership has differences, I'm sure. But they called the strike and what we were doing was striking. We had the picket lines up and we walked the picket lines every day and that's what the picket line means, it means you do not cross. That is the only way you are going to win the strike.'"

While the bosses' media tried to whip up hysteria against the jailed strike militants, the union bureaucrats had contributed their own stab-in-the-back by going on TV to denounce and redbait the picketers. One typical report on local Channel 2 news went as follows:

> "Captain Charles LaBrow (LAPD): They are experiencing some problems with dissident members of the union who are not obeying the commands of the leadership, and this occurrence this morning is essentially that...
> "Albert Gribell (member of executive board, Local 11502): I know that there are several Trotsky-oriented organizations based here in Los Angeles and you gentlemen in the media are probably well aware, and they would like to capitalize on labor strife, I'm sure. We have close to, I would say maybe a 4,500-member local and I am aware that we have maybe 15 or 20 members that I personally know of that show up to membership meetings who belong to other organizations outside the labor movement."

But the union ranks were not taken in by the media hysteria or the officials' redbaiting. Rank-and-file pressure helped get official action to get the militants out of jail. MAC spokesman Bull reported:

"We got back to the picket line and one of these bureaucrats, a picket captain on the Madison line, said 'Oh, the women are out, they were just here picketing a few minutes ago.' Yet they were in jail for another 12 hours after that! The membership is really pissed off about this.

"So we started making calls again, to the union office. Their line was that the computer system in the county went down and so Sybil Brand was saying no one was going in and no one was going out of the jail, they cut out visiting hours, etc. But that wasn't good enough. We had to get those women out. At midnight Manuel Delgadillo calls up Janice Wood at home, our local president, and said, 'You get those people out of there, now.' And at 3:00 in the morning who shows up in a three-piece suit but Bill Demers, district vice president; Jim Wood from the AFL-CIO County Federation of Labor, Janice's husband; Jerry Morris, local bureaucrat, and Ray Mendoza from the district office. Now it seems the district office is not pleased with the way the local handled it. When the husband of one of the women called the union office, they said, 'Now, what is this about the news reports, about disavowing any actions?' Thereafter the official union position became we were good union members doing our job on the picket line.

"They really wanted to intimidate these women. As soon as they got out, we had some exchanges with Bill Demers. And one of them was that we were banned officially from that side of the picket any more. Any arrested members of 11502 were not to return to that picket site, according to the local bureaucracy. But those women who got out of prison were pissed off at that.

"And then the next day at the picket line the bureaucrats are running around saying, now you've demoralized the strike, you know, people aren't gonna come out to the picket lines. I said, 'Bullshit! Look around here, there are seven people that have been arrested the day before that are on the lines the next morning at 9:00!' And that was independently of MACers, who were out there arguing with the bureaucrats. None of them bought this stuff on demoralization *at all*. One guy came up to me, a black frame attendant, and said, 'Well, you guys are the Trotskyists, right—the communists?' He said, 'You know, I'm proud of what we did yesterday. And all this shit Gribell's talking about is pure bullshit.'.

"I think you probably get the flavor. It was a real victory. Oh, another thing on the picket lines. There are homemade signs on our picket lines from CWA members, saying 'Picket lines mean don't cross,' that the people are making and bringing in."

The exemplary class-struggle action led by the MAC contrasted sharply with the treacherous policies of the other so-called "left" groups in the union. Supporters of Progressive Labor/InCAR, following their idiot line which simply equates the union with the company, put out a leaflet which backhandedly argued against a strike: "...there won't be a strike for our benefit. If it benefits the company there might be a strike. Not otherwise." When the strike actually occurred, these fake militants abstained from the militant picket lines. And at the August 18 union meeting where MAC was fighting for a motion for mass picketing, PL/InCAR said nothing except that they "understood the plight of scabs with no money and three children"!

In addition to finking on militants to the state, the local bureaucrats in the recent past have made use of racist thugs to physically attack MAC. At the July strike meeting, when a MACer attempted to present a motion in defense of Delois Young, a black woman who lost her unborn child by a police bullet, an all-white racist goon squad assaulted him several times while Wood stood ten feet away—"These thugs were overheard joking about Delois Young's shooting by the racist cops, and remarked how she had asked for it!!" reported a July 25 MAC leaflet. In a subsequent union newsletter, Wood denounces an unnamed member who was "removed from the meeting" and, while conveniently omitting any mention of the Delois Young case which he had tried to raise, suggests he is an "agent" of the company.

What outrageous slander and hypocrisy! Considering the recent track record of Wood & Co.—open defense of the "right" to scab, public denunciation of strike militants even while they are in jail, lining up with Klan-type racists to physically assault union members who want to defend black people, launching a vicious redbaiting campaign with the help of dubious union elements in order to get the local militants, etc.—in any decent union these backstabbing bureaucrats would have been driven out long ago. If the CWA is to lose its stench of being only a hair's breadth away from a "company union," if it is ever going to fight to *win* a strike, it will take the kind of class-struggle leadership offered by the MAC. ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Ann Arbor
c/o SYL
P.O. Box 8364
Ann Arbor, MI 48107
(313) 662-2339

Atlanta
Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

Berkeley/Oakland
P.O. Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 835-1535

Boston
Box 840
Central Station
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Chicago
Box 6441
Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 427-0003

Cleveland
Box 91954
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 621-5138

Detroit
Box 32717
Detroit, MI 48232
(313) 961-1680

Houston
Box 26474
Houston, TX 77207

Los Angeles
Box 29574
Los Feliz Station
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 663-1216

Madison
c/o SYL
Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701

New York
Box 444
Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk
P.O. Box 1972, Main P.O.
Norfolk, VA 23501

San Francisco
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.
P.O. Box 7073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 636-3537

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Vancouver
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C. V6C 2L8
(604) 736-0979

WORKERS VANGUARD

Drop the Charges, Rehire Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero!

Bay Area CWA Strikers Framed Up

We reprint below a leaflet, dated September 5, by the San Francisco Bay Area Militant Action Caucus (MAC) in the Communications Workers of America (CWA).

To all union members:

On August 30, Pacific Telephone *fired* CWA Local 9415 member Lauren Mozee and Local 9410 member Ray Palmiero for "violating S.I. 24" during the strike. Now the company is trying to send them to prison. On September 1 Lauren and Ray had to appear in Hayward Municipal Court for the beginning of their company-rigged frame-up trial on felony assault charges. The company also charges Lauren and Ray with assault with a deadly weapon—another calculated, vicious lie! Their next court date is September 13.

The ranting district attorney, the union-busting company and their pet media are working overtime to whip up a lynch-style frenzy against these two exemplary union members. The stench of racism and union-busting pours out of company headquarters at 140 New Montgomery. If we union members are not to be picked off one by one, we must stand together with our brother and sister Ray and Lauren. They are being victimized for defending us; now we must defend them! Demand: Drop the charges now! Reinstate Lauren and Ray now with full back pay!

Make no mistake: these firings are not just aimed at Lauren and Ray. They are aimed at *you*. And they are aimed at the right of our union to go on strike. If these firings succeed, others will follow. In defending Lauren and Ray, you will be defending your rights, your union and yourself.

Phone worker militants Ray Palmiero (left) and Lauren Mozee (center) defended picket line in San Leandro, California.

The company's trumped-up charges are a cover-up for its own violent strikebreaking. PT&T has fabricated a wild story about Lauren and Ray because of their defense of the picket line at San Leandro Directory Assistance (SLDA) against an attack by a manager/scab who struck Lauren. The company, with its spy-cameras, agents, city cops and rent-a-cops, was enraged at the spirited picket line built by operators—mainly women, largely black and Latin—who had the courage and dedication to take a strong stand for unionism.

So PT&T had the cops randomly grab a woman operator on false charges of egg-throwing. On two occasions men drove by and menaced SLDA pickets with guns. Ma Bell says operators should "stay in their place" and be humble, obedient peons—or else. The company was also infuriated by the efforts of nearby Doolittle Drive pickets to stop scab trucks. Behind the riot-clad cops who manhandled Doolittle pickets was a veritable fleet of paddy wagons and an arsenal of riot gear on stand-by to be brought in for stepped-up strikebreaking.

In an attempt to intimidate strikers, PT&T aired wild stories about Lauren and Ray on the network news, complete with "mug shot" type photographs of these supposedly wild desperados. Stepping to the phone company's tune, Alameda County D.A. Jack Meehan slapped heavy, multiple felony charges on Lauren and Ray, including absurd and false charges of assault with a deadly weapon. If convicted, Lauren and Ray face seven and eight year prison terms respectively. (Meehan's 1982 campaign was heavily bankrolled by outgoing D.A. Lowell Jensen, who left office to work for Reagan. An SEIU official told a MAC supporter that in

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18 Arrested in Phone Strike

L.A. Militants: No Scabs Pass Here!

LOS ANGELES—From the beginning, the nationwide Communications Workers of America (CWA) strike against the phone company was sabotaged by the absolute refusal of the union tops to enforce the picket lines and stop the scabbing. But in Los Angeles, determined strikers led by the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) fought to turn the bureaucrats' "informational" picket lines into genuine picket lines that scabs could not cross.

The picket line militants got no help from the Local 11502 union bureaucrats, who actively *opposed* any strike militancy. The official "Rules for Picket Captains" made it explicit that local president Janice Wood & Co. actually *defended scabbing*—the very first rule told picket captains, "Explain to striking employee what they can and cannot do, particularly the rights of anyone to pass through a picket line if they desire"! The so-called "rules" also told picket captains to remove "agitators" from the lines and launched a redbaiting smear against all picket line defenders: "Subversive groups and militants are trying to infiltrate unions and may cause problems or do something to embarrass the Union." For these bureaucrats, stopping scabs is an "embarrassment" because it disrupts their maneuvering for "cooperation" with company management and their cozy relationship with the bosses' Democratic Party.

The MAC fought to reestablish the basic picket line tradition which built the industrial unions but which the CWA has always failed to carry out: "Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!" (And a manager scab is a scab too!) MAC spokesman Steve Bull told *WV* what happened:

"We had been picketing at the Madison location down in Los Angeles, which is the major location, a complex of about three buildings. So during the week members of MAC and other phone workers from that location had been picketing and turning away trucks. On Wednesday [August 10] we turned away seven trucks and we went out and got some chalk and on the front of the building we had 'trucks turned away'

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August 11: "Labor squad" cops arrested entire picket line of phone workers at Madison complex, main site in Los Angeles.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

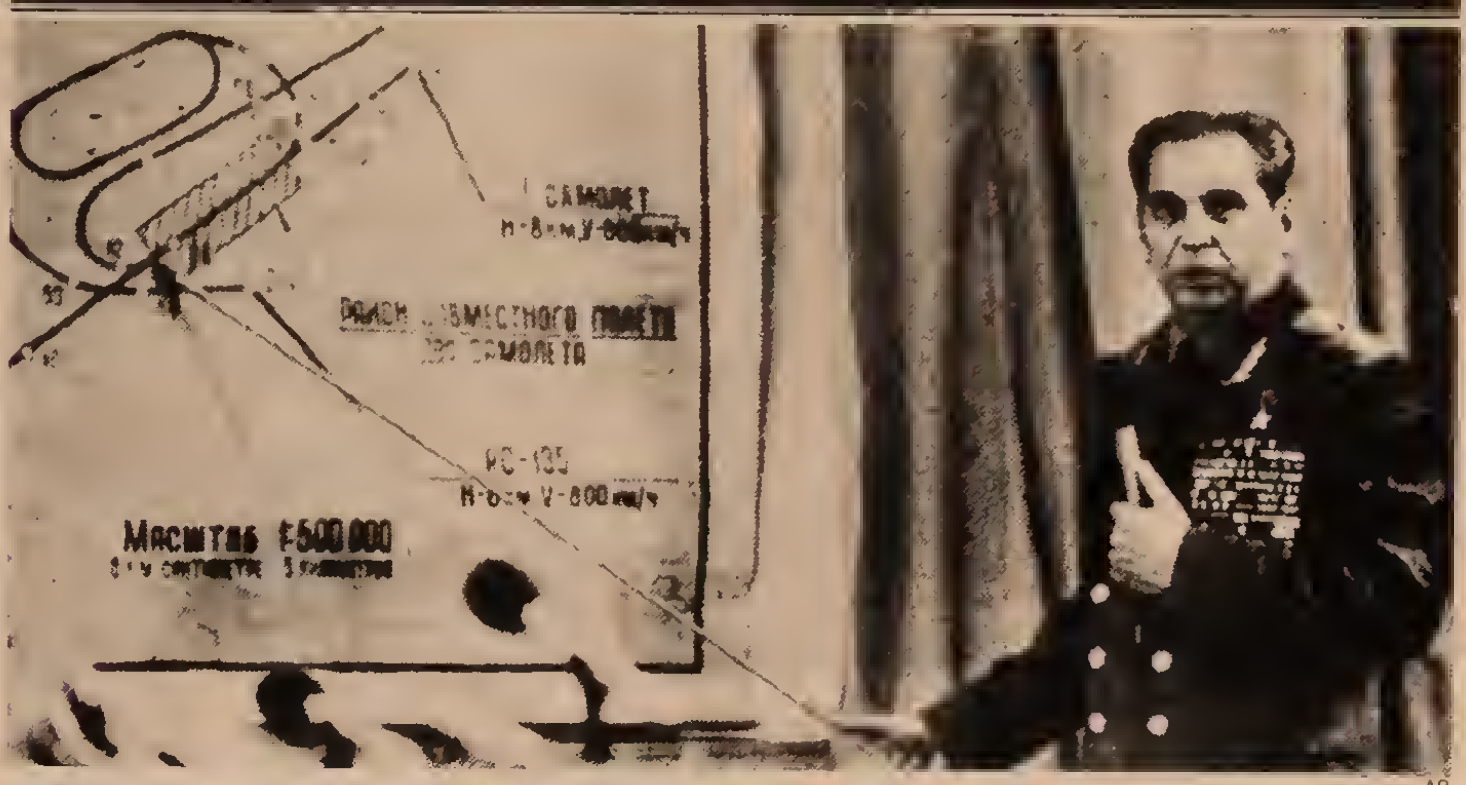
No. 338 23 September 1983

Reagan's 007 War Fever

Don't Mess With Russia!

SEPTEMBER 20—The war drums are beating in Washington. Even people who thought Ronald Reagan just talked loudly and waved a rhetorical big stick now worry that the "rough riders" in the White House and the Pentagon might actually drop the bomb. Having cynically sent the passengers of Korean Air Lines Flight 007 to their deaths in a demented anti-Soviet provocation, Reagan is now making his move to push through the Pentagon's two main first-strike weapons: the construction of the MX missile and deployment of Pershing IIs in West Europe. The latter have a flight time of only *eight minutes to Moscow*, forcing the Russians to adopt a policy of "launch on warning." Make no mistake, Reagan is driving toward thermonuclear war directed at the Soviet Union, birthplace of the first workers revolution in history.

Over and over, Reagan repeats that it is "the Soviets against the world"—or to turn it around, it's world war against the Soviets. Unlike Cold War liberals and New Right conservatives, this administration isn't much interested in sanctions which only hurt American capitalists, such as a grain boycott or the fiasco last year of U.S. efforts (which foundered on intercimperialist rivalries) to halt the Soviet gas pipeline. What these warhawks want is not pinpricks but the Big Bang. Thus Reagan's successful appeal to use the 007 uproar to ram through his $187 billion "defense" budget, including funds for the MX and binary poison gas weapons, was not a "jarringly inappropriate" note, as *Time* (19 September) claimed, but a central purpose of this elaborately orchestrated war provocation against the Soviet Union.



AP

Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov exposes Reagan's lies in Moscow press conference, September 9. Shaded area on map indicates site of rendezvous between RC-135 spy plane and 007.

Now Washington is moving ever closer to breaking off diplomatic relations with the USSR by denying Soviet foreign minister Gromyko and any other Soviet diplomats the right to land in New York aboard an Aeroflot airliner. In times gone by such an outrage against a high official of a major power could in itself have led to war. To say the least, as the Russians tersely replied, the question arises whether the United States is a "suitable" location for UN headquarters. Whereupon a petulant U.S. delegate taunted, we'll see you

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Defend Vietnam/USSR Against U.S. War Drive!

Oust Genocidal Pol Pot Gang from UN!

We protest the obscenity of the genocidal, ousted Pol Pot forces holding the United Nations seat for Kampuchea (Cambodia)! Even in the UN, whose predecessor Lenin aptly called "a den of thieves," even among bloody U.S.-backed Central American dictators, Pakistan's General Zia, or even compared to Idi Amin, the murderous Pol Pot and his number two mass killer Ieng Sary are an obscenity. Since early 1979, when the Vietnamese toppled the Pol Pot regime, which killed *two million* of its own people, the U.S. in alliance with China has armed the terrorist bands of the deposed dictator for attacks against Kampuchea. On September 21, 1979 and each year since the UN has voted to seat the universally despised Pol Pot forces instead of the Heng Samrin government as part of U.S. imperialism's unrelenting drive to punish the victorious Vietnamese Revolution and undo its own humiliating defeat. *No UN Seat for Pol Pot/Ieng Sary—Bloody Imperialist/Chinese Toys! Seat Heng Samrin Government, Real Government of Kampuchea!*

The U.S. attempt to strangle the heroic Vietnamese, whose strategic Cam Ranh Bay naval port is a roadblock to American ambitions, is part of the U.S.' all-out war drive against the Soviet Union. From Pol Pot to the deadly Flight 007 Cold War provocation to Diego Garcia to Sri Lanka's Trincomalee, U.S. efforts to whip up war hysteria and encircle the USSR with a ring of nuclear launching pads have left a bloody trail of terror and death across the globe. Criminally, the Peking government has eagerly backed this deadly imperialist policy, repeatedly launching military attacks against northern Vietnam in line with U.S. policy. *China: Keep Out of Indochina! U.S.—You Lost! Yankee Imperialism Out of Southeast Asia!*

When the U.S. and its corrupt henchmen like Lon Nol fled Indochina after the triumph of the Vietnamese Revolution, the Khmer Rouge occupied Phnom Penh. Pol Pot's Khmer

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Seat the Real Government of Cambodia—the People's Republic of Kampuchea!

Ullal/Stern

AP

Pringle/Newsweek

Legacy of mass murderer Pol Pot (inset): mounds of skulls found near Suong. Vietnamese army saved Cambodians.

Genocidal Pol Pot...

(continued from page 1)

Rouge were led by a bunch of college boys who sat out the war against French colonialism in Paris, then returned to take over the Cambodian party by murder and whipping up Khmer chauvinism. The first to be wiped out by Pol Pot's forces were the Cambodian Communist cadres associated with the Vietnamese. *Pol Pot Killed Real Khmer Communists, then Committed Genocide!*

The logical extension of Pol Pot's Cambodia wasn't even Stalin's purges and labor camps, it was Jonestown! Pol Pot's abolition of cities, of factories, of money and his massive reversion to subsistence agriculture—a pre-feudal program based on fantasies of recreating the barbaric Angkor Wat slave kingdoms—utterly shattered any rational economic base for the regime, thus any restraints on the ruling clique. Just after the Khmer Rouge took power in 1975, we denounced Pol Pot's brutal depopulation of the capital, noting that "for Marxists, it is crucial to preserve this economic infrastructure." The mountain of skulls found in mass graves at Cheoung Ek, the torture chambers in Phnom Penh, the stories from every survivor of people beaten to death with poles, starvation and brutal slave labor—this was Pol Pot's Cambodia.

Even former U.S. diplomat Emory Swank, who was U.S. ambassador to the Lon Nol regime in Pbnom Penh, admitted in an interview (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 17 March) that "The Vietnamese, who occupied a totally disorganised, almost destitute land, have provided assistance of all sorts.... Practically starting from scratch, Cambodia has made an astonishing and remarkable recovery." When the Vietnamese army intervened in 1979, we declared our opposition to a long-term occupation army, which could raise to the fore the national question for the Khmer people, but did not demand immediate withdrawal. We asked: Given a choice, would the Khmer people prefer to retain the irrational peasant xenophobia of the murderous Pol Pot or to have schools, marriage of their choice, food, children, medicine and wages? The verdict is clearly now in. *Hail Liberation of Khmer People! Hail Reconstruction—Kampuchean People Now Have a Future!*

Though Pol Pot's murderous horror helped bring the Khmer people to the edge of extinction, the mass murder was started long before—by the U.S. In 1969 under Nixon and Kissinger the U.S. began four years of devastating secret carpetbombing of Cambodia, with at least the passive acquiescence of then-ruler Prince Sihanouk. From 1970 to 1973, the U.S. rained down more than *100 tons* of bombs for every person in Cambodia, shattering the fragile economy. Probably more than a million died during the civil war against U.S. puppet Lon Nol, and famine was raging when the U.S. brutally imposed a blockade in 1975. Today U.S. imperialism tries to starve Vietnam and Kampuchea via a Washington-orchestrated blockade of trade and credits. Most criminally, some two and a half million Vietnamese have had to be withdrawn from the desperately necessary work of economic construction in order to defend northern Vietnam against Chinese military pressure, backed by the U.S.

Today the U.S. and their puppets back a witches' brew of capitalist cliques with the bloody remnants of the Pol Pot forces clinging to the Thai border for survival. They have tried to force together an unholy alliance of the CIA-favored semi-fascist monarchist "businessman" Son Sann, the shameless playboy pimp Prince Sihanouk (much of whose family was slaughtered by the Khmer Rnuge!) with the Pol Pot/Ieng Sary/Khieu Samphan forces. This wretched gang, committed to capitalist restoration in Kampuchea, could only come to power on the back of an outright imperialist military onslaught. *Prince Sihanouk—Stay on the Riviera! Capitalist Restoration Never! Smash Imperialist Blockade of Vietnam!*

The Trotskyist Spartacist League/U.S., as American revolutionists in the "belly of the beast" during the Vietnam War, raised the slogan "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" and called for labor strikes against the war. In 1975 the international Spartacist tendency hailed the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution and the driving out of capitalism from Indochina as a historic victory for the world's working people. Today, as we call for military victory to the heroic leftist rebels in El Salvador and Central America, we raise the slogan against the bourgeois defeatists: *Vietnam was a Victory! Two, Three, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism!*

The legitimate national rights of the Khmer people can only be fulfilled in a genuine Soviet federation of Indochina (in which Vietnam would necessarily play a leading role) based on revolutionary internationalism. The Stalinist bureaucracies from Peking to Moscow have for decades sold out other people's revolutions for their own narrow nationalistic interests and utopian reactionary dreams of "coexistence" with capitalism, with bitter effects from Central America to Sri Lanka to Indochina. Despite the heroism of the Indochinese workers and peasants in defeating U.S. imperialism, that war-torn and imperialist-blockaded but Soviet-aided area faces great difficulties in holding out against the U.S.' war drive and unrelenting pressure. It is the historic understanding of Marxism/Leninism/Trotskyism which can lead the working class to the shattering of the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies and to placing the enormous economic resources of the degenerated and deformed workers states from Peking to Moscow to Hanoi fully in the service of world revolution. *For a Genuine Soviet Federation of Indochina! Forward to a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Southeast Asia! For the Rebirth of an Authentic Communist, Fourth International—World Party of Socialist Revolution!*■

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Stop Deportations to Turkey!

Turkish Leftist Driven to Suicide in German Jail

WEST BERLIN—On August 30, West German authorities finally succeeded in hounding Kemal Altun to death. Altun, a former leader of a leftist student group in Turkey, had spent 13 of his 18 months in West Berlin languishing in jail, awaiting deportation to certain death in the torture cells of the murderous Turkish junta. Already this year, several Turkish leftists have been deported and immediately arrested upon their return. And Christian Democratic interior minister Zimmermann had made a special target out of Altun. So as soon as handcuffs were removed on the second day of his asylum hearing here, Kemal Altun jumped from a second story window in the courthouse.

Spartakist

The case of Kemal Altun had taken on particular significance in West Germany as a test of the government's determination to sharply cut the immigrant workforce (now an integral part of the German proletariat) and especially to expel foreign leftists to persecution, torture and death. Only a few weeks before, in the midst of the anti-Tamil pogroms in Sri Lanka, five Tamils had been deported from West Berlin, and on August 12 some 40 Turks and Kurds had been deported. In particular, the West German government, in a division of labor amongst the imperialist powers, has taken on special responsibility as the overlord for Turkey. Both under the Social Democrats and Christian Democrats, West Germany has supplied arms and tanks to NATO member Turkey as part of NATO's war drive against the Soviet Union, which shares a common border with Turkey.

At a protest demonstration called the very afternoon of Altun's suicide, the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD), German section of the international Spartacist tendency, called for political asylum for all Turkish, Palestinian and Tamil refugees. TLD slogans included "Deportation is Death!" "Full Citizenship Rights for All Foreign Workers and Their Families!" "German Imperialism Tramples Corpses in its Anti-Soviet War Drive! Vengeance for Kemal Altun!"

U.S. Up Lebanese Creek

Marines Get Out!

When Israel invaded Lebanon last summer, wreaking genocidal terror against the Palestinian people, then-secretary of state General Alexander Haig exulted that the Zionist blitzkrieg created "a great strategic opportunity" for "redrawing a new political map for the region." Lebanon was going to become the beachhead for Pax Americana in the Near East. The U.S. thought it could rush in, find the most unsavory and reactionary gangster among the competing feudalist chieftains, and create a viable puppet government. The Gemayel clan was supposed to be the Pahlavi dynasty of Lebanon. The Marines were to be out by Christmas.

But things haven't worked out that way. Instead the U.S. is now committed to defending the Phalangist gangsters with an additional 2,000 troops drawn from the American fleet in the Indian Ocean, a total of 14,000 Marines both on shore and off with 12 warships standing off the coast and 100 warplanes. Further, the battleship *New Jersey*, after doing duty off the coast of Nicaragua, is now steaming to the eastern Mediterranean to aid Reagan's "besieged" Marines. So the U.S. is getting sucked ever deeper into the bloody vortex of Lebanese feudalist polities. It is facing a war of attrition in which there is no light at the end of the tunnel.

Behind the military escalation in Lebanon is U.S. imperialism's global war drive against the Soviet Union. Syria, whose army controls eastern Lebanon, is the principal Soviet client state in the region. If fighting develops between U.S. forces and the Syrian army, this would almost certainly involve the latter's Russian advisers. And the borders of the USSR itself are only a few hundred miles to the north. Across the globe the U.S. is provoking the Soviet Union, seeking to humiliate its allies and so-called "proxies." As one Reagan adviser put it, "We need a win somewhere, whether it's Latin America, the Middle East or with the Russians" (*New York Times*, 18 September).

But the problem for U.S. imperialism in Lebanon is that their Phalangist puppets are losers and are losing. Not only do the Maronite Christians constitute no more than 20 percent of Lebanon's population, but the Gemayel clan is hated by the other Maronite clan chieftains. Odds are that the late, unlamented Bashir Gemayel, elected president last year by Israeli bayonets, was blown away by a fellow Maronite. Despicable cowards, the Phalangists infuriated their Israeli patrons by refusing to fight the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) commandos in last summer's battle of Beirut. The only thing these scum could do for the Israelis was massacre unarmed Palestinian refugees in the Shatila/Sabra camps. Trying to rebuild a Lebanese state around the Phalange is like trying to rehuild an Italian state around one Mafia family.

But Washington has committed itself to defending the Phalangist mafioso as a vital part of the "free world": "Officials said Mr. Reagan saw the survival of the [Gemayel] Government as essential to American interests, even if this meant moving more American forces into the region" (*New York Times*, 13 September). To keep Amin Gemayel in Beirut's presidential palace, the U.S. will have to either massively expand its forces on the ground or reach a "power-sharing" deal with the Druze leader Walid Jumblatt, his Lebanese allies and Syrian backers. Washington is now rapidly moving along the former course. The Pentagon has abandoned the pretense that U.S. forces fire only when fired upon. A few days ago U.S. warships shelled positions deep in Syrian-controlled territory in retaliation for anti-Phalange forces bombarding the defense ministry in Beirut. U.S. forces are now routinely providing artillery cover for the Lebanese army. The Pentagon's rapid escalation could well change the nature of the conflict, posing a *direct* struggle against American imperialism. Should this occur, revolutionaries would give military support to any and all forces in Lebanon battling U.S. imperialism and its local agents.

Haillot/L'Express

Mattison/Time

Biggest display of U.S. combat firepower since Vietnam: aircraft carrier Eisenhower off the coast of Lebanon. Marines under artillery fire in Beirut run for cover.

The U.S. is now much more heavily involved militarily in Lebanon than in Central America both in the number of troops and the direct role they play. And that role is rapidly expanding. A year ago when sections of the reformist left (e.g., Socialist Workers Party and Sam Marcy's Workers World Party) *supported* sending U.S. "peacekeepers" to Lebanon, we wrote: "The U.S. forces in Lebanon are a beachhead for large-scale military intervention in the region—directly posing the danger of a nuclear World War III" ("Reagan/Begin Reign of Terror," *WV* No. 315, 15 October 1982). With every passing day this danger becomes more immediate.

Israelis Cut Their Losses, Phalange Battered

When a year ago several thousand disarmed PLO commandos sailed from Beirut to be placed in concentration camps across the Arab world and the Gemayel clan was installed in the presidential palace, Begin and Sharon no doubt believed themselves to be the new masters of Lebanon. The Israeli/Phalange massacre at Shatila/Sabra was intended to demonstrate the ruthlessness of their new order and to terrorize the subject population, Lebanese Muslims as well as Palestinians.

But all of the myriad ethnic/religious communities in Lebanon have their own armed forces and were not easily cowed. The Phalange "government" and Israeli occupiers faced diffuse guerrilla warfare in Beirut and the neighboring Shuf Mountains. On average four Israeli soldiers were killed a week. This may not seem like much, but, given Israel's small population, it was equivalent to American losses in Vietnam. And given the intense chauvinism of the Israelis—their belief that one Jew is worth a hundred Arabs—the casualties in Lebanon became intolerable. The Israeli population came to despise their ineffectual Phalangist allies much as the American people, especially GIs in "Nam," despised the cowardly and corrupt South Vietnamese ARVN.

The Lebanese occupation enormously intensified the internal contradictions of Israeli society with its triple-digit inflation, falling living standards, constant military mobilization and net emigration of Jews. While Ariel Sharon dreamed of making Lebanon an Israeli protectorate under the Phalange, his successor as war minister, Moshe Arens, decided the Americans had better police that quagmire. So early this month the Israeli army, disregarding the strong protests of the U.S. and the Gemayel regime, pulled back from the outskirts of Beirut and the Shuf Mountains and consolidated its buffer zone in southern Lebanon extending about 25 miles from Israel's northern border.

The Israeli pullback set the stage for a renewal of civil war pitting the Lebanese Muslim forces, spearheaded by Walid Jumblatt's Druze militia and the Shi'ite Amal militia, against the Phalange "government," now more hated and isolated than ever. Despite their American, French, Italian and British protectors, the Phalangist forces are being battered. But as in the 1975-76 civil war the Muslim clan chiefs like Jumblatt are exploiting the just hostility of the impoverished Muslim toilers against the dominant Maronite elite and its backers in the service of communalist polities and bloodletting. The reports of atrocities committed by the Druze militia against Maronite villages in the Shuf are undoubtedly true, and this only serves to drive the Maronite population at large into the arms of the Phalange and U.S. Marines.

Predictably, much of the fake-left are glorifying the Syrian-backed National Salvation Front led by Jumblatt. It is now conveniently forgotten that the Druze militia not only stood on the sidelines during the Israeli blitzkrieg last summer, but that Jumblatt declared that the PLO was "finished" and urged Arafat to surrender at the very beginning of the invasion. Today Jumblatt is not opposed to Pax Americana in Lebanon; he isn't even demanding the unconditional withdrawal of the Marines. Rather the Druze sect leader is using the fighting as a *means of pressure* to force the Americans to broker a clan chieftains' "coalition" government of the kind that existed until the 1975-76 civil war. Interviewed on ABC television's *Nightline* (14 September), Jumblatt stated:

> "...you Americans are backing Amin Gemayel unconditionally. It is stupid and a big mistake ...
> "Stop backing the Lebanese army who's killing Lebanese people, and help the Lebanese to try to achieve a political compromise."

Asked if "the Phalangists will have to give up the position of president," Jumblatt replied:

> "Up till now Mr. Amin Gemayel is governing as a Phalangist representative. I hope he will be able to govern as a Lebanese representing all the powers and factions in Lebanon."

No less treacherous than Jumblatt is his present patron, Syrian strongman Hafez al-Assad. When Israel invaded Lebanon last summer, the Syrians signed an immediate ceasefire with them, thus allowing Begin/Sharon to concentrate their entire war machine against the Palestinians. And remember how the Syrian army came to be in Lebanon in the first place. In the spring of 1976 the Syrians, *with the blessing of Washington and Jerusalem*, intervened on the side of the Maronites in the civil war! This shifted the balance of forces, setting up the massacre of Palestinians at the huge Tel Zaatar camp by the Phalange and allied Maronite militias. Today, however, it is U.S. imperialism which has intervened militarily to

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EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Linda Jarreau

EDITORIAL BOARD: Charles Burroughs, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Mary Jo McAllister, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Marjorie Stamberg

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Fremont GM: Protectionism Comes Home to Roost

UAW Bureaucrats Pave Way for Union-Busting

OAKLAND—Last July, the United Auto Workers (UAW) International suddenly announced it was revoking the charter of UAW Local 1364 and had seized the union hall belonging to the laid-off workers from the Fremont, California General Motors assembly plant. This stab in the back came just four days after the *Wall Street Journal* reported an agreement by Solidarity House to "abandon demands that (GM-Toyota) hire laid-off UAW members" in order of seniority when they reopen the mothballed plant next year in a joint production venture which has received national attention as a prototype for union-busting.

On September 15, a federal district court rejected a suit by officials of Local 1364 to stop the talks between the union and GM/Toyota and to block the International's axing of the Fremont local. The same day the San Francisco judge turned down the local bureaucrats' appeal to the capitalist courts against the union, UAW vice president Donald Ephlin was addressing a Flint, Michigan meeting of GM stockholders on the need for labor and management to "work together" to make the company more competitive. Certainly the labor fakers are collaborating with the company to screw the workers, but as the *New York Times* (16 September) noted, "There is considerable question whether the new spirit has filtered down to the shop floor."

In a motion passed in February the Local 1364 membership demanded that the union fight to ensure hiring by seniority with no substandard contract. But the UAW tops are doing the companies' own work in liquidating the local to disperse and destroy organized opposition, treacherously clearing the way for GM/Toyota to reopen *without any union*.

The GM/Toyota deal is truly protectionism come home to roost. UAW officials have used racist protectionism as sucker bait to put the blame on Japanese workers for American unemployment and get themselves off the hook so they don't have to fight the U.S. auto companies for jobs. The logical consequence of the UAW-sponsored "local content" bill (requiring companies selling over half a million cars a year in the U.S. to manufacture 90 percent of the parts here) is for Toyota to come here and be GM's front for breaking the union.

The UAW has said from the beginning it is willing to bend over backwards, to do *anything* to ensure the success of this GM/Toyota deal. International and local officials have acted as cops for the companies at every turn, selling their members' jobs, their hall, even their bodies down the river. Hundreds of high-seniority Fremont workers including many blacks and Chicanos are being forced to leave their homes and families to work out their final years to retirement in Oklahoma, Kansas and Missouri under the terms of the new "Guaranteed Income Stream" (GIS). "Now I know how the Jews felt being loaded into cattle cars for the camps," said one conservative white long-time committeeman leaving his wife of 21 years to report to Fairfax, Kansas for work.

The union tops deliberately drew up GIS to help ram through the multi-billion-dollar concessions package in March '83. They sold it to the members as "lifetime income" for high-seniority victims of plant closures, and they used it as a club at Fremont and elsewhere to prevent any fight against the shutdowns. Once out of the plant, the workers learned they lose the GIS and everything else if they don't report to distant plants as probationary employees on back-breaking new-hire jobs subject to the first layoffs to come along. "They don't want us to take the jobs, they want to force us to drop out," as one embittered older worker put it.

WV Photo

At August 16 rally, union militant Ruth Ryan (center) calls for mass picketing to force GM/Toyota to rehire on the basis of UAW seniority.

Even as workers with September reporting dates were packing their car trunks and assembling caravans to take off for Kansas from the union parking lot, the 200-plus who were shipped to Oklahoma City in May and June were already being hit with "temporary layoffs." Some, unable to take the *78 cars per hour* pace at their age, have already had to quit and come home losing everything.

Far from organizing the Fremont workers to stay and fight for their jobs, Solidarity House is seeing to it that they are packed off to these rural areas where they become the targets of racist reaction from cops, bar owners, foremen, etc. Last May, the black leader of a caravan of auto workers relocating to a new job in the South was threatened at gunpoint by an Oklahoma cop; his life was saved probably only by the intervention of a reporter who was along to cover the story from a "human interest" angle. In another instance, black workers transferred to Sparks, Nevada after the GM parts plant shut down can't even get a drink at the bar across from the plant where they now work!

Right down to the "get lost" gasp, the Local 1364 bureaucrats have tried to deceive, disarm and channel the workers' outrage at being shipped out of state and disowned by the union into...a lawsuit against the International! (President Willie Mays defended the International's seizure of the hall until he himself was chucked from his office chair.) At an August 16 rally called to protest their ouster—22 days after they voluntarily handed over the keys—Lisa Gruber of the UAW Militant Caucus, an opposition with a ten-year history in the plant, was quoted on four TV stations urging the 200-plus workers, "Let's fight for our jobs by having mass picketing to keep the scabs out and use the mass of people here now to start organizing that!"

In response to this, the only proposal for a fight for jobs, the local officials orchestrated a small booing section, and Local 1364 financial secretary Newt Kamakani told the crowd, "If you go rushing over there and try to storm the place we'll never get back in." Kamakani counterposed a lawsuit against the union. You can't fight the Solidarity House gang by bringing the bosses' government into union affairs! The independence of the unions from the capitalist state is a necessary precondition to waging struggle against the companies. The suit of the Local 1364 bureaucrats was not only a criminal betrayal, but idiotic as well: the labor-hating government and its courts would hardly have any quarrel with hacks like Owen Bieber & Co. who are doing the bosses' job of breaking the union at Fremont. And as the courts were denying the request for an injunction last week, Kamakani and other local officials were already on their way to Kansas.

GM and Toyota are out to make an example of Fremont like Reagan made an example of PATCO to cow the rest of the labor movement. They want to jack up profits by breaking the union and getting a free hand to hire a younger, less union-conscious workforce, work them harder for less, and bring back the racist hellhole days of the open shops in the '30s. In particular, the Japanese auto companies that operate here, Nissan (in Tennessee) and Honda (in union territory in Ohio), have imported their violent anti-unionism and have thus far kept out the UAW. What the bureaucrats are doing at Fremont is not a "sellout"—it is abject surrender that jeopardizes the existence of the union itself. The GM/Toyota deal must be answered by a full-scale mobilization of Local 1364 members and other unionists.

So committed are the UAW bureaucrats to protecting the companies' profits that past UAW president Doug Fraser bought himself a seat on the Chrysler Board of Directors at the price of hundreds of thousands of auto workers' jobs and billions in contract concessions. Fraser/Bieber tie the union to impotent legislative lobbying and to getting out the vote for the phony "friend of labor" Democrats. They oppose sit-down strikes, mass pickets, labor solidarity actions—all the methods of class struggle so desperately needed—since such struggles would unleash a force that would sweep them right out of union office.

Labor must break from the bureaucrats who keep it tied to the bosses' parties. Workers need their own party, a workers party to wage class struggle not just in one plant or industry but on all fronts, including labor strikes against imperialist war. The Fremont workers are learning a bitter lesson of what happens when they rely on the labor bureaucrats to defend their jobs and livelihoods. One Chicano worker said, "One way or another these guys [union officials] have got to be made to pay for what they have done to our members."

The 1364 membership has several times shown its willingness to fight. In February they voted overwhelmingly to pass the Militant Caucus' motion demanding a fight to ensure seniority rehiring and contract parity. They sent another resolution on seniority to the May UAW convention in Dallas and bought buttons declaring "1364 or War." But at every turn they have been betrayed by the International bureaucracy and their local flunkies. The local officials stuck to their sellout policies even to the point of losing their own jobs.

The UAW Militant Caucus has called for building mass pickets of the UAW members with their families and friends, backed up by the entire Bay Area labor movement to make sure that nothing goes in or out of that plant until GM and Toyota agree it will be done by UAW labor by strict seniority. This is the only way to stop the union-busting and prevent workers there from being thrown on the scrap heap.

Union charter or no, there are thousands of Fremont UAW members in the area who have a stake in fighting to keep a union plant and to reclaim their old jobs when it reopens. Local 1364 and the entire UAW need a new leadership, based on the class-struggle program raised by the UAW Militant Caucus. It is necessary to build that leadership, wage a fight to reverse the defeats in auto, and throw out the Solidarity House traitors once and for all (perhaps to work out their days in some suitable body shop job in Oklahoma). ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Ann Arbor
c/o SYL
P.O. Box 8364
Ann Arbor, MI 48107
(313) 662-2339

Atlanta
Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

Berkeley/Oakland
P.O. Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 835-1535

Boston
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Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 427-0003

Cleveland
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Cleveland, OH 44101
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Houston, TX 77207

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Los Feliz Station
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(213) 663-1216

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Madison, WI 53701

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Box 444
Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk
P.O. Box 1972
Main P.O.
Norfolk, VA 23501

San Francisco
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.
P.O. Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 636-3537

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto
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Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Copper Miners Hold Out Against Hundreds of Cops, Troops

The Battle of Phelps Dodge

SEPTEMBER 15—Backed up by a union-husting army of 325 National Guardsmen and 400 state troopers, the Phelps Dodge Corporation has declared war on striking Arizona copper miners. On August 20 in Morenci, a mining town about 20 miles from the New Mexico line, SWAT teams were stationed atop the slag heaps, four Huey helicopters hovered overhead and riflemen waited in the surrounding hills. They were waiting for the arrival of a convoy of scabs to smash a bitter labor struggle, now eleven weeks old.

The survival of the heavily Chicano and Indian copper miners unions is at stake. Phelps Dodge has assembled a strikebreaking force the likes of which haven't been seen since the pre-union days of the coal and iron police, Baldwin-Fels and the Pinkerton gun thugs. On August 20 at Morenci, there was more than one armed, uniformed strikebreaker for every three strikers! "There's no other reason for showing that power play," Bargaining Committee chairman Alex Lopez said to *WV*, "if it wasn't to bust the union."

Phelps Dodge has done it before. In 1917, the company sent armed guards into strikers' homes in Bisbee, Arizona. They herded nearly 1,200 workers into railroad boxcars and shipped them to the New Mexico desert. In 1983, PD is out to bust the union again. It's up to the labor movement to stop them.

PD forced the strike on a coalition of 13 unions led by the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) with outrageous demands including elimination of the cost-of-living clause, cutbacks in medical benefits and a $2/hour reduction in new hires' wages. The unions had already accepted a three-year wage freeze at Kennecott, Anaconda and other copper companies. But PD, spurred on by Ronald Reagan's destruction of PATCO and years of labor retreat, was out for blood. Following two years of heavy layoffs, the company has set employed against unemployed and is using its total domination of company towns like Morenci and Ajo for all-sided attacks on the strikers. Ninety workers have been fired and 90 families have been hit with eviction notices. Dozens of warrants have been served on strikers: in Ajo ten strikers were held on $15,000 bond each for such charges as "blocking a county highway" and "suspicion of intent to riot."

The strikers and their families know they have no future here if PD and its scabs win out. Even the children of strikers have joined the picket lines. Strikers were angered by the cops' Gestapo tactics. Deputies stormed into one home to arrest a woman unionist, handcuffing her in front of her children. Another striker was arrested as police "surrounded his house with semi-automatic weapons and shotguns while the kids were playing in the back yard" (*Arizona Republic*, 27 August). When the company announced they were bringing in scabs on August 8, 1,000 pickets assembled in Morenci. The bosses promised to stop scabherding. Instead, PD kept a permanent scab force in the plant, supplying it by helicopter. "That's when the guys got peed off," Lopez told *WV*, "[they] said 'The hell with them. We're going in. We're going to get those scabs out of there. We're going to shut the place down'."

It was then that union officials treacherously agreed to Democratic governor Bruce Babbitt's "cooling off period." It was a bitter betrayal and an object lesson in the "neutrality" of the capitalist state. Ten days later, the governor, now known to the strikers as "Scabbitt," unleashed his uniformed gun thugs and scab production resumed while, by court injunction, pickets were limited to five on either side of U.S. Route 666.

The union tops are lying down in the face of this naked union-busting, just as they did when Reagan busted PATCO. At an August 27 conference of delegates representing 100,000 hardrock miners in the U.S. and Canada, USWA International Treasurer Frank McKee announced the unions were going on a "legal offensive." Petitioning the Labor Board and the government won't win this strike—as the bitter experience with Governor "Scabbitt" has shown. It has only emboldened PD's union-busting. Now the bulk of the union jobs are being worked by scabs. The National Guard has been withdrawn—confident that the union's skeleton picket lines are no threat. This strike and the unions are in mortal danger!

Facing the threat of massive armed strikebreaking, the beleaguered copper miners cannot win alone. Labor solidarity is the key to victory. PD's pure copper ingots are transported in Southern Pacific's unionized freight trains. This scab copper is too hot to handle! And militants should recall that it was only after a nationwide coal work stoppage in 1974 that Harlan County, Kentucky coal miners finally won a union contract after 13 months out on strike. All copper miners have a stake in this battle. Shut down the whole industry! The support of copper miners throughout the region, in mass demonstrations and on the picket line, is critical.

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AP

Striking copper miners (upper left) face army of state cops (upper right) and National Guardsmen encamped in mine slag (lower right). Strikers and their families confront scabs in truck (lower left).

The "friend of labor" governor showed just what sort of alternative the Democratic Party is to Reagan. Instead of organizing more "vote Democrat" rallies to produce more "Scabbitts," a union leadership worth its salt would be mobilizing the ranks to win this strike on the picket line. The fight of the Arizona hardrock miners points up the urgent necessity of breaking with the Democrats and building a workers party to lead all the oppressed. Victory to the Phelps Dodge strikers! ■

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Mouthpiece for Death Squad Killers

Moonie Press Empire

The *Washington Times* is the Moonies' most important thrust toward respectability and influence in America. Owned and operated by the publishing arm of Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church, the Times-Tribune Corporation, the *Washington Times* is the vehicle through which the "Lord of the Second Advent" hopes to buy a place in the United States for his highly dangerous right-wing cult. Since May 17 of last year when their daily hit the newsstands in the nation's capital, the Moonies have unleashed a torrent of printer's ink about their "alternative voice" and "conservative journalism." But the founding of the *Washington Times* by the Moonies has one purpose only: to further the sinister goals of Sun Myung Moon. With the *Washington Times* the Moonies have their most expensive and sophisticated weapon in their holy war against Communism and all other "satanic" obstacles—like "American-style democracy"—to Moon's megalomaniacal drive for worldwide theocracy under his mad rule. A world in which as Moon puts it, "my words will almost serve as law."

How can this self-annointed "messiah" with his South Korean munitions plant, who performs mass marriages of sex-deprived zombie victims in Madison Square Garden, hope to establish a "respectable" daily newspaper? By being the loudest noise on the anti-Soviet bandwagon. Already, in its short history, the Moonie newspaper has become known as the mouthpiece for Jeane Kirkpatrick (who views the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse as "moderate authoritarians"), CIA-backed *contras* and every reactionary policy of the Reagan administration. The *Washington Times* boasts of its rare interview with the president himself and claims their newspaper is the first one he reads in the morning.

As the far-out rightists who have sailed into the Reagan mainstream, the Moonies see their main chance for influence. With the *Washington Times* they can move through the New Right and cement ties with its leaders. The *Washington Times*, for instance, regularly soapboxes for fanatic rightists like Senator Jesse Helms. With their daily newspaper, the Moonies have placed themselves at the center of that web of ultra-right organizations from NCPAC to Christian Voice. New Right direct mail godfather Richard A. Viguerie ran the initial subscription campaign for the Moonies' *Washington Times*.

Moon has always recognized the importance of media for political manipulation. But even the Republican Ripon Society found the *Washington Times* a particularly disturbing development which "signaled a quantum jump in Moon's media aspirations." They warned: "There is a growing body of evidence that Moon is using his followers and economic resources in a three-pronged campaign to influence the highest levels of our government. The resurgent 'New Right' political movement, elements of the Republican Party, and the media all are in danger of being manipulated by Reverend Moon" (*Ripon Forum*, Jan[illegible] 1983).

It is no wonder that the *Washington Times* kick-off promo was a big "welcome to Washington" from a host of right-wing hot shots. But significantly it also included "welcomes" from D.C. Congressman Walter Fauntroy who generally receives good press at the hands of the Moonies. As their glossy first anniversary brochure brags, "If a measure of acceptance is who accepts your invitation to dine, The Times is doing quite well, thank you." And as guests at their editorial board luncheons they list numerous high level Reagan administration officials (and Richard Nixon), Caspar Weinberger, James Watt, Director of the CIA William Casey and White House chief of staff James Baker.

Bureau/Sygma — Peter Magubane

Moonies' terror connections: from Argentine junta (left) to South African apartheid police state.

The Moonie press is at times capable of masking its sinister purposes behind a slick cover of "hard news" journalism. These McCarthyite witchhunters have been known to publish a negative article on McCarthyism. They even republished a negative review from the *New York Times* of the universally panned Moonie movie, *Inchon*. But the *Washington Times* isn't fooling anybody much. It is clearly not only a part of Moon's publishing empire, but perhaps the most important weapon of the Moonies' sinister designs. This means the *Washington Times* is up to its fancy computer terminals in the Moonies' dirty business. From Central America to South Africa to the most filthy secret police agencies of the most horrible dictatorships, the Moonies have their connections.

And the Moonie press isn't always so slick when they think an ox on "their side" has been gored by "Satan." We in the Spartacist League ought to know. We have already been the target of the Moonies' *Washington Times* wielded as a blunt instrument of destruction against those who stopped the Ku Klux Klan in Washington, D.C. on November 27, and against the truth. The Moonies' *Washington Times* has tried to frame up the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League for our role as initiators and principal organizers of the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization which meant that hooded race-terror did not take over the streets of that 70 percent black city, the nation's capital.

On 30 November 1982, the *Washington Times* published a feature article about the anti-Klan protest under the headline: "Left-wing group linked to D.C. riot." This article is a crude and obviously false and malicious libel of the Spartacist League (SL) accusing us of "provoking violence" against the police, giving rocks to "even children" to throw at the cops and dressing up in paramilitary "berets." This smear sets us up as would-be cop-killers and offers reason and excuse to those who would shoot first and ask questions later. The SL has sued the Moonies' publishing arm for libel because this is libel that kills. The *Washington Times* is not only a vehicle for the lying the Moonies call "heavenly deception," but it is deeply rooted in the dangerous and sinister connections of the Moonie cult.

The "News" That's Fit to Buy

Following the axiom that under capitalism freedom of the press belongs to the man who owns one, Moon launched the paper with an estimated $50 million. The job of creating a daily from scratch went to Moon's main man, Colonel Bo Hi Pak. "The Colonel," as he is commonly referred to at the *Washington Times*, is a former South Korean army officer identified by the *New York Times* (2 October 1976) as "the South Korean CIA's channel to Mr. Moon and the Unification Church."

The Moonies and Pak are certainly no amateurs in the influence market, particularly in Washington. In what became known as the "Koreagate" scandal during the 1970s, the Moon operatives were shown to have been an important part (along with Tongsun Park) of the Korean CIA's efforts to influence U.S. Congressmen for the South Korean military lobby. According to the report of the U.S. Congressional subcommittee investigating "Koreagate" in 1978, the Moonies were part of the KCIA's plan to buy influence in the U.S., particularly "aimed at the U.S. media": "The 1976 KCIA plan also recommended influencing U.S. media personnel, both broadcast and print.... The 1976 plan proposed the use of anti-Communist groups such as the Freedom Leadership Foundation...." The Freedom Leadership Foundation was one of the first Moonie groups in the U.S. Bo Hi Pak was the key figure in the Moonie link to "Koreagate" and the KCIA.

And it was Bo Hi Pak, as head of Moon's financial empire, who bought the two buildings near the National Arboretum in northeast D.C. for $1.6 million to house the *Washington Times*. They've made it one of the poshest publishing outfits around. Yet they have very little advertising, the bread and butter of the capitalist media. The *Washington Post* said the Moonie paper is expected to lose $10-15 million this year. A Washington journal (*Washington Dossier*, June 1983) looked at the money going into the *Washington Times* and decided to ask some questions:

> "There is also a deeper story here, and that is the connection between Moon and Japanese industrialists, the Korean government, South Africa, and certain repressive governments in Latin America and our own CIA. It strains credulity to believe that the endless supply of money flowing into the Moon coffers, and into the *Times* comes only from those enterprises under its own sponsorship and control. Where does the 50-odd million dollars so far in the *Times* investment come from? Who benefits? Why? How?"

One of "The Colonel"'s most pressing tasks was to recruit a "respectable" non-Moonie newspaperman who would take charge of a newspaper founded by the Unification Church. He signed on James Whelan, editor of the *Sacramento Union*, which had been part of the conservative Panax chain until Panax was dissolved. Whelan is a dubious character indeed. He worked for 20 years as a reporter all over Latin America for a variety of newspapers and news agencies before becoming vice president and editorial director for Panax Newspapers. According to the personal biography distributed by the *Washington Times*, in 1961 Whelan "was assigned to a special, secret UPI team in Miami organized to cover the Bay of Pigs invasion." His career also included a two-year stint in the late 1960s with the Western Hemisphere division of International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT), a corporation known for its connections with the CIA in Latin America. When the *Washington Tribune* questioned executive director Smith Hempstone about suggestions that Whelan has the taint of the CIA, Hempstone quipped, "So what? I thought they were on our side."

But Whelan is not the only dubious character who signed on with the *Washington Times*. According to *Washington Notes on Africa* (Summer 1982), sponsored by major church organizations and the UAW, Edward King, international and Capitol Hill reporter, and Cleto Di Giovanni, editorial writer, "were both CIA officers in Latin America." Then there's Jeremiah O'Leary, the White House correspondent. "It is known, for example, as a result of documentation obtained through the Freedom of Information

Act, that O'Leary was singled out personally by former FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover as a friendly media asset used by the Bureau to promote the stories it favored" (*CovertAction Information Bulletin* No. 16, March 1982).

From Apartheid Butchers...

The *Washington Times* acts as a press agent for apartheid in Washington. A number of members of the staff have strong ties with the South African government. South Africa has been running a massive propaganda campaign for years to whitewash its savagely racist policies. In 1974 the Secretary of the South African Department of Information told then-prime minister Vorster, "'I want you to approve, not an information asset, but a propaganda war in which no rules or regulations would count.' The officials approved a plan that would spend a minimum of $73 million on more than 160 secret projects to buy politicians and media enterprises and support pro-apartheid groups around the world" (*Washington Notes on Africa*, Summer 1982). When the details of this plan were disclosed in 1978, the ensuing scandal (dubbed "Muldergate" after minister of information Cornelius Mulder who took the rap) forced a number of top government officials to resign. Botha vowed to continue the secret projects despite the scandal.

John McGoff, a Michigan publisher, was the primary American recipient of "Muldergate" funds in the 1970s. McGoff was given $11.75 million by the Department of Information through the South African Department of Defense to buy the *Washington Star* and a share in UPI Television News (UPITN), the second largest newsfilm producer in the world. After the *Star* deal fell through, McGoff bought the conservative *Sacramento Union* instead and a 50 percent interest in UPITN. McGoff also bought controlling interest in the Panax newspaper company. James Whelan became the editor of the *Sacramento Union* under McGoff's ownership. When the *Washington Times* was established in 1982 Whelan signed on as editor and brought John McGoff along to serve on his editorial advisory board.

It is, of course, all part of the Moonie "heavenly deception" in their press empire that they "forget" to mention their South African connection when hustling their *Harlem Weekly* newspaper aimed at black New Yorkers. The Moonies, who act as mouthpieces for bloody racist apartheid in the *Washington Times*, come on as community-minded blacks to try to get their foot in the door in black ghettos.

...to Death Squads, Contras

Moon's publishing empire also seems to have an inside track with numerous dictators in Latin America. In 1980 Moon's organization launched a Spanish-language daily in New York City, *Noticias del Mundo*. The paper is militantly anti-communist and reads like a PR rag for the right-wing military dictatorships in the Southern Cone of South America. "*Latin America Weekly Report* disclosed on May 16, 1980 that the editor of...*Noticias del Mundo*, is ...an Argentine, who is working unpaid for *Noticias* while on the payroll of Telam, the official Argentine news agency" (*Washington Notes on Africa*, Summer 1982). And *Washington Journalism Review* (November 1980) cites "the common ties between *Noticias* and such organs as TELAM, frequently a vehicle for army intelligence propaganda; to SAPORITI, an old Argentinian news agency now believed to have fallen under the influence of military intelligence and which is another source of Latin American news for *Noticias*; and to Dinarp, the public relations arm of the Uruguayan military."

As the targets of death squad terror throughout Latin America can attest, "fighting communism" is no war of words for the military juntas in the region. The *Washington Post* (28 August) ran an exposé on CAUSA, a Moonie group "which is pumping millions of dollars into an anti-communist organizing effort throughout the United States and in much of Central and South America." The president of Moon's deadly CAUSA is none other than Bo Hi Pak—who is also the publisher of *Noticias del Mundo*. CAUSA has had its greatest apparent success in Uruguay. They founded two newspapers, bought the largest publishing house in the country, and won a controlling interest in Uruguay's third largest national bank. "They bought newspapers, they bought real estate, they bought generals, they bought out the country," a Reagan administration official who was there at the time told the *Post*. Meanwhile Pak assured General Luis Vicente Quierolo, chief of the Uruguayan army, who was concerned about the criticisms of his government in "liberal circles in the United States and in the press," that he could "consider *Noticias del Mundo* your newspaper in the United States" (*Washington Journalism Review*, November 1980).

We have reported how the Moonies have allied themselves with the dictators, death squads and *contras* responsible for the deaths of over 100,000 Latin American workers, peasants and leftists in the last five years alone (see "Moonie Machinations in Latin America," *Young Spartacus* No. 111, September 1983). We noted that the chief of the Moon operation in Honduras is strongman General Gustavo Alvarez, overlord of the Honduran death squads and the Nicaraguan *contras* (see "Moonies in Honduras: Death Squads and Contras," *WV* No. 334, 15 July). And on El Salvador, the Moonies not only act as propagandists and lobbyists for the junta butchers, they work closely with right-wing Salvadoran emigrés in the Bay Area who, according to the *San Francisco Chronicle*, "turned over to Salvadoran government officials the names and photographs of Bay Area Salvadorans who oppose the junta." From Chile to El Salvador, the Moonies offer themselves up as the shock troops of anti-communist reaction.

The "Heavenly Deceivers": Moon (left) and Bo Hi Pak, head of Moonie press empire and, according to the New York Times, "the South Korean CIA's channel to Mr. Moon."

Washington Times: Disinformation That Kills

The *Washington Times* is in the disinformation business and now Central America is a prime target. Disinformation at the source is not just a lie, but part of a secret police plan which ultimately leads to death.

CovertAction Information Bulletin explains how the disinformation game works. The secret police call upon their "bevy of puppet journalists," and within record time a feature article will appear in *Reader's Digest*, in a Heritage Foundation report or "in some reactionary tabloid like *Human Events* or the *Washington Times*":

> "Then they will all be called to testify by Senator Denton's Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism, repeating one another's allegations as 'expert witnesses.'
>
> "After that they are given credibility by the 'respectable' Cold War publications like the *National Review*, *Commentary* and the *New Republic*. And finally, since they have repeated the theme so many times it must be true, they are given the opportunity to write Op Ed pieces for the *New York Times* or the *Washington Post*."
>
> —*CovertAction Information Bulletin*, Spring-Summer 1983

One case which shows the *Washington Times* tie-in to the disinformation network is a Pentagon propaganda operation to whitewash the *contras* in Nicaragua, known internationally as the mercenaries of former dictator Somoza's hated National Guard. The Cuban newspaper *Granma* told the story in its 5 June issue. Reagan needed funds for his counterrevolutionary venture to overthrow the Sandinista government, but he was encountering some opposition. So the propaganda labs went into motion to "dress the wolf in sheep's clothing and lead influential sectors of public opinion to think that there had been a change in the makeup of the mercenary forces. The idea was to 'legitimize' them as 'freedom fighters'." One Georgie Anne Geyer (known for her repugnant articles on the late Salvador Allende, and her close friendship with the Green Berets who murdered Che Guevara) penned an article entitled "The Anti-Sandinistas: A Legitimate Liberation Force" which argued that only "15 percent" of the CIA-backed killers fighting the Sandinistas were ex-Somozaists. The article was first printed in the *Washington Times*, then distributed by the ARF (item number 519), the U.S. armed forces news agency, for domestic consumption. Three days later the Pentagon circulates it in Spanish (transmission number ARF-111) with "permission... obtained for republication, abridgement and translation by USIS [the United Stated Information Service] and local press abroad."

* * * * *

Moon has big sick ideas for America. He has threatened, "every people or every organization that goes against the Unification Church will...drastically come down and die." The ominous connections Moon has developed through his press empire shows he intends to gain the power and influence to deliver on that threat.

In an editorial marking the change of format and name of their New York City daily newspaper to the *New York Tribune*, the Moonies hide behind the names of Horace Greeley and Thomas Jefferson while calling for a theocratic state to fight communism. The Moonies vow to "rise up in a crusade...and liberate...especially the Russian people." But this Moonie "liberation" as they put it "must not stop with communism, but embrace every country and creed." Moon's newspapers are his arsenal for "taking the offensive against communism and other forms of evil." But Moon has a lot more in his sights than reds. The Moonies are hostile to the democratic political and cultural values prized by a wide spectrum of the American people. In fact, "Moon finds 'American-style democracy' to be 'a good nursery for the growth of Communism'" (1978 report of the House Subcommittee on International Organizations, *Investigation of Korean-American Relations*). And the Moonies have gone a lot further than most people would want to believe with their sinister designs to create a new order for their "messiah."

The *Washington Times* is today key to Moon's sinister designs. A victory for the Spartacist libel lawsuit against the *Washington Times* is a victory for all his intended victims—opponents of apartheid, opponents of right-wing terror in Latin America, opponents of KKK/Nazi racist terror. A victory for our suit against the *Washington Times* can help spike the Moonies' bid for respectability and influence. The Moonies are not only trying to wipe out the Spartacist League, but liberties we all treasure. That's why our fight against the Moonie libel is also yours. ■

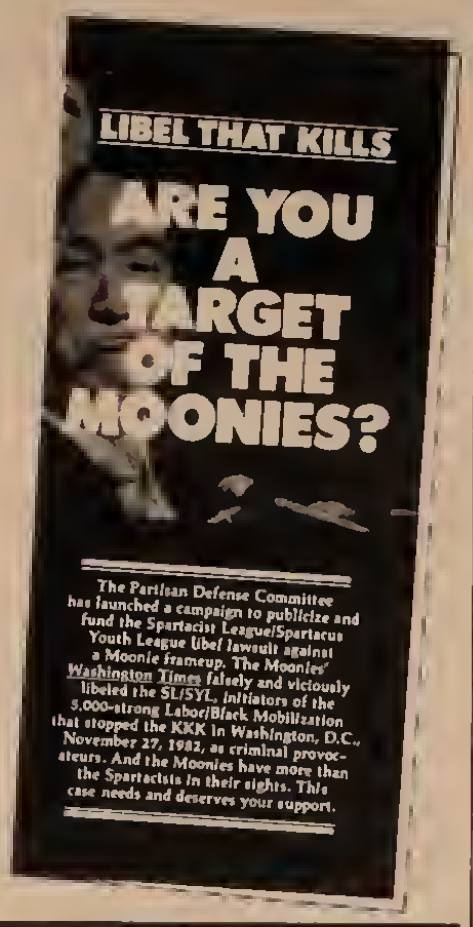
We Need Your Help

A victory against the Moonie libel and set-up of the SL/SYL will punch a hole in the dangerous designs of Sun Myung Moon. But it will be a tough fight.

The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC)—a class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League—has launched a campaign to help pay for and publicize this important legal battle, and we need your help. This libel suit is the instrument to strike back against the Moonies' most important thrust for influence and power in this country, the *Washington Times*. This suit for $20 million and the public exposure can hit the Moonies where they live.

Your generous financial support and endorsement is urgently needed to win this lawsuit. Send contributions to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

Available now! Write for PDC's brochure today. Help organize the campaign against the Moonie libel.



War Fever...

(continued from page 1)

off at the dock. For the Reaganites, provocation is standard operating procedure.

The Democrats, too, are standing at attention, both "hawks" and "doves," while even some supposed leftists have fallen into line over the KAL 007 Cold War provocation. But despite more than two weeks of "Russians eat babies for breakfast" blitz, the American public, well-attuned to government lying by Vietnam and Watergate, smells a rat. Although many support calls for "tougher sanctions," a recent poll showed 61 percent did not believe the administration was telling the whole story. And they're right. The day after the poll came out a new U.S. intelligence report admitted that the Soviets *never knew* they were tracking a civilian airliner. Earlier in the week, Washington felt obliged to issue a "revised" transcript of the alleged tapes of Soviet fighter pilots, showing that the SU-15 interceptor *had fired warning shots* from its cannons. As we headlined our last issue, "Reagan's Story Stinks!"

Many people who don't buy Reagan's "devil made them do it" story of the KAL 007 regard Washington's anti-Soviet war drive as a conflict between two equally evil "superpowers." If U.S. imperialism succeeded in its drive to roll back the gains of social revolutions from Cuba to Poland to Vietnam and the Soviet Union, it would unleash a global holocaust of reactionary terror. South Korean dictator Chun Doo Hwan, who jails democrats and Presbyterians as subversives; Philippine strongman Marcos, who had returning liberal dissident Aquino gunned down on the airport runway; Salvadoran butcher D'Aubuisson, whose death squads have murdered tens of thousands; these are the "moderate authoritarian" paragons of Reagan's "free world."

Dreams of détente with these bloody-minded mass murderers or with their masters in Washington are dangerous illusions. The imperialist war criminals who would use more than 200 civilian plane passengers in an insane anti-Soviet provocation, who annihilated over one million Indochinese, who talk of detonating a "demonstration" A-bomb over the Baltic, who have replaced the MAD doctrine of "mutually assured destruction" with the demented proposal for a "limited, protracted nuclear war"—and who may have selected the Soviet Far East as the "theater" for their Wagnerian war drama—must be driven from power. Only world socialist revolution can secure a future for world humanity.

Today the duty of communists everywhere is unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against the imperialists, despite the bureaucratic usurpation of political power from the revolutionary Bolsheviks of Lenin and Trotsky by the great advocate of "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialists, Stalin. Soviet generals today know well that Stalin's criminal faith in his nonaggression pact with Nazi Germany brought the USSR to the brink of defeat due to unpreparedness and failure to react to provocations like Flight 007. Reagan & Co. obviously think the Russians' commitment to "détente" means abject capitulation. And given what was known of KAL's Mission Provocation, we can only be thankful that, to quote Soviet chief of general staff Marshal Ogarkov, "The Soviet military forces protecting the peaceful labor of the Soviet Union honorably fulfilled their duties." Anyone with an ounce of intelligence will conclude: Don't mess with the Russians!

Lies and Refutations

As we wrote last issue: "If the government of the Soviet Union knew that the intruding aircraft was in fact a commercial passenger plane containing 200-plus innocent civilians, despite the potential military damage of such an apparent spying mission, if they deliberately destroyed the airplane and its occupants, then, to paraphrase the French, the act of shooting it down would have been an idiocy worthy of the Israelis. But the piecemeal facts and obvious falsifications argue that this was not the case, and something resembling what really might have gone on is rapidly being pieced together internationally" ("Reagan's Story Stinks!" *WV* No. 337, 9 September). With every passing day, as the government's fabrications unravel and its lies are exposed, the stench of Cold War provocation becomes overwhelming.

In Reagan's Labor Day speech, he emphatically insisted: "The 747 has a unique silhouette unlike any other plane in the world. There is no way a pilot could mistake this for anything other than a civilian airliner." Before the UN, American ambassador Kirkpatrick repeated over and over, "Contrary to Soviet statements, the pilot makes no mention of firing any warning shots." Other elements of the Big Lie: that the U.S. supposedly knew nothing about it until it was over; that KAL Flight 007 was nothing but an innocent civilian airliner; that nobody believes Soviet claims it was on a spy mission. As columnist Alexander Cockburn put it in the *Village Voice* (20 September), to hear Reagan tell it, "Every Soviet leader stood a little taller in his boots the next day and shouted, 'One, two, three, many jumbos' into the shaving mirror."

Kirkpatrick's claim there were no warning shots was blown to bits with the U.S.' reconstructed tape released on September 11.

The U.S. supposedly knew nothing about the affair until it was all over? When it was first admitted that the U.S. had a spy plane in the area, it was reported in the *New York Times* (6 September) that, "Military officers said the Air Force plane would routinely have 'painted,' or registered with radar, the Korean plane as a matter of aerial safety." Now they are claiming (*New York Times*, 19 September) that the 007 was beyond the range of U.S. radar, both civilian (limit 160 miles) and military (240 miles). However, David Baker reports in his book, *The Shape of Wars to Come* (1982):

> "Of peripheral interest...[is] a very powerful phased-array radar antenna looking northwest and west from Shemya close to the Kamchatka Peninsula. Called Cobra Dane, its search and tracking coverage...is designed to detect an object the size of a basketball 3,200 km [2,000 miles] away and simultaneously track 100 separate targets."

Shemya, at the tip of the Aleutians, is the base of the RC-135 mentioned above. So much for the claim that no one knew where KAL 007 was because it was "out of range"!

What about "radio trouble"? Flight 007 was not able to reach Anchorage air traffic control at the second checkpoint on route R-20, and had to relay its position via a second KAL plane (Flight 015) flying a few minutes behind it. Yet there were no complaints of radio malfunctions, and later the 007 pilot was able to communicate clearly with Tokyo airport. Thus *both* KAL planes *and* Anchorage *and* Tokyo air control *had to know* that the 747 jetliner was off course, but no alarm was raised. (KAL Flight 015, incidentally, which carried Senator Jesse Helms and other conservative luminaries, is a particularly shadowy participant in this drama. It is mentioned once, on the first day, by the Moonies' *New York Tribune* [1 September] under the headline "U.S. intelligence men suggest Soviets downed the wrong KAL 747," and thereafter isn't mentioned for ten days. Yet KAL Flights 007 and 015 were flying in tandem, and since they were relaying radio traffic the second plane would clearly have known if the first was in trouble.)

So what *were* they doing? The *Times*' disingenuous and dim military correspondent Drew Middleton writes that the U.S. doesn't even need spy planes, anyway, since its reconnaissance satellites can pick up "the bolts on the deck of a Soviet cruiser" or a man reading *Pravda* on the street of a north Russian town. And he says if they really wanted sharp pictures, they would just send over an SR-71 plane which at 80,000 feet is well out of range of Soviet jets (though not missiles, as U-2 pilot Gary Powers found out). The Soviets have responded to this with a detailed article in today's *Pravda* which reported that Flight 007 was held up at Anchorage for 40 minutes "in order to strictly synchronise in time the plane's approach to the shores of Kamchatka and Sakhalin with the flight of the American intelligence satellite 'Ferret D'" (TASS dispatch, 19 September). This satellite, which monitors radio traffic, has an orbit of 96 minutes around the earth. It appeared over Kamchatka Peninsula at 1:30 a.m. (local time) on August 31, "i.e., precisely at the moment of the intrusion of the trespasser plane into Soviet air space," and at 3:07 a.m., three minutes after the 747 began its passage over Sakhalin island. **If true, this information is conclusive that the Korean airliner was part of an elaborate provocation involving as well a U.S. spy satellite and the now infamous RC-135. In this triad, KAL Flight 007 was the bait.**

Moreover, this takes on added significance when combined with the "leaked" report (in the *New York Times*, 11 September, and elsewhere) that the now-admitted RC-135 was flying figure eights off Soviet Kamchatka in the early morning hours of August 31 on a mission to collect information about a Soviet missile test expected that night. The *Washington Post* (7 September) said that this RC-135's mission was to "assess Soviet air defenses." It went on:

> "The United States and the Soviet Union, they [U.S. Air Force intelligence officials] said, constantly track each other's 'electronic order of battle,' which includes how radar stations react to intruders, and forward air defenses....
>
> "It is standard practice, they said, for U.S. military planes to try to 'tickle' Soviet radar into action.
>
> "They said this amounts to flying close enough to air defenses to cause the Soviets to activate search radar and perhaps fire-control radar and to talk about what they are seeing and doing in response to the unidentified aircraft overhead."

"Standard practice," it seems. But Flight 007 was no "tickle." This unidentified aircraft was on a Mission Provocation Royale.

But why would they set up 200-plus lives on such a mission? David Baker notes ominously that, "Plans for massed intrusion of hostile airspace rely on continuous updating to keep pace with the location of defense installations and, increasingly over the past decade, the Russians have concentrated on protecting their territorial borders from bombers and other intruders" (*The Shape of Wars to Come*). In addition to directly overflying the Petropavlovsk naval base on Kamchatka and the Korsakov air-naval installations on Sakhalin, KAL 007 provided another highly important service to U.S. military analysts: a massive intrusion of hostile airspace. *And there is one particular war scenario for which such information is of crucial importance: a nuclear first strike.*

Smash the Anti-Soviet War Drive!

From Day 1 of his administration, Reagan has proclaimed the USSR to be the "evil empire," "the source of evil in

Spy Plane RC-135

Yesterday's *Denver Post* ran an article (reprinted in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 19 September) by two former Air Force intelligence officers, T. Edward Eskelson and Tom Bernard, which reveals important information about the RC-135. We quote a few choice paragraphs below, since it is unlikely to get wide circulation in the "free but responsible" capitalist press:

"Obscured by what will surely be claimed as legitimate national security matters, the U.S. government had the capability to directly intercede during the entire sweep of events culminating in the annihilation of Korean Air Lines Flight 007. Few facts concerning that capability have been brought to public attention.

"Based on the information disclosed by the Reagan administration in the past two weeks, it is clear that a major effort has been undertaken to bewilder the American public concerning the capabilities of the U.S. Air Force RC-135 and, more importantly, the National Security Agency.

"As former crew members on an RC-135 aircraft, we find official statements concerning the extent of its involvement before and after the KAL shootdown incompatible with our experience....

"It has been our experience that, on occasion, NSA adjusts the orbits of RC-135s so that they will intentionally penetrate the airspace of a target nation. This is ordered for the purpose of bringing a target country's air defense systems into a state of alert. This allows NSA to analyze these fully activated systems for potential flaws and weaknesses....

"The RC-135 has a super-advanced, ultra-secure communications system which is linked to the most sophisticated communications network in the world. This system, sometimes referred to as 'backchannel,' permits the instantaneous reporting of real-time, tactical intelligence to the highest levels of the U.S. government, including the president, from any location in the world....

"Because of these RC-135 capabilities we believe that the entire sweep of events—from the time the Soviets first began tracking KAL Flight 007, to 'confusing' it with the American reconnaissance aircraft, to the moment Soviet fighter airplanes sitting on Soviet airfields were ordered to go from 'standby' to 'alert' status due to the potential penetration of their airspace by an 'intruder aircraft' to the time of the shootdown—was monitored and analyzed instantaneously by U.S. intelligence.

"Without sounding like apologists for Soviet actions, we believe, based upon our experiences, that the official U.S. version of events is incomplete and misleading. There are serious questions in our minds as to not only what specific role did the capabilities of the RC-135 play in the eventual shooting down of the KAL airliner, but also why these capabilities were never used to head off the tragedy."

The government's response to this report is that Eskelson and Bernard had not flown an RC-135 for ten years and therefore "the experience they cite is in fact history." This "denial" is a confirmation. Are we to believe that in the last ten years, the U.S. capabilities have become less powerful, less intrusive? The fact that U.S. intelligence knew all about Flight 007's Mission Provocation is established without a doubt.

The Moonies and the Plane

> "If, in the future, we do our work hand-in-hand with the CIA, I am ready and willing to send the strongest members in our movement as spies to the Soviet Union, Red China, etc."
>
> —Sun Myung Moon, *Master Speaks*

Reagan's story about the war provocation of Korean Flight 007 shot down over Soviet military installations is really pretty simple: the Soviet Union is an "evil empire." Every time they get a chance, he says, the Russians try to shoot down jumbo jets filled with hundreds of passengers. The dangerous ultraright cult of Sun Myung Moon has been screaming this kind of religio-political claptrap about godless, evil Communism for years.

For the Moonies, the 007 war hysteria whipped up by the White House is made to order. They have always tried to be the shock troops in an anti-communist crusade. Here is a campaign that intersects nearly all the issues most dear to the heart of their self-appointed "messiah," such as military support to the Seoul dictatorship and starting World War III against Soviet Russia. Their eulogized "real American" (Congressman Larry McDonald) was on Flight 007 to attend a celebration of the U.S./South Korean military alliance against the USSR.

No one ought to be surprised that where there is smoke from a burning Soviet flag, there is likely to be the crazed anti-communist fire of the Moonies. In several cities across the country the Moonies have taken to the streets as the most rabid of the McCarthyite witchhunters. They call on the government "to expel the communists from the United States—from its labor unions and its college campuses." At Columbia University on September 14, the Moonies bused in a bunch of the "Master's children" for a warmongering anti-Soviet flag-burning. In brownshirt fashion they beat up students who opposed them, including a Columbia student who was a bystander.

The Moonies' anti-communist frenzy, their call to "rise up" against Communism, as they put it, "goes beyond America's borders." The Moonies have their fanatic sights trained on the global Holy War, and see the downed jet liner as an opportunity to get America ready for it. As a leaflet by the Moonie student-youth organization, CARP, proclaims, recalling the Nazis' slogan *"Deutschland, erwache!"*: "American people, *wake up!*... Let us have the determination to march even into Peking and Moscow." Only then, say these dangerous cultists whose messiah wants to "conquer and subjugate the world," can they "establish one world under God" (read: Moon).

A 1978 report of the House Subcommittee on International Organizations headed by then-Congressman Donald Fraser summed up Moon's military ambitions:

> "The Moon Organization has self-proclaimed goals of controlling political and secular institutions and a strident ideology which envisions the formation of a 'Unification Crusade Army.' Moon's speeches foresee an apocalyptic confrontation involving the United States, Russia, China, Japan, and North and South Korea, in which the Moon Organization would play a key role."

And for Moon, this Holy War involves preparing his members for the possibility of suicidal spy missions into the Soviet Union. At a Jonestown-type indoctrination session, Moon addressed his novices on "how to die a brave death." An appropriate death which would guarantee resurrection, he told them, would be to go to "Red China or the Soviet Union as spy agents, to find out what is happening in the evil side of the world":

> "If, in the future, we do our work hand-in-hand with the CIA, I am ready and willing to send the strongest members in our movement as spies to the Soviet Union, Red China, etc.... If and when you are sent to countries like Russia and Red China to smash those things of evil nature, and then come back as a victor with spoils to be returned to God—then you will be received in glory."
>
> —*Master Speaks*

The *entire strategy* of postwar American imperialism is to get the Soviet Union—from the Korean War to the Vietnam War to the escalating Salvadoran war—the U.S. has backed up every butcher and mass murderer who promises to smash Communism. There is indeed an "international terrorist conspiracy," but its center is not in Moscow, as the Reaganites claim, but in Washington, aided by the minions of Master Moon. Given the long arm of the KCIA, the Soviet Union indeed has good reason to be suspicious of anything flying out of Seoul; as one liberal South Korean living in the U.S. noted at the "Koreagate" Congressional investigation in 1976:

> "Actually, Korean Air Lines which lands and takes off in Los Angeles on trips between Seoul and Los Angeles, carries one or two KCIA agents on every flight."

Humanity will not be safe until the world proletariat succeeds in taking power worldwide, from Washington to Tokyo, and obliterating the capitalist war machines which threaten to engulf us all.

the modern world" which will "commit any crime, to lie, to cheat" in order to further the goal of world Communism. Actually, far from being champions of world revolution, the Kremlin leaders are a notoriously conservative lot. But this devil-baiting of the Soviets is not some exercise in Moral Majority pulpit pounding. Whenever you hear that kind of talk ("*Gott mit uns*," said Kaiser Wilhelm—"God is on our side," replied President Wilson), you know the capitalist rulers are getting ready to sacrifice tens of millions of their subjects in a slaughter to redivide the world for the benefit of their profits. Only this time it isn't the Deutsche Bank against the Rothschilds and Rockefellers, but a crusade for global counterrevolution. And for that they're prepared to blow up the planet.

"You Had Nothing to Lose by Saying Sorry," headlined the *Economist* (10 September), repeating one of Reagan's main themes. (According to the capitalist media, then, being a Communist means never having to say you're sorry?!!) They want the Russians to admit their "guilt," so that the Soviet Union would stand before the world as self-branded criminals and murderers of innocent civilians! This is the meaning of all the U.S. denunciations of the Soviets for "barbaric," "uncivilized," "cold-blooded" acts. But the Russians didn't send 200-plus innocent civilians on a suicide mission. As General Ogarkov said in the Moscow press conference:

> "As far as responsibility and not only financial responsibility is concerned, that falls on those who sent them to their deaths. Referring to President Reagan's claim that we should apologize, President Reagan should simply turn around and take one look in his mirror and it would become clear to him who should answer questions of this sort."
>
> —*New York Times*, 10 September

What Ronald Reagan is looking for is the ideological banner for World War III. For Teddy Roosevelt it was "Remember the *Maine*," even though the evidence indicates the Spanish didn't blow up that U.S. ship in Havana harbor. Woodrow Wilson dragged the U.S. into World War I using the excuse of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, even though it was later proved to be carrying munitions to the British and the German government warned Americans not to sail on this British ship. Lyndon Johnson used the trumped-up "Tonkin Gulf incident" to get the Vietnam War approved by Congress (see article by publisher Larry Flynt, "Another Gulf of Tonkin Provocation?" on page 10 of this issue). Today, Reagan's rallying cry is "Remember the Korean Air Lines massacre" as he escalates his anti-Soviet war drive in the Far East, the Near East and Central America.

In the Far East last spring, the United States concentrated the most powerful naval force seen in the Pacific since World War II (see *Young Spartacus* No. 111, September 1983). Its strategic aim is to bottle up the Soviet navy in the Sea of Okhotsk and the Sea of Japan. Meanwhile, as Reagan becomes ever deeper immersed in the internecine communal warfare of the Near East, the U.S. has assembled an armada off Lebanon that represents "its most massive show of force since Vietnam" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 15 September). A symbol of the escalating U.S. war drive is the odyssey of the USS *New Jersey*. In May-June it participated in naval maneuvers off Cambodia as Chinese troops menaced Vietnam from the north and Thailand (with supplies airlifted from the U.S.) stepped up hostilities from the West. In July the battleship was dispatched to Central America, where it joined the aircraft carrier *Ranger* for a display of gunboat diplomacy. And now it is off to Lebanon.

Meanwhile, as Reagan mounts his global counterrevolutionary crusade, much of the fake-left is capitulating to him—while red-white-and-blue pseudo-socialists sign up for yeoman's duty in the anti-Soviet war drive. Most despicable is the Communist Party USA (CP), because of its pretensions to stand on the side of the USSR. At the height of the imperialist frenzy over KAL 007, the CP's *Daily World* (2 September) ran the shameful front-page headline, "Soviets Deny Downing Plane." Even more than cowardice this represents the treacherous results of "détente" politics. So committed to "peaceful coexistence" are these Stalinists that they can't believe it when the USSR actually takes steps to defend itself. The CP's reformist illusions breed pure cynicism, as expressed in the *Daily World* (15 December 1981) headline after Jaruzelski's countercoup against Solidarność: "Poland Heeds Unity Call." Ultimately the Stalinists' treachery leads them to deny the reality before their very eyes. To consistent détenteniks, the Soviets *couldn't* shoot down the KAL 747.

Sam Marcy's Workers World Party (WWP) sees the 007 provocation as a straight-out spy plane, and spins out a conspiratorial tale of Pentagon "hawks" preparing to launch a first-strike yesterday, only to be blocked by the announcement (by Democratic Senate majority leader Jim Wright) of the presence of the RC-135, which scotched the operation. This and the Marcyites' fascination with the sham battle over the empty War Powers Act, are a reflection of their fundamental orientation to the liberal Democratic "doves"—who today are firmly lined up behind Reagan over the 007 affair. The now explicitly *anti*-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as usual denounces Reagan & Co. for their "hypocrisy," while pointing to "a lot of questions about the facts" in the KAL Flight 007 confrontation. Clearly the *Militant* would like to ignore the whole business, except to assert that it's really directed at tiny Grenada!

The real scumbags are the Maoists and ex-Maoists, long since accustomed to lining up with their "own" imperialist bourgeoisie. The *Guardian* (14 September) editorializes about a "Double Tragedy," calling the shooting down of the Korean Air Lines plane "an unacceptable response for which the USSR must be held accountable and condemned"! We say these groveling camp followers of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive must be held accountable and condemned for their support to the most murderous, rapacious imperialist ruling class in history!! As for the leftover Maoists of the League of Revolutionary Struggle, its *Unity* (9 September) rag denounces the "militarism" of the "two superpowers" and calls on the Soviet government to "pay restitution"! This represents the rancid fruits of the Peking bureaucracy's accommodation with American imperialism. Even China abstained on the UN Security Council resolution, and Deng must be wondering about his acolytes in the U.S. who blindly follow the Reagan war drive.

Whether through direct support to Reagan, such as the Maoists, or appeals to Democratic liberals (à la Marcy's WWP), the reformist left is subordinated to one or another wing of the American bourgeoisie. Because we oppose class collaboration down the line, the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League (SL) alone can consistently oppose the anti-Soviet war drive which embraces all sectors of the imperialist rulers, from liberal "doves" to conservative "hawks."

On the eve of World War II, during April-June 1941, there were more than 180 overflights of Soviet territory by the Germans, ranging in depth from 65 to 100 miles. Soviet forces were forbidden to respond to these provocations, which were ascribed to "undisciplined" German units, because of the Stalin-Hitler pact in which the Soviet leader placed his confidence. "Thus it went to the end, Stalin trying in the final hours to stave off attack by ordering his armed forces not to fire at German planes, not to approach the frontiers, not to make any move which might provoke German action," wrote Harrison Salisbury in his epic account of the siege of Leningrad, *900 Days*. The present-day Soviet general staff was forged from among those officers who resisted Stalin's defeatist policy in the first days of the war against Nazi Germany, and who came back from Siberian exile to lead the Red Army to victory over Hitler in 1945.

As Cold War II turns hot, the fundamental response of revolutionary socialists is and must be political. Black workers in particular distrust the anti-Soviet war drive which means taking milk from black schoolchildren in order to build Trident submarines. From New York transit to West Coast longshore, the response to our headline "Reagan's Story Stinks!" has been: "Amen, brother!" The Trotskyists say: Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism! Today, as on the eve of World War II, we stand at our posts, defending the homeland of the October Revolution. ■

Larry Flynt's Ad the Times Wouldn't Print

Another Gulf of Tonkin Provocation?

Editor's note: Reagan's efforts to use the downing of KAL Flight 007 to whip up anti-Soviet hysteria have encountered widespread skepticism. One of the more interesting and far-ranging expressions of this skepticism is a statement by Larry Flynt, an idiosyncratic liberal and publisher of Hustler *magazine, which appeared as a paid advertisement, under "Larry Flynt on Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Flight 007," in a number of major papers. Significantly, the* New York Times *refused to print it because, as the paper's spokesman told* WV, *"it was offensive to certain people." No doubt! While as Marxists we do not share Flynt's worldview, we are reprinting a substantial portion of his statement for the interest of our readers.*

The United States of America is a country that was founded on great principles by men with great ideals—men like Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. They had a vision of enlightenment, prosperity and freedom. Their vision succeeded spectacularly well—if you weren't a woman, black, Mexican or Native American Indian. (Even Thomas Jefferson thought nothing of dealing with Napoleon to buy the homeland of prairie Indians.) From a small 13-colony settlement the United States expanded into a vast worldwide empire, the most powerful the world has ever known. Along the way the people who have lived well within its boundaries always felt innocent of wrongdoing or "starting a war." If English-speaking Americans just happened to be settling in territory of another empire or in territory belonging to people who lived in Texas or Montana, for example, and if the neighbors didn't like that and attacked, well, of course, *they* "started the war."

Around 1900 the present official boundaries of the U.S. more or less stabilized. This was primarily because the multifarious groups in power did not want to share the wealth and full privileges of citizenship in the U.S. to future peoples that the U.S. might overcome. It was bad enough sharing wealth and power with foreign people immigrating here, and the reaction against this culminated in the closing of the borders in 1923 to immigrants from the rest of the "Free World," especially Asia and southern Europe. This period of time was the sounding of the death knell for the original vision of the Founding Fathers. Henceforth, petty intrigue, power plays and short-sighted propaganda would play an increasing role in the expansion of U.S. influence. Beginning with the Spanish-American War in 1898, new relationships with conquered states were devised that did not include the full vision of the Founding Fathers. If other countries lived under ancient monarchies, theocracies and dictatorships, that was fine as far as the U.S. was concerned, as long as they helped somehow. Even within the U.S. more and more conflicts arose between the desires of government and the principles of the Bill of Rights.

One thing did not change, however, and that was the principle of the U.S. maintaining its "innocence" of ever starting a war. The Spanish-American war was "started" by the destruction of the USS *Maine*. (The Spanish really never did have anything to do with that incident; the *Maine* was blown up by agent-provocateurs.) The Germans, of course, were "completely responsible" for provoking us into going into World War I by torpedoing a British liner with American passengers that just "happened" to also be carrying munitions supplies. Of course, the Japanese were the "infamous" people who got us into World War II by bombing a base far away from the U.S. mainland. They had the impudence to want some of the same territory that the U.S. had already seized or was eyeing. Later, "our" territory was threatened in Korea, for which war was necessary.

It was at this time that the USSR became the permanent enemy of the U.S., because the USSR did not go down in defeat in World War II and even managed to learn the importance of industrialization. This country had not started out with visions of enlightenment and freedom, but with authoritarian and paranoid czarist rule. The czar's power was predicated on protection against a long history of invasion. First, the Mongols were turned back by the Duke of Muscovy, and the Poles were repulsed. The Duke of Muscovy soon became Czar of Russia. Then came Napoleon in 1812. Napoleon's defeat further solidified the czar's power (with the help of arch-fascist Metternich). In 1917 there was a revolution against the oppressive czarist system, but in 1918, Western powers (including the U.S.) invaded the USSR, and again the country quickly became paranoid about foreign invaders. In World War II the USSR was invaded yet again by Germany, and *20 million* of its people died. Naturally, the country developed quite a sensitivity to its borders.

After World War II the U.S. and the USSR emerged victorious. The U.S. imagined itself "innocent" but had managed to expand to the point where its military influence was felt all over the globe. It also had never been invaded in its entire history. The USSR was weaker and much more paranoid about its borders—having been invaded again, again and again.

It was at this time that new creatures known as the CIA and the military-industrial complex, about which even President Eisenhower, a military man himself, had warned the nation about in his farewell speech to the American people, became firmly entrenched in power in the U.S. Secrecy, deception and outright lies became a common occurrence. The U.S. government had to maintain a posture of "innocence" while at the same time involving itself in political intrigue all over the world to control its new rival, the Soviet Union.

The first cracks in this scheme appeared in 1960 with the U-2 episode when the Eisenhower Administration denied deliberately attempting to violate Soviet airspace. In fact, it was soon proven it had when the Russians advised the U.S. that the pilot, Gary Powers, was indeed alive. He had not taken the poison cyanide pills provided him by the CIA for just such an occasion. Other lies and deceptions appeared with increasing frequency, but the one which got the U.S. into a major escalation of the Vietnam War was the Gulf of Tonkin incident in August 1964. This occurred at a time when the U.S. government had involved itself in a war to help Catholics in Vietnam. But it did not have the kind of morale-rousing justification that had spurred such undertakings as World War I and World War II. Hence, the Johnson Administration was ready to grasp for any publicity stunt that might appear to be an "unprovoked attack." First, secret "34A" naval raids by South Vietnam along the coast of North Vietnam were authorized by the CIA in February of '64. In August, after six months of these provocative raids, the destroyers *Maddox* and *Turner Joy* were sent to the Gulf of Tonkin off the coast of Vietnam. They carried a cable of instructions, one of which said it would "possibly draw" North Vietnamese patrol boats "northward away from the area of 34A operations."

On August 4 the two destroyers reported they were under "continuous torpedo attack." All of the 21 torpedo reports came from one David E. Mallow. The *Turner Joy* fired away in the darkness for four hours, but the *Maddox*, strangely, could find nothing on its fire-control radar to shoot at. And the *Turner Joy*'s sonar heard no torpedoes. In retrospect, both the captain of the *Maddox* and the commander in charge of both destroyers concluded that virtually all of the "torpedoes" reported by the *Maddox* were actually the sounds of its own propellors.

In Washington, President Johnson convened the National Security Council. But at 1:30 p.m. a cable reached the Pentagon from Commodore John J. Herrick, the task force commander on the bridge of the *Maddox*:

"REVIEW OF ACTION MAKES MANY RECORDED CONTACTS AND TORPEDOES FIRED APPEAR DOUBTFUL. FREAK WEATHER EFFECTS AND OVER-EAGER SONARMAN MAY HAVE ACCOUNTED FOR MANY REPORTS. NO ACTUAL VISUAL SIGHTINGS BY MADDOX. SUGGEST COMPLETE EVALUATION BEFORE ANY ACTION."

The controversy over the Tonkin Gulf incident has tended to focus on whether, or to what extent, American destroyers were, in fact, attacked on the night of August 4. Regardless of whether any attack took place, the messages between Washington and the Pacific that day demonstrate that *at that time* neither the President nor Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara was certain that an attack had occurred.

There was an unseemly scramble for "evidence" to support the action the President had determined to take. That evidence was still frantically being sought four years later, in 1968.

By the middle of the '70s Americans had heard so many deceptions and lies from their government that they knew they could no longer believe it. Our "innocence" had been lost. The major reason Jimmy Carter was elected in '76 was because he sold the public on the idea that he could be "trusted." But the powers-that-be had to keep justifying their existence, and they learned a lesson. It wasn't to be completely honest, but to be better at deception. The first principle of any con-artist is to gain his victim's trust.

Ronald Reagan has tried to establish his "trustworthiness" with that ancient form of hypnosis—religion. In stark contrast to the ideals and thoughts of the Founding Fathers, he has tried to paint this country as a "Christian nation." The purpose of this is simply to create a "devil"—the "evil Atheist Commies" in the USSR. Going far beyond the realm of even possibility, he has over and over tried to portray the people of the USSR as "cold and heartless, without any concern for human life," and as the most menacing threat to the peace of the world.

Despite its liabilities, as every military power has, the USSR is not the heartland of "evil," as Reagan suggests, any more than the U.S. might be claimed to be. It is a country primarily concerned with preventing a future invasion of its territory and loss of its peoples' lives. The U.S. never lost its lead in military technology, and the primary goal of the Reagan Administration has been to widen that lead as much as possible. Last year the CIA even estimated that Soviet military spending only rose by 2%. The people of Europe and the rest of the world know this, and that is why they have resisted Reagan's ploys to characterize the USSR as "evil" and to further escalate the arms race. To a great extent, Reagan's talk and arms policy were even beginning to jade Americans, who were itching for economic—not arms—buildup. People were beginning to talk about finding a way of ending the possibility of nuclear war instead of perpetuating national hostility. Reagan's electability was coming into question—that is, until Sept. 1, 1983, when a South Korean civilian jetliner intruded deep into Soviet territory and disappeared with reports that it had been shot down.

The immediate reaction to this incident was predictable. Polls were taken to show that an 87% majority favored a "strong" U.S. response—exactly what Reagan wanted. Public opinion was galvanized in a way not seen since the Gulf of Tonkin incident. Reagan was quick to say that this "proved" how "evil" the Soviets were.

Indeed, how could they do such a thing? If, in fact, the Soviets had downed the plane, it may have been for the same reason that Israel downed a Libyan passenger jet over the Sinai desert in 1973, killing 74 persons. Somehow, though, the President did not find that important enough to damn the Israelis forever. When, in Vietnam, innocent women and children were killed, especially at My Lai, the President did not get up and say that this proved how "evil" the American system was.

What exactly would the U.S. have done if Soviet aircraft "accidentally" flew over Los Alamos, New Mexico, or better yet Washington D.C. without warning and without responding to interceptors? When, in fact, the Soviet airline Aeroflot enroute from Moscow to Havana flew near Miami, Florida it responded to our interceptors and did not try to get away. Why was this flight 007 (shades of James Bond?) so far off course when it had three sets of extremely sophisticated navigation equipment?

At the time of this writing a late report indicated that the pilot was a "strong-willed" person. It was admitted that he may have intentionally flown over Soviet airspace.

Then, failing to respond to Soviet interceptors, the pilot—instead of coming to a landing—ascended to 35,000 feet, a defiant action from the point of view of the interceptors. Was this a deliberately provocative act?... ■

Soviet Ship Boycotted

The Shame of the ILWU

Reagan's story over the downing of KAL Flight 007 stinks and keeps being changed. Most of the population is at least suspicious—the only people enthusiastically jumping on the Reagan bandwagon are the professional anti-communists, the capitalist politicians and the labor bureaucracy. Notable among the latter are the leaders of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), once the darling of the Stalinist Communist Party (CP) and the rad-lib milieu. In a disgusting display of chauvinism that got nationwide press coverage, the West Coast longshore tops outdid even Lane Kirkland's AFL-CIO gang this time around.

When the Soviet freighter *Novokuibyshevsk* steamed into the Los Angeles harbor on September 6, it was greeted by a couple hundred anti-communist demonstrators, "most of them senior citizens of Korean descent" (*Los Angeles Times*, 7 September). Also on hand were the slimeballs of the anti-Soviet Baltic American Freedom League. In succeeding days this "picket line" dwindled to a couple dozen zealots. Hardly the sort that could stand in the way of a powerful waterfront union that genuinely wanted to work the Soviet cargo. But the ILWU seized on this as an excuse to enlist in Reagan's crusade.

A dispatcher of ILWU Local 13 in L.A. told the press "he had been instructed to tell callers that 'we will not work the Russian vessel at Berth 178'." Later the bureaucrats tried to claim it was a decision of the ranks but there were reportedly few—if any—ILWUers among the right-wing demonstrators. In particular, several black longshoremen later expressed their disgust at this action to *WV* salesmen. But no union official—including prominent *People's Tribune* supporter David Arian—did anything to ensure that the ship be worked. So after eight days it left L.A. unloaded. And in what was undoubtedly a "first" for the ILWU, the Baltic American Freedom League bestowed its "Freedom Award" on Local 13.

The *Novokuibyshevsk* eventually detoured to Ensenada, where Mexican longshoremen unloaded its American-bound cargo with no problems. The next destination is New Orleans. The longshore union there has announced it is prepared to unload the ship when it arrives September 24. This despite the fact the union local is part of Teddy Gleason's ILA, which has frequently boycotted Russian shipping. But ILA Local 3000 in New Orleans is mainly black, with no use for Ronald Reagan. We hope that the brothers and sisters of Local 3000 carry out their stated intentions and repudiate the shameful example of the "progressive" ILWU bureaucrats.

The ILWU International headed by Jimmy Herman made clear it fully supported its Los Angeles local. Three days after the Soviet freighter sailed into L.A., the International issued a statement that asserted: "The USSR cannot avoid taking responsibility for this outrageous violation of civilized behavior. And the failure of the USSR to express any real remorse, to apologize, and even to offer some form of compensation to the families involved, have been particularly galling."

In the San Francisco area, members of the Militant Caucus (MC) led a successful fight at the September 15 meeting of the East Bay Division of ILWU Local 6 to repudiate this policy. MC member Pete Woolston told *WV* that at the meeting he exposed the U.S. government's lies and pointed out the consistency between the International's anti-Sovietism here and their lining up behind the imperialists on Afghanistan and Poland. Another Militant Caucus speaker pointed out that the Democrats (whom Herman supports) are backing Reagan 100 percent on the 007 provocation and noted that the International could easily have organized defense squads in L.A. so that longshoremen could have safely worked the ship. CP supporters—while apparently uncomfortable at having to defend the Soviet Union publicly—also spoke against the International's position. In fact, the only pro-Herman speaker was Local 6 president Al Lannon, and the members voted down the ILWU tops.

The Militant Caucus has consistently fought for genuine solidarity with workers abroad. In the longshore division, Local 10 exec board member and MCer Stan Gow helped initiate a picket of the *Lafayette*, which was carrying cargo bound for the bloody Salvadoran regime. For this Gow became the intended victim of a vicious witchhunt launched by the ILWU tops. Two days before his "trial" Gow and other MC members picketed the South Africa-bound *Nedlloyd Kimberley*, demanding vengeance for three murdered black anti-apartheid fighters. The bureaucrats' purge failed when a packed membership meeting of Local 10 voted overwhelmingly in Gow's favor. One thing ought to be clear, though: the bureaucrats are willing enough to shut down shipping if it benefits the State Department; but if you fight to do it on behalf of blacks in South Africa or the working masses of El Salvador, then the Herman gang goes for your throat.

AP

After ILWU tops' shameful Cold War boycott, Mexican longshoremen unload Soviet freighter in Ensenada.

There shouldn't be any question after the Soviet freighter incident that the Herman bureaucracy has definitively repudiated the pro-Stalinist policies of its predecessor, longtime ILWU head Harry Bridges. Anyone who's followed *WV* over the years knows there's no love lost between us and Bridges. He was a rotten class collaborator who long ago swore off proletarian revolution. But to his credit, Bridges never joined the Cold War pack who dominate the American trade-union leadership. The government tried to deport him four times. Reutherite witchhunters expelled him and the ILWU from the CIO. But Bridges never became an anti-Soviet renegade like plenty of others who once hung around the CP.

No doubt Harry—who not long ago returned from a trip to Russia to "promote peace"—is not very happy with the ILWU these days. But his successors didn't just fall from the sky, either. They are part of a bureaucracy fostered and trained by Bridges himself. In subordinating the interests of longshoremen to the maritime bosses, Herman couldn't have a better model than Bridges' "mechanization and modernization" (M&M) contracts, responsible for slashing well over half the dock jobs on the West Coast. The ties between the ILWU and the Democrats—who are now trying to out-Reagan Reagan—were forged by Bridges. So with the anti-Soviet hysteria and the rightward shift in the capitalist order, Herman & Co. simply took Bridges' program to its logical conclusion.

As for the CP, every once in a while they'd come up with a mealy-mouthed criticism of Bridges, but he was with them on every fundamental issue—from strikebreaking during World War II, to M&M, to the Democrats. They sucked up to his anti-communist successors, too. Not long ago the CP's *People's World* was touting Curtis McClain, International secretary-treasurer, as a model "progressive" unionist. And like Bridges himself, the CP used its "left" credentials in an attempt to sabotage and derail the efforts of the genuine fighters in the ILWU. Thus *People's World* supporter Leo Robinson spoke in favor of Herman's McCarthyite witchhunt of Stan Gow.

In the last analysis, it was the Stalinist policies of Bridges and the CP that paved the way for the pro-imperialist swine who now run the ILWU and are trying to line up longshoremen behind Reagan's homicidal plans to nuke the Soviet Union. Only revolutionary Trotskyism provides a program that consistently defends the gains of the workers movement—from the hiring hall of the ILWU to the planned economy of the Russian Revolution—and can take them forward to the world socialist revolution necessary to liberate mankind from capitalist madness. ■

Lebanon...

(continued from page 3)

defend the Phalange and to humble the Soviet-allied Syrians.

War Powers and the Imperial Presidency

The renewed civil war in Lebanon has rekindled a conflict in Washington between the White House and Congress over the War Powers Resolution. Adopted in 1973 in response to the Vietnam debacle, this was an attempt by Congress to reassert its constitutional right to declare war, which was conveniently ignored in Vietnam. The resolution states that U.S. forces in "situations where imminent involvement in hostilities is clearly indicated" must be withdrawn within 90 days unless Congress gives specific authorization for them to be there.

Reagan, like every other president, wants to send U.S. troops into combat anywhere and any time without concern for parliamentary niceties. So the administration is arguing that the War Powers Resolution doesn't apply to Lebanon (or anywhere), to which Democratic Congressman Clarence Long replied: "Any 9-year-old kid watching television can see our people in combat, but the President of the United States doesn't see this as combat."

However, the Congressional clamor over the War Powers Resolution is *not* to force a withdrawal of U.S. troops from Lebanon but to *legitimize* their role. While some Democratic liberals believe direct U.S. military intervention in Central America is tactically unwise, there is, with few exceptions, a *bipartisan consensus* for the Marines in Lebanon. Democratic Congressional leader Tip O'Neill declared: "If Syria thinks America is divided and it can wait around until we pull out, they are wrong" (*New York Times*, 13 September). He then offered a resolution authorizing the Marines to remain in Lebanon for 18 months. As we go to press, it's being reported that the White House has grudgingly accepted this offer.

So Congress and the president, right-wing Republicans and liberal Democrats are united in making war in the Near East. The Marines in Lebanon are a tripwire for a nuclear World War III: Should the U.S. military intervention in Lebanon escalate into a war with the Soviet Union, the urgent requirement of the world proletariat would be unconditional military defense of the USSR. Imperialist, Israeli troops out of Lebanon! ■

Defend Phone Workers...

(continued from page 12)

hardlining it, and a pretrial hearing has been set for October 7. In addition, Lauren Mozee was just served with papers alleging another misdemeanor offense on the picket lines.

The Alameda County D.A.'s office is a deeply reactionary and highly political one and, in fact, something of a recruiting ground for the Reagan administration. Edwin Meese, Reagan's top adviser, was the Alameda County D.A. who directed the prosecutions of scores of Black Panthers and anti-Vietnam War activists. His successor, Lowell Jensen, left the office in 1981 to take a top position in Reagan's Justice Department. Now it appears that his successor, John J. Meehan, is out to prove his anti-labor credentials.

To beat back these vicious charges and to win their jobs back Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero need *your* support. Here's what you can do:

1. Send a letter to the Phone Strikers Defense Committee, P.O. Box 24152, Oakland, CA 94623, endorsing the demands of the Defense Committee, listed above.

2. Make a much needed financial contribution to the Phone Strikers Defense Committee.

3. Send a telegram to support the demands of the Phone Strikers Defense Committee (plus a copy to the Committee) to: John J. Meehan, Alameda County District Attorney, 1225 Fallon St., Oakland, CA 94612; and Ted Saenger, President PT&T, 140 New Montgomery St., San Francisco, CA 94605. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Save the Taylor Family from Alabama Lynch Law!

We reprint below a leaflet issued by the Spartacus Youth League, the Detroit Labor/Black Struggle League and Rouge Militant Caucus for a rally at Wayne State University at noon on Thursday, September 22.

WV Photo

Drop the Charges Against the Taylor Family!
Jail the Murderous Cops!
$1 Million in Compensation!

It's urgent that we aet *now* to save thc lives of the Taylor family! Last Fcbruary, after defending themselves and their children from two armed, unidentified plainclothes cops who invaded their home, the Taylors and their friends were brutally beaten and tortured by Montgomery, Alabama police. The family, including five United Auto Workers members from GM Truck and Coach, were in Montgomery for the funeral of their mother, Annie Bell Taylor. And now in a vicious, racist framcup, the Montgomery grand jury has handed down indictments charging five of the Taylors with attempted murder, kidnapping and robbery! All five face life imprisonment or worse in the deadly hellholes of an Alabama state prison.

What happened to the Taylors is a violent attempt to keep blacks "in their place." In Reagan's America black people can't even mourn the death of a relative. Black workers, especially those with direct experience of "Dixie justice," know that what happened to the Taylors could happen to any one of them and their families. In a deeent socicty the Taylors would get a medal for their courageous defense against cop terror. We demand *at least* $1 million in compensation from the statc of Alabama for the horror they've hcen put through! It's Spivey and Brown and the rest of the murderous nightriding cops who should be jailed! But the grand jury wants to cover up their massive racist erime and are suppressing the faets surrounding the cop abusc and torture of the Taylors. Meanwhile a wave of police terror in the Montgomery area has left three blacks dead and two wounded since the attaek on the Taylor home. The Klan has even trampled on the memory of Annie Bell Taylor as they shot up and ransacked the Taylor home in Montgomery and painted it with KKK slogans, while it was "under surveillanee" by their buddies in blue.

The state of Alabama, the Klan killers and racist police smell hlood and want to see the lynch rope become the law of the land. All opponents of racist terror and frameup—blacks, Jews, Arabs, workers and others—must stop them from ripping the Taylors away to face death in an Alabama jail! The defense of the Taylors is the defense of us all! What's nceded is mass labor/black action to bury this racist frameup. Comc to the demonstration this Thursday at Wayne State University! Stop the State of Alabama's Legal Lynching! ■

Emergency Demonstration!

Protest Grand Jury Indictments of the Taylor Family! Thursday, September 22, 12 noon, Wayne State University, MacKenzie Hall, Detroit. Initiated by Spartacus Youth League, Detroit Labor/Black Struggle League, Rouge Militant Caucus.

Picketers Face Felony Frameup

Defend Bay Area Phone Workers!

OAKLAND, Septemher 19—As we reported in the last issue of *WV*, a Phone Strikers Defense Committee has been formed to defend the phone workers fired and framed up on serious felony charges stemming from the recent nationwide strike against Ma Bell. Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero were fired from Pacifie Telephone and are being prosecuted on multiple felony and misdemeanor eharges for eonducting ordinary picket duty in the course of a union-authorized nationwide strike and defending their picket line and themselves from management/scab violence. This must not be allowed to happen! The ease of these militant unionists involves not only the loss of their livelihood and the threat of long prison sentences, but the elemcntary rights of *all* labor to strike, to picket and to defend those rights against scab violence. It is on these battlelines that the American labor movement fought to establish itself and it is on these same battlelines that Reagan's war on labor is esealating.

The Phone Strikers Defense Committee was initiated by members of Communications Workers of Ameriea Locals 9415 and 9410 (Oakland and San Franeiseo), of whieh Lauren and Ray are members. The Committee is based on three simple demands: (1) that Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero be reinstated at their jobs with full back pay; (2) that amnesty be granted to all vietimized phone strikers; and (3) that all charges against Lauren, Ray and all other phone strikers be dropped.

The outpouring of support for this important defense effort has been immediate and impressive. More than 100 phone workers in CWA Locals 9415 and 9410 signed and are eireulating an initial statement demanding Lauren and Ray's jobs baek. To date, over 180 endorsements of the Defense Committee's demands have come in. Over 90 of these are from labor union officials from a wide variety of unions: UAW, Plumbers and Steamfitters, IBEW, AFSCME and AFGE, Laborers, OPEIU, SEIU, UFCW, AFT, ATU, Teamsters, Maehinists, Letter Carriers and many, many more.

In just the last week, six Bay Area local unions went on record supporting the Defense Committee's demands. Most of these unions also made financial contributions and agreed to send telegrams to the phone company and the Alameda County District Attorney demanding that Ray and Lauren he reinstated with full back pay and that all eharges against them be dropped.

The Defense Committee's slogans, "Picket lines mean don't cross!" and "Don't let the phone company give Ray and Lauren the PATCO treatment!" have elicited genuine expressions of labor solidarity. The bitterness over Reagan's destruction of PATCO and the felt necessity of reasserting the integrity of union pieket lines has won militant support for this ease among unionists looking for a way to strike back against Reagan's union-busting.

At the September 13 arraignment of Ray and Lauren, some 30 Defense Committee supporters erowded the eourtroom in a show of support and solidarity, while Lauren and Ray entered "not guilty" pleas to all eounts. Three local newspapers, the *Oakland Tribune*, Hayward *Daily Review* and San Jose *Mercury News*, published stories on the big turnout of support at the arraignment. Despite this the D.A. is

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WV Photo

Ray Palmiero, Lauren Mozee

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 339

7 October 1983

Down With Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive!

Don't Mess With the Russians!

The Reaganites' constant talk of "protracted nuclear war," "limited nuclear war," any kind of nuelear war against the "evil empire" of the Soviet Union has a lot of people worried, especially in Washington's West European allies. Over 70 percent of all West Germans now oppose the planned deployment of the Pershing 2 missiles scheduled for this December, because they know that these weapons, which are only six to eight minutes flight time from their targets in the USSR, could trigger a holocaust in which Central Europe would be the main battlefield (slaughterfield in German). So the U.S. and its NATO allies are concerned about a "hot autumn" of mass protest against the Euromissiles, whose deployment will indeed bring the world a large step closer to nuclear holocaust.

Then comes the Korean Air Lines Flight 007 provocation, so convenient as a means to whip up the level of anti-Soviet hysteria and, in both the U.S. and West Europe, necessary to push through the Pentagon's war plans. With bipartisan support Congress duly passed Reagan's military budget, including the MX missile as well as the B-1 bomber and nerve gas. The MX, called the "peacemaker" by Reagan in a touch borrowed from George Orwell's *1984*, is the Pentagon's premier *first-strike* weapon. This fact was openly stated by then Democratic president Jimmy Carter, who promoted its development: "With the MX deployed in substantial numbers, in addition to the Minuteman, the US would have acquired the capability to destroy most of the Soviet silo-based ICBM force in a first strike"

Missiles parade through Red Square. Soviet nuclear arsenal keeps U.S. imperialism at bay.

TASS

(quoted in Robert C. Aldridge, *First Strike!* [1983]). Some liberals like former *New York Times* senior editor John Oakes deplore the fact that "the Administration is using the [KAL 007] incident to reinforce its argument for the MX missile and other nuclear arms that are destabilizers and first-strike threats more than they are deterrents" (*New York Times*, 29 September). But this was in fact a central *purpose* of this flagrant military provocation against the Soviet Union.

In the aftermath, however, the KAL 007 provocation has not worked out exactly according to the Reaganites' plans. As more and more facts about the ill-fated flight come out, fewer and fewer people believe it was an innocent commercial flight which just happened to stray 300 miles off course over some of the most militarily sensitive areas of the USSR. Last week the *New York*

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Union-Busting Serves Racist Backlash

Victory to Chicago Teachers Strike!

CHICAGO, October 4—The new Harold Washington administration is facing its first serious labor challenge. The 27,000-strong Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) has gone out on strike. Black Democratic mayor Washington and black school superintendent Ruth Love, a Byrne holdover, have pushed the teachers—roughly half of whom are black—to the wall. Victory to the school strike! For militant mass picketing! No one goes back until every union settles!

The campaign and election of Harold Washington as Chicago's first black mayor was met with a dangerous racist backlash, while many blacks felt for the first time that city hall was theirs. Now the Board of Education and Washington supporters like the *Chicago Defender* are trying to turn black sentiment against the integrated teachers union, implying or stating that the strike itself is racist! This is a total sham. But if the city can get away with strikebreaking, it will fuel the racist backlash on all fronts. The only force which can break through the racial polarization in this country is an integrated and class-conscious labor movement. That is why a victory for the teachers is of vital interest for Chicago's black workers, poor and youth. And it is urgent that black teachers play an active and prominent role in this strike.

For the teachers to defend their livelihoods—in order to make any progress toward decent education for black children in Segregation City, U.S.A.—it's necessary to go beyond narrow nickle-and-dime trade unionism. Better schools cost money, big money, yet Reagan (with the connivance of the Democrats) slashes hundreds of millions from school lunches, desegregation programs, etc., to pay

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Atlanta Civil Rights Worker Framed Up

KKK-Style "Justice" in Georgia

ATLANTA—The white racists of Dooly County, Georgia, were out to get Tom Shaw because he stood up to the racist terror and degradation that has been a part of daily life for blacks in this rural backwater for more than 150 years. Last August 22 they succeeded. And they didn't need their white sheets and lynch rope this time because "the law" was doing their dirty job for them. In his *third* trial since 1981, 36-year-old black construction worker and civil rights activist Tom Shaw was convicted on frame-up charges of assault on a deputy sheriff and sentenced to *15 years* in prison and five years probation.

Gloating about the verdict as if he were standing beside the lynching tree, white District Attorney Gary Christy argued that, "It marks the end of an era in this part of the South about the perceptions a lot of people have about race relations here." The racists want to go back in time, not to 1960 but to 1860, and put blacks back "in their place." But to do that they have to make an example of "uppity" blacks like Tom Shaw who dare to stand up.

Tom Shaw Is a Symbol of Resistance

Tom Shaw fought Jim Crow. He is a big man and unafraid, someone "who doesn't take no jive, no mess," as his cousin said of him (*Atlanta Journal/Constitution*, 2 May 1981). In 1980 Shaw was one of two plaintiffs in an ACLU-filed federal lawsuit which challenged the county's "at-large" voting system, a system which virtually had disenfranchised blacks in Dooly County. Later that year Shaw sought to halt funds from the U.S. Office of Revenue Sharing to the county because of discrimination in hiring and the paving of roads. And in 1981 he helped a group of black women cafeteria workers, who were paid less than their white counterparts, file a complaint asking for back pay. Shaw was becoming a thorn in the side of the white racist government of Dooly County.

On 21 March 1981 came the incident which the white racists were looking for. Close to 100 blacks had gathered for a party that night in the tiny hamlet of Dooling, a small cluster of houses around a railroad crossing. A complaint from a white neighbor about the noise sent 19-year-old white deputy sheriff Terry Wright over to the party in his patrol car. Shaw testified that he tried to get the deputy to leave, pulling his arm and saying, "You should know better to come into a party like this by yourself." Wright pulled his arm away and drew his gun. At this point Shaw said he realized "someone was going to get killed" (*Atlanta Constitution*, 11 August 1983).

Indeed, a deputy drawing his gun to get black party-goers to lower the volume on their record player was an extreme racist provocation, and it is likely that Shaw actually saved his life. There was a scuffle, and Wright was disarmed and beaten up. After someone fired a shotgun blast over the heads of those fighting, Shaw led Wright over to his patrol car where he radioed for assistance and then drove himself to the hospital for some stitches. Hearing the news, a racist mob quickly assembled and reacted according to the traditions of the slavocracy and ritualized by the original Ku Klux Klan. A posse of sheriff's deputies and shotgun-wielding white farmers came after Shaw and arrested him several hours later while he was driving back home from the hospital with a friend. The legal lynching of Tom Shaw had begun.

They went after Shaw in earnest over the deputy sheriff's beating. The state went to incredible lengths to convict him in particular (only one other man was convicted of the beating and he was given a year's sentence). In the first trial District Attorney Christy called Shaw the leader "of a band of terrorists" who used the "politics of fear." An armed guard was placed atop the courthouse, Shaw was searched when he arrived at the courthouse, and the jury was kept sequestered in order to "protect" them from "common criminal" Shaw and his "band of terrorists." Despite the theatrics, one lone black juror held out for acquittal, resulting in a hung jury. The mistrial was announced to a segregated courtroom.

For his second trial Shaw tried to get a new lawyer and requested a postponement of his court date so his newly hired lawyer could make it, but the judge outrageously refused. Instead the judge tried to make Shaw accept the appointment of a public defender who was a former FBI agent. Shaw rejected this, and so was effectively denied his right to counsel and promptly sentenced to *30 years* in prison! The ACLU took it to the

Ross/Atlanta Constitution

Tom Shaw

Georgia Supreme Court, which threw out the verdict. But Dooly County was not satisfied.

White Dooly County is on a vendetta against Tom Shaw. After the second trial, Eugene Mothvin, a senior editor of *Reader's Digest*, that arch-conservative manual of disinformation, himself born and raised in Dooly, wrote a piece in the *Atlanta Constitution*, obscenely likening the beating of deputy Wright to the lynchings of blacks. Shaw's third trial was presided over by the *same* judge who had denied him his right to counsel in his second trial, and had sentenced him to 30 years. This time two witnesses came forward and testified that the Georgia Bureau of Investigation (GBI) had offered to bribe them to testify that Shaw had beaten deputy Wright and taken his gun. In addition, prosecutor Christy attempted to subpoena the *names and contributors of the NAACP and the ACLU* in Dooly County. Furthermore, he attempted to subpoena well-known black legislator Tyrone Brooks, who had organized rallies in Shaw's behalf in Dooly, in order to remove him from the courtroom. Meanwhile, a defense witness for Shaw in the first trial suddenly reversed his testimony in the third trial. Under the pressure of this witchhunt atmosphere, the jury of nine blacks and three whites convicted Shaw.

Finish the Civil War!

Shaw's case clearly demonstrates that looking to "the law of the land" will not free blacks from racist oppression. In Dooly County "the law" is the white racist courthouse gang, whose allies go straight up to the White House, whether it is in the grips of Reagan racism or the Democrats, such as Jimmy Carter, former lieutenant governor of Georgia under ax-handle-wielding Lester Maddox. Indeed, the treacherous role of the GBI in this case shows that Tyrone Brooks' "anti-terrorist" bill, which would give the GBI more latitude supposedly to prosecute terrorists such as the KKK, in fact will end up being used against blacks. And Dooly County is the norm, not the exception, for rural backwaters in the South: there are no unions, per capita income is less than $5,000 a year, there is a history of Klan activity and lynchings, and the real seats of power are all white.

It took Sherman's army marching through Georgia to break the back of the Confederacy. It will take the power of an integrated workers movement with a class-struggle leadership, marching at the head of the black masses in the fight to free all the oppressed, to finish the job. Finish the Civil War—forward to a workers state that will sweep away the petty racist tyrants of all the Dooly Counties! Free Tom Shaw! ■

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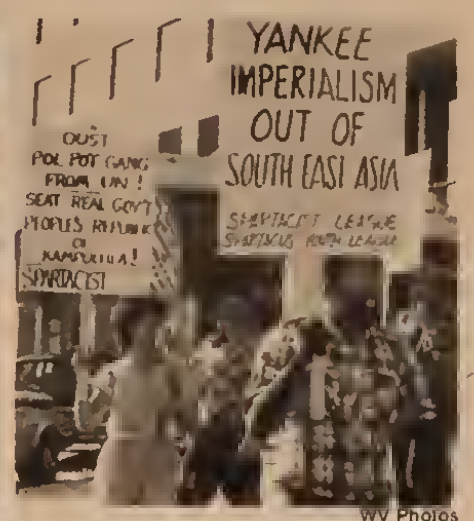
Spartacist Demos Demand:

"Genocidal Pol Pot Out of UN!"

On September 27, simultaneous protests were held in six countries, organized by the international Spartacist tendency (iSt), to oppose continued recognition of the genocidal Pol Pot/Ieng Sary forces as United Nations representatives of Kampuchea (Cambodia). Protesters denounced the obscene spectacle of the United States, authors of the My Lai massacre and the secret bombing of Cambodia, prating about human rights while backing the phony "government of Democratic Kampuchea"—now existing only in CIA safe houses in Thailand—which murdered *more than two million* of its own people. Demonstrations took place in Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza outside the UN in New York, at the State Department in Washington, at UN Plaza in San Francisco and in Paris, London, Bonn, Toronto and Sydney and Melbourne, Australia.



WV Photos

Le Bolchévik

Spartacist demonstrations protest UN seat for Pol Pot at United Nations (left), State Department in Washington, D.C. and in front of UNESCO headquarters in Paris (below).

A Spartacist League spokesman stated at the New York rally: "The miserable Pol Pot/Sihanouk/Son Sann forces, whose pathetic armies lurk on the border of Cambodia and Thailand waging guerrilla war against the Kampuchean people, are attempting to make a fake alliance, under the pressure of imperialism, largely for the purpose of keeping their UN seat. We say: 'Oust the genocidal Pol Pot gang from the UN! Seat the real government of Cambodia—the People's Republic of Kampuchea!'" Demonstrators also protested the U.S. atrocity against Soviet foreign minister Gromyko and other Soviet diplomats in refusing them the right to land in New York aboard an Aeroflot airliner. Signs at the UN demo declared: "Mission 007 Was a Cold War Provocation! Reagan's Story Stinks!" and "Let Gromyko Land!"

Every year since 1979 the UN has voted, on orders from Washington, to seat the universally despised Pol Pot gang instead of the Heng Samrin government of Kampuchea backed by Vietnam. The American imperialists have never accepted the humiliating defeat they suffered in their dirtiest war. What Johnson and Nixon failed to do with B-52s and napalm—crush the Vietnamese Revolution—Reagan is now trying to accomplish with rearguard actions like an economic blockade and arming Cambodian counterrevolutionary mercenaries. Meanwhile, the USS *New Jersey* steams from war "games" off Kampuchea to gunboat "diplomacy" against Nicaragua to shelling Lebanon. From one quagmire to the next. Protesters in New York drove the point home with the chant: "U.S. bombed Cambodia—U.S. backs Pol Pot! U.S. get out of Southeast Asia—*U.S., you lost!*" Other chants included: "Pol Pot killed real Khmer Communists, Pol Pot killed two million Kampucheans!" and "Defend the Indochinese social revolution!"

In London and Toronto the demonstrations were joined by Tamil militants who had also participated in emergency protests called by the iSt in late July and August against the bloody anti-Tamil massacre unleased by Ronald Reagan's Sri Lankan satrap, President J.R. Jayewardene. Both protests denounced U.S. designs on military facilities at Trincomalee, to become part of a string of bases ringing the USSR from the Indian Ocean to the North Pacific.

Outside UN headquarters in Paris the Ligue Trotskyste de France carried signs declaring, "Sihanouk Stay on the Riviera! Capitalist Restoration, Never!" Without imperialist diplomatic sponsorship and military aid, the lash-up of Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge with ex-prince Sihanouk and the quasi-fascist Son Sann would not even exist—much less have any hope of overturning the Phnom Penh regime. The playboy-pimp admitted as much in a 1981 interview: "We cannot defeat the Vietnamese army," Sihanouk said. "Let's face it. And my people will never tolerate a return of the Khmer Rouge. Life is better under the Vietnamese occupation than it was under Pol Pot." Other Spartacist signs proclaimed: "Hail Reconstruction! Khmer People Now Have a Future!" (something even bourgeois observers admit) and "Forward to a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Southeast Asia!"

As shown by the insane 007 war provocation, in the U.S. militarists' mad rush toward thermonuclear World War III against the Russians, anything goes. One of the most exposed outposts of the Soviet bloc, Indochina is particularly threatened by a war drive whose ultimate aim is the destruction of the conquests of the October Revolution. The narrow nationalism of the Stalinist misrulers, their dreams of "détente" with the imperialists, threatens the very survival of the revolutions on which they rest. The Peking bureaucracy goes even further, criminally serving as cat's paw for the U.S.' anti-Soviet onslaught through its attacks on Vietnam and sponsorship of Pol Pot. Guided by Marxism/Leninism/Trotskyism, the workers must sweep away the parasitic bureaucracies to place the resources of the degenerated and deformed workers states, from Peking to Moscow to Hanoi, fully in the service of world revolution. For the rebirth of an authentic communist Fourth International! ■

"We're All Hostages of Madmen in Washington!"

We print below remarks by Mark Lance, a member of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus in the National Maritime Union, at the September 27 NYC protest against the seating of the Pol Pot gang as Kampuchean representatives in the UN.

All of labor should be out here today. This cutthroat Pol Pot is one of the greatest mass murderers in history. And over there in the UN they're treating him like some kind of a statesman. A million Vietnamese and probably double that number of Kampucheans were killed struggling to throw out the U.S. and French imperialists. They're never coming back—not if the Vietnamese army has anything to say about it. And neither are their capitalist, royalist and fascist puppets.

So what are they doing over there? They're another tool for Reagan's worldwide war drive, and I'm not talking about diplomacy. Reagan has gunboats and troops all over Central America aimed at Nicaragua and Cuba. In Sri Lanka the U.S. is aiming for a base on Trincomalee. They've already got one in the Indian Ocean on Diego Garcia. It's all aimed at World War III against Russia.

Now what does this mean for labor? The National Maritime Union leadership, the union to which I belong, backed Reagan. They said he'd give us jobs. What kind of jobs? Jobs delivering weapons to the death squads in El Salvador and Honduras, on low-wage ships with semi-militarized working conditions. They sell these special Diego Garcia T-shirts you can get. They call it the "footprint of freedom." Well, ask the Tamils: they ought to call that the footprint of death.

Let me tell you something about that 007 Korean spy plane. Those innocent passengers were set up. And it could happen to seamen. I just sailed with a guy who was on a U.S. oceanographic ship. Supposedly they do scientific charts—well you can bet they do charts all right. My buddy said it was a spy ship and it went in close to Cuba. Well, you can bet if those Cubans blew it out of the water there'd be a hue and cry about all the innocent scientists and maybe a tear for the sailors. My buddy got off at the next port. So this goes on all the time. We're all being held hostage by these madmen in Washington.

The sellout labor leaders say that we're weak, that all we can do is vote Democratic, bring back the party that dropped the A-bomb, that started the Vietnam War. Well we're *not* weak. Without labor Reagan's war materiel doesn't leave the docks. *Those weapons and ammo are hot—too hot to handle!* What we need is leaders with the guts and a program to fight. To fight against race-terror and unemployment at home and against the bosses' bloodthirsty allies abroad. And this *can* happen.

The heroic Vietnamese showed us that we in the belly of the beast have a long and bitter struggle ahead. And like the Vietnamese—*we shall triumph!* And when the workers run this country we'll know what to do with scumbags like Mr. Pol Pot over there in the UN. We'll dump him in the bilges where he belongs.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 339 7 October 1983

How "Koreagate" Exposed the Moonies

The U.S. Congressional investigation of the Moonies grew out of what became known as "Koreagate." The scandal of massive Korean influence-peddling first came to light in Washington, D.C. on 10 June 1975 during the hearings of the Subcommittee on International Organizations of the House of Representatives' International Relations Committee. The Subcommittee chairman, Donald M. Fraser of Minnesota, was investigating the Park Chung Hee regime's "human rights" record of torture, mass arrests and brutal, widespread repression by the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA).

Fraser had invited a witness who was a former South Korean embassy official, at that time teaching at the University of Western Illinois, Lee Jai Hyon. Lee blew the whistle on a multifaceted, secret KCIA operation in the U.S. meant to advance the goals of General Park's dictatorship. The Fraser Subcommittee was thus propelled toward a new investigation into the conspiracy to buy political support in high places for funneling U.S. government funds into the South Korean military arsenal.

The investigation into Koreagate brought the Fraser Subcommittee in short order to the organization of Sun Myung Moon. It became clear to the investigators that the KCIA operation involved not only moneybags Tongsun Park, but also an entire organization which purported to be a religion—Moon's Unification Church. Fraser and the Subcommittee were confronted with the strange cult—its myriad fronts and businesses with their duplicitous "heavenly deception"—and its drive to gain political power and influence for its "messiah" and his sinister designs for worldwide theocracy.

For three years the Fraser Subcommittee studied the KCIA operation in the U.S., including the Moonies' involvement. As is stated in the Subcommittee report published 31 October 1978: "Between April 4, 1977, and October 31, 1978, 1,563 interviews were conducted in 28 States and 11 countries; 123 subpenas were issued; thousands of documents were examined from Government agencies, private organizations, and individuals; and 20 hearings were held at which 37 witnesses testified, all under oath." The Moon organization is woven through the report, at times the central focus of the Subcommittee's investigation.

The Subcommittee heard Lee Jai Hyon describe "a curious working relationship" between the Korean government and the Unification Church in which Moon's right-hand man, Bo Hi Pak, had used the secret cable channel to Seoul at the embassy in Washington. A former president of Moon's front group, the Freedom Leadership Foundation, told how Moon wanted to acquire enough influence to "dictate policy on major issues" in the U.S. and asserted that the political goals of the Unification Church and the KCIA "overlap so thoroughly as to display no difference at all." The Fraser Subcommittee also learned of Moon's attempts to buy controlling interest in the Diplomat National Bank. And they confirmed that it was Moon who owned and operated a munitions plant in South Korea which had an exclusive deal to produce M-16s for the Korean government.

AP

UPI

Sun Myung Moon and wife (above). Would-be world theocratic dictator arranges mass marriages for thousands of victims/followers (below, in South Korea in 1975).

The investigation of the Fraser Subcommittee revealed that the Moonies were up to their necks not only in the Korean government's influence-buying scandal, but a lot more. Robert Boettcher, staff director of the House Subcommittee and author of *Gifts of Deceit* (1980), which presents a compelling account of Koreagate and Moon's operation, notes the amazement of Subcommittee chairman Donald Fraser with the scope and character of the Moon operation:

> "In the non-Moon world, Fraser conducts an investigation. He wants to find out if the Moon organization's political and business activities are part of the Korean influence campaign. At first, he has only allegations that the Moonies acted as unregistered agents of a foreign intelligence service, the KCIA. The Moonies can believe in God as they choose, but they ought not to violate the law in the process, he thinks. He is amazed at what he finds: evidence that the Moon organization has violated laws on banking, immigration, taxes, currency control, charity fraud, arms export control, and foreign agents registration."

Boettcher states that the investigation showed that Moon and his organization were part of a three-pronged attack:

> "That Moon was a part of the Korean government's influence campaign is a point well established. He was one of its three main elements along with the KCIA and Tongsun's operation in Congress. His Korean Cultural and Freedom Foundation and his Washington minion, Bo Hi Pak, were listed for lobbying at President Park's Blue House planning meetings in 1970. He planted 'PR sisters' in Congressmen's offices. His agents promoted Korean interests in Congress. He organized a political demonstration for the KCIA in 1974. A component of the Moon organization was included in the KCIA's written plan for operations in the United States in 1976."

While Sun Myung Moon survived the Koreagate scandal, he emerged from the proceedings damaged. The findings and conclusions of the Subcommittee detailed the interlocking organizations, the devious methods and the sinister purposes of the Moon cult. Charges which were previously brought against the Moonies by their victims—often distraught parents of his young followers and ex-Moonies—were now powerfully advanced by a Congressional Subcommittee. That's why the Moonies tried to obstruct the investigation. Moon skipped the country to avoid testifying. (He flew to London, saying he would only accept the subpoena under one condition: that Fraser subpoena Pope Paul, Billy Graham, Oral Roberts and the heads of the Baptists, Jews, Methodists and others.)

The vindictive Moonies have made Donald Fraser and Robert Boettcher targets for continued harassment. In this vendetta the Moonies labeled Fraser an "agent of influence" for Soviet intelligence. They hit Fraser and two members of his investigative staff with a $30 million lawsuit. Fraser still has lawsuits pending against him and Boettcher has been the victim of a Moonie harassment libel suit over his exposure of the Moonies in *Gifts of Deceit*. When Fraser (who is currently mayor of Minneapolis) ran in a primary for U.S. Senate in 1978, the Moonies organized to campaign against him and he was narrowly defeated. Moon said it was the will of god.

The Moonie hit list is widely drawn and their drive for political influence in America is ambitious. Before the Spartacist League was libeled by the Moonies' *Washington Times* newspaper on 30 November 1982, we had only vague knowledge of the Moonies and their far-flung operations. But the Moonies targeted the SL as the principal organizers of the November 27 Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the KKK in Washington. Since then we have initiated a libel suit (see "Moonie Libel That Kills," *WV* No. 332, 17 June) and necessarily have come to know more about this dangerous cult. The Fraser Subcommittee report has been quite useful in this regard. We reprint below a small portion of the Subcommittee's report which examines the character and purpose of the sinister Moon organization. In future issues of *WV* we plan to publish excerpts from the report and hearings on other aspects of the Moonie investigation.

Excerpts from U.S. Congressional Hearings

We print below excerpts from the report on "Investigation of Korean-American Relations" of the Subcommittee on International Organizations of the Committee on International Relations, U.S. House of Representatives, dated 31 October 1978.

Use of the Term "Moon Organization"

By April 1977, when the Investigation of Korean-American Relations began, although the subcommittee had received a wide variety of specific allegations concerning Moon and the organizations associated with him, the subcommittee had little understanding of the scope and nature of his movement. It soon became apparent that he was the key figure in an international network of organizations engaged in economic and political as well as religious activities. The numerous churches, businesses, committees, foundations, and other groups associated with Sun Myung Moon emerged as parts of what is essentially one worldwide organization, under the centralized direction and control of Moon. This organization began as a small movement started by Moon in Korea in 1954. In the diversity of its functions and basic organizational structure it now resembles a multinational corporation, involved in manufacturing, international trade, defense contracting, finance, and other business activities. However, it goes beyond that in that it encompasses religious, educational, cultural, ideological, and political enterprises as well. In the training and use of lower ranking members, it resembles a paramilitary organization, while in other respects it has the characteristics of a tightly disciplined international political party.

Among the many organizations there is continuous and close interaction, principally in the form of personnel moving back and forth among organizations, intermixed finances, use of one component or another component as if both were one and the same, and, of course, the figure of Moon. Because of the close interrelationship of the various organizations, the subcommittee came to view them as one unit and refers to them in the aggregate as the Moon Organization in this report.

Goals of Moon

Before reviewing the components and activities of the Moon Organization, it is useful to look at various writings and speeches of Moon in which he discusses the goals of his movement and the means required to achieve them. Within

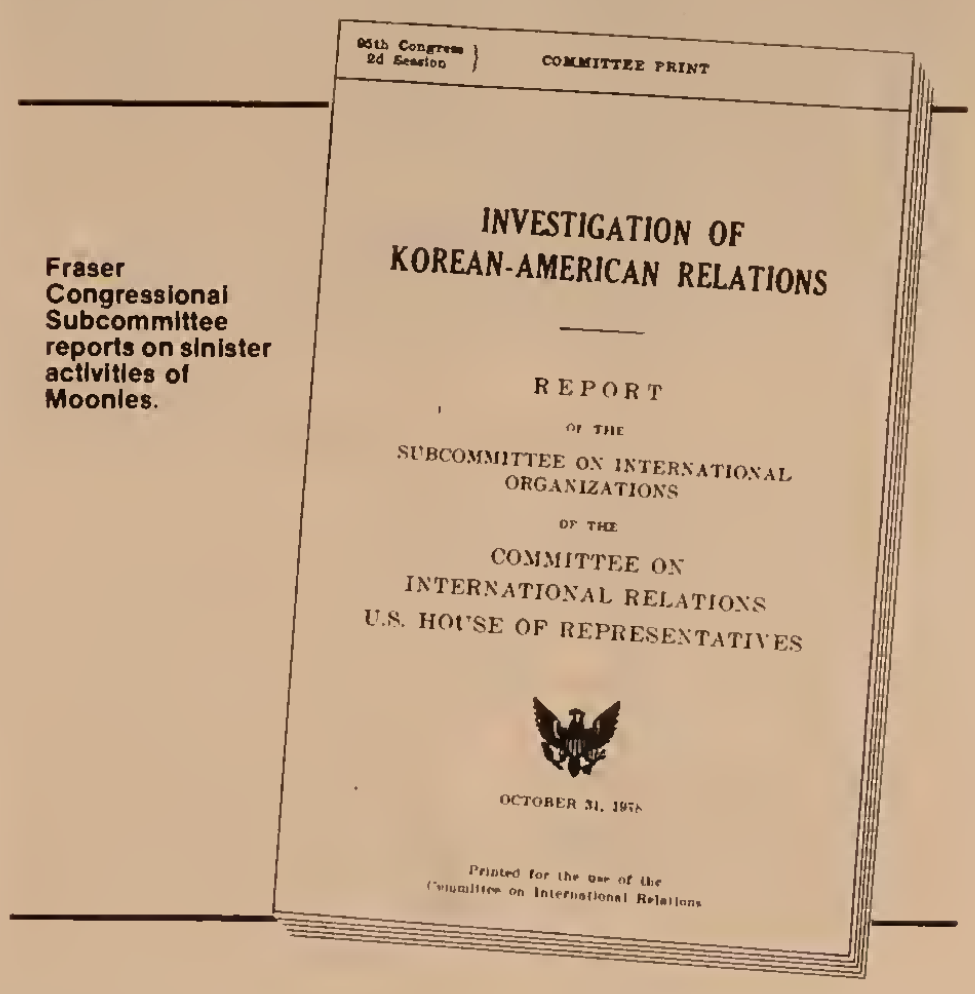
Help Fight Moonie Libel

The Moonies are a highly dangerous, ultrarightist political cult with global ambitions. According to the 23 August *Washington Post*, "CAUSA," an arm of Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church, is pumping millions of dollars into the most right-wing, blood-drenched dictatorships of Central and South America. CAUSA operates in more than 21 countries including Honduras (where it is supported by the minister of defense and military commander and chief Gustavo Alvarez Martinez), El Salvador, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay. In Uruguay CAUSA owns industrial plants, newspapers, casinos and hotels, and controls the country's third largest bank. These facts underline the conclusion of the U.S. Congressional Subcommittee headed by Donald Fraser which investigated "Koreagate": "Among the goals of the Moon Organization is the establishment of a worldwide government in which the separation of church and state would be abolished and which would be governed by Moon and his followers."

The Moonies have targeted the Spartacist League (SL) and Spartacus Youth League (SYL) for their role as initiators and principal organizers of the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. on November 27. In their article on this successful and important mass protest the Moonies' *Washington Times* falsely and maliciously portrays the Spartacists as would-be cop killers and as a "violent" criminal organization, thus setting us up for state repression. The Moonie lies attempt not merely to discredit the most successful and powerful blow against racist terror in decades, but to set up the SL and SYL for victimization, suppression and murder. The SL and SYL have been compelled to initiate a libel lawsuit against the Moonies' publishing arm, the Times-Tribune Corporation which publishes the *Washington Times*, because this is *libel that kills*.

But you don't have to be a Marxist to be on the Moonie hit list. This multimillionaire with his South Korean munitions plant who rips children away from their families and turns them into brainwashed, flower-peddling zombies, has big sick ideas for America. And Moon has already gone further than most people would care to know. That is why we ask: Are you a target of the Moonies? That is why this case deserves your careful attention and support.

As their first legal maneuver the Moonies have attempted to remove the libel lawsuit from Washington, D.C. where the issues are posed. Since truth is not on their side, they will no doubt seek to make this case as difficult and expensive as possible. And the Moonies have a seemingly bottomless well of cash. The SL and SYL are determined to pursue this case with all the resources they can mobilize. You do not have to support the Marxist aims of the Spartacists to support this fight against the Moonie libel that kills. The Moonies are not only trying to wipe out the Spartacist League but values and liberties we all cherish. That is why our fight against the Moonie libel is also yours. And that is why we call on you to give this case your financial support and endorsement, urgently needed to win this lawsuit. Send contributions to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013.



Fraser Congressional Subcommittee reports on sinister activities of Moonies.

that context, the Moon Organization becomes more comprehensible.

In many public statements and in applications for tax-exempt status, the goals of the Moon movement are said to be religious. Actions which appeared to be clearly political or economic to outsiders were explained as necessary means to achieve religious goals. The apparent contradictions in many of the activities of the Moon Organization are explained by Moon's overriding religious goal—to establish a worldwide "theocracy," that is, a world order which would abolish separation of church and state and be governed by the immediate direction of God. As Moon explained to his followers:

> "...In the Medieval Ages, they had to separate from the cities—statesmanship from the religious field—because people were corrupted at that time. But when it comes to our age, we must have an automatic theocracy to rule the world. *So, we cannot separate the political field from the religious.*
> "...Separation between religion and politics is what Satan likes most" (Italics added.)[234]

At the center of such a state would be Moon and his organization, based in Korea. In another speech, delivered to a crowd of over a million at an anti-Communist rally in Korea, Moon visualized the establishment of a "unified civilization" of the whole world, to be centered in Korea and "corresponding to that of the Roman Empire."[235]

Moon teaches American UC [Unification Church] members to regard Korea with great reverence and he foresees the day when the Korean language will be spoken throughout the world:

> "In order to set up one culture, we must unify the languages into one.... In the ideal world centered upon God, everyone will speak only Korean, so no interpreter will be necessary."[236]

Moon promises to use his trained followers from around the world on behalf of South Korea in case of war, as he proclaimed at a public rally near Seoul:

> "...in case North Korea provokes a war against the South Korean people, they [UC members] believe it is God's will to protect their religious fatherland to the last, to organize the Unification Crusade Army, and to take part in the war as a supporting force to defend both Korea and the free World."[237]

Anti-communism is one key reason for Moon's espousal of a worldwide theocracy and rejection of some of the most fundamental tenets of American democracy. Moon finds "American-style democracy" to be "a good nursery for the growth of Communism."[238] In a speech in Seoul, Moon proclaimed that God was helping to set up a final battle involving the United States, Russia, China, North Korea, South Korea, and Japan. Illustrative of the stridency of his ideology, he said: "We should defeat Kim Il Sung [President of North Korea], smash Mao Tse-tung, and crush the Soviet Union in the name of God."[239]

To achieve his theocracy, Moon has mapped out strategies for gaining control and influence over economic, political, cultural, academic, media, and religious institutions. The efforts of the Moon Organization are to be concentrated on key nations.

> "If we can manipulate seven nations at least, then we can get hold of the whole world: the United States, England, France, Germany, Soviet Russia, and maybe Korea and Japan. On God's side, Korea, Japan, America, England, France, Germany, and Italy, are the nations I count on in order to gain the whole world."[240]

Moon's strategy is designed to influence a wide range of institutions. "We must approach from every angle of life; otherwise, we cannot absorb the whole population of the world. We must besiege them."[241]

In the economic sphere, Moon foresees the emergence of a system which would respond to centralized control:

> "This system should eventually prevail so overwhelmingly, that even in Japan and Germany, the people will not buy products from their own country, but will buy according to centralized instructions. What kind of system of thought or economy can function to give these centralized instructions? Religion is the only system that can do that. So in the future, this system of thought or system of economy will have a close relationship with religious organizations. Our master is going to prepare for this system of economy."[242]

In the political field, Moon has spoken of using a variety of techniques to achieve world influence. He hopes to found a political party: "My dream is to organize a Christian political party including the Protestant denominations and Catholics and all the religious sects."[243] Activities in cultural, academic, and other fields are ultimately designed to create political influence and temporal power. Cultural and educational projects are part of his organization's overall goal of controlling major institutions in the U.S. and other key nations and influencing political decisions and policies. In a January 1973 speech, Moon spoke of the necessity of establishing universities in seven key nations, including the U.S., and of organizing international conferences at which cultural groups like the Little Angels would perform.[244] He made it clear that influencing professors, scientists, and economists would be followed by direct influencing of political figures:

> "After that, beyond what the professors will be able to do by influencing the policies of the country, we will work directly with those people who, under every government now, make the policies—the congressmen, senators and parliament members—by organizing the World Congressmen's Association. For that purpose we are working hard in Japan."[245]

Moon has often told his followers to expect opposition to the goals he sets for them, but he assured them of ultimate "victory." In one 1974 speech, he noted that up to that time, opposition to his movement had gone unpunished. This, he promised, would change:

> "...so far the world can be against us and nothing happened. Now when they are against us then they are going to get the punishment. So from this time... every people or every organization that goes against the Unification Church will gradually come down or drastically come down and die. Many people will die—those who go against our movement."[246]

Moon based his movement on a church because it provides the greatest opportunity for reaching his goals. A UC publication discussed a change in the American organization's name from "United Family" to "Unification Church," noting that "The reason for the change is that we must ultimately have our effect on the institutions of society."[247] It is important to Moon's strategy to have his movement recognized as a religious one. An ex-UC member stated:

> "The teachings of Sun Myung Moon were often referred to by other members as an 'ideology' that would change the political systems of the world. It was made clear to me that so long as the church-related aspects of the group were emphasized, Moon's followers would be in a protected position as far as first amendment religious freedom was concerned, and be able to take advantage of tax laws as well."[248]

* * * * *

Conclusions and Recommendations

The subcommittee findings regarding the Moon Organization may be summarized as follows:

(1) The UC and numerous other religious and secular organizations headed by Sun Myung Moon constitute

continued on page 13

[234] *Master Speaks*, May 17, 1973, p. 12. The *Master Speaks* is an internal publication of the Unification Church, containing verbatim translations of numerous speeches by Moon.
[235] *Master Speaks*, June 7, 1975, p. 6.
[236] *Master Speaks*, Nov. 17, 1974, p. 6.
[237] *Master Speaks*, June 7, 1975, p. 6.
[238] *New Hope News*, Mar. 10, 1975, p. 7. The *New Hope News* is an internal publication of the Unification Church.
[239] *Master Speaks*, June 7, 1975, p. 5.
[240] *Master Speaks*, June 9, 1974, p. 9.
[241] *Master Speaks*, Jan. 30, 1973, p. 7.
[242] *Master Speaks*, Jan. 2, 1972, p. 4. In many speeches Moon is referred to in the third person by the translator, and is at various times called "Master," "Father," and "Our Leader."
[243] *Master Speaks*, May 17, 1973, p. 12.
[244] *Master Speaks*, Jan. 30, 1973, pp. 5-6.
[245] *Master Speaks*, Jan. 30, 1973, pp. 5-6.
[246] *Master Speaks*, Feb. 14, 1974, p. 15.
[247] *New Age Frontiers*, January 1971, p. 17. *New Age Frontiers* was an early publication of the Unification Church.
[248] Statement of Linda Anthenian, p. 1.

The Rouge Steel Steal

DETROIT—"What we asked for frankly was the largest reduction any union has ever attempted to achieve from its workers." That's how Ford Motor Company VP Thomas Page described it to the ranks of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 600. Threatening to close the 63-year-old Rouge Steel subsidiary, part of the Rouge plant and eighth largest steel producer in the U.S., Ford enlisted the aid of its lieutenants in the Local 600 bureaucracy to ram through pay and benefit cuts amounting to almost $4.50/hour. Even in the face of a vicious joint company/bureaucracy offensive, two units and fully a third of Rouge workers voted "no."

Rouge Steel workers, like their Chrysler brothers, know the "concessions save jobs" tune is a lie, that it will only embolden Ford to come back for more. With the company trying to sell the same fraud for the third time in three years at Rouge, when 60 percent of the workforce has been laid off and workers with ten years seniority are on the street from almost every unit, the UAW bureaucrats had to hammer away at the membership repeatedly over the last six months. These traitors have relieved Ford of the need to hire the goons and professional union-busters used by Henry Ford I and Harry Bennett to battle the UAW-CIO 45 years ago.

In June, Local 600 president Mike Rinaldi *offered* the company $4.50 in givebacks. But Ford "broke off negotiations" because they didn't think their buddies on the UAW bargaining committee could deliver. Then in August and September, Ford/Rinaldi heated up their offensive, announcing the layoff of 1,200 workers in steel, reducing the mill to 30 percent of capacity. Threatening steel workers with a total plant shutdown if they didn't bow to the givebacks, the Local 600 bureaucrats announced the terms of their deal with Ford: COLA frozen, two weeks vacation and holidays cut, a 30 percent cut in incentive pay, loss of part of shift and overtime premium—near Rinaldi's offer of $4.50/hour made two months earlier.

But the centerpiece of the bureaucrats' strategy was to pit Rouge Steel workers against the rest of the units, threatening mass layoffs with the mostly high-seniority steel workers bumping into other units if givebacks were voted down. Nick Nestico, head UAW honcho in the rolling mills, declared that the pact would establish a separate expiration date for Rouge Steel. Nestico also told steel workers he would order them to cross their brothers' picket lines if the rest of the Rouge struck next year!

WV Photo

River Rouge steel plant. A sit-down strike is needed to stop Ford's union-busting scheme.

The class-struggle Rouge Militant Caucus (RMC) in Local 600 fought the bureaucracy's attempt to whip workers into line. In a September 19 leaflet the RMC called for a two-day sit-down demonstration in the plant:

> "If we don't fight, we're guaranteed to lose. The Rouge Militant Caucus says: Rip this shit up, vote it down, and organize a fight—*for a two day sitdown demonstration in the Rouge!*... The bosses' cops and courts can print all the injunctions they want—we'll hold the plant and we'll tell Ford's managers and lackeys like Rinaldi and Nestico when *they* can come back. When we call on them, tens of thousands of restless, unemployed victims of plant closings, city workers, and our hungry Chrysler brothers would pour into Miller Road in support of a militant and bold sitdown demonstration. IT'LL BE THE BOSSES' TURN TO GIVEBACK: Not one nickel, not one layoff! For unlimited unemployment compensation at union wages for every laid off worker, retiree, and single mother with children on welfare—financed by the federal government. Reagan's got the money. He spends our tax dollars to finance segregated schools, with hundreds of billions for his anti-Soviet war budget."

The bureaucrats went all out to squelch the Rouge militants. RMC member Nowell Davis told *WV*: "At the Rolling Mill meeting chairman Nestico finally recognized my hand but only after several workers had boisterously made mention of the fact that he had called on some workers two and three times but 'that guy in the front who had so much to say at the last meeting still hasn't been recognized.' I went to the front of the hall and got less than three words out of my mouth when Nestico interrupted me. I continued to talk and he called on the sergeant at arms to throw me out. The goon committeeman charged at me. We wrassled in front of 450 workers and he didn't move me one inch. Five or six more of Nestico's lackeys attacked me and [RMCer Frank] Hicks but they were beaten back when a dozen sympathetic and angry workers rose to the defense of their class brothers. The bureaucracy lost that battle. They tried to throw me out but couldn't." Later the frustrated Rinaldi organized a goon squad of 20 staff rep flunkies, who punched and shoved Davis and Hicks, ejecting them from their own local hall after they had leafletted steel workers attending afternoon meetings.

Helping Ford/Rinaldi grease the skids are fakers like General Baker, a supporter of the Communist Labor Party and years ago a well-known militant in the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. Until he lost his easy chair due to layoffs, Baker was a committeeman in the Coke Oven/Blast Furnace unit and served as a loyal adviser to liberal president Rick Martin. In the past Martin has openly backed concessions in steel. This time around both Baker and Martin kept conspicuously silent in front of the largely black and militant coke workers. These two are a lot more concerned about what Mike Rinaldi thinks of them than in leading a desperately needed fight against Ford.

The United Front Caucus, politically supported by the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), called for a "no" vote on concessions but *opposed* sitdown strikes. They're against *any* class struggle unless it's authorized by Rinaldi and UAW International president Owen Bieber. Fat chance! But in a desperate attempt to "prove" their dead-end strategy of pressuring the bureaucrats can work, a United Front Caucus leaflet of September 19 announced to Rouge workers that the "Sacrifice House" gang had won a victory against Chrysler: "Iacocca stopped crying and came up with some cash as soon as he saw a strike coming in January." Of course, Bieber never had the slightest intention of striking Chrysler. And it was the stockholders and government who made out like bandits over the Chrysler deal—billion dollar profits to the company, hundreds of millions to the U.S. Treasury—by stealing over $1 billion from Chrysler workers, who are now saddled with another substandard contract.

What ties the fake militants to the UAW bureaucrats is their shared anti-communism. Justifying the Rinaldi gang's goon assault, RWL supporter Judy Wraight gloated to the RMC: "The bureaucrats are just doing what you wanted the Russians to do to Solidarity in Poland." From UAW "Sacrifice House" to the RWL, "solidarity with Solidarność"—Reagan's favorite "union"—is the rallying cry for Cold War witchhunting in the unions. And many Polish workers would soon lose their illusions in pro-Western Solidarność if they ever got a look at the incredible devastation, poverty and hunger of Detroit.

The Rouge steel plant, built in 1920 and with some sections of coke ovens and blast furnaces unchanged in 63 years, mirrors the decrepit state of the American steel industry. Ford has raped its mills of value, taken the money and run. Now with a major worldwide contraction in steel production, and competing with Japanese and German mills half the age of those here, the American steel bosses are abandoning their losers and investing elsewhere. Or else considering joint ventures like the GM/Toyota deal in Fremont with its open shop conditions. In fact, Ford has been trying to unload Rouge Steel, and Nippon KoKan announced earlier it would be "interested if the labor situation changes" (*Detroit Free Press*, 30 June). Well, Rinaldi & Co. are sure doing their best to change the "labor situation" to suit the bosses!

Committed to the defense of their masters' profits, the American labor bureaucracy has rushed to the capitalists' rescue, enforcing massive givebacks and layoffs, coupled with rabid protectionism to "save American jobs." But the only thing these traitors have "saved" is the bosses' bank accounts. Their racist anti-Japanese protectionism has already claimed one victim—Chinese American Vincent Chin, murdered by a Chrysler foreman in the streets of Detroit—and feeds the drive toward imperialist war.

As the Rouge Militant Caucus leaflet concluded:

> "We have the right to live and work in dignity. But capitalism offers nothing but a death sentence: setting us at each others' throats over fewer and fewer jobs, rising Klan/Nazi racist terror, and nothing in our future but wars to defend dying industries that even the capitalists don't pretend to want to save. There is no answer to the destruction of Detroit, from Dodge Main to Rouge Steel, under capitalism. The Rouge Militant Caucus call for a two day sitdown strike can crack open labor/black struggle in Detroit to put the bosses on the run and bring Reagan down.
>
> "The only answer, the only future for us, lies in forging a class-struggle workers party to fight for a workers government, to rip industry out of the hands of its incompetent, corrupt owners. Then with workers control of production, under a workers government, we can rebuild the plants and mills in a planned economy, with jobs for all! This is the future that the Rouge Militant Caucus is fighting for! Join us!"■

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At Fremont GM:

UAW Tops Hail Union-Busting

OAKLAND, September 28—In a massive public disinformation campaign designed to defuse opposition to the first ever all-out bid to bust the established union in an American auto assembly plant, the UAW International held a press conference in Detroit September 22 and a meeting for laid-off General Motors workers in Fremont, California today to announce an "agreement" with GM-Toyota. The substance of the "agreement" is this: the UAW abandons any claim to seniority rehire or contract rights for the laid-off union members and in fact openly invites open shop working conditions in the reopened plant, while GM and Toyota agree to "consider experience" and then hire whomever they want.

In addition, GM-Toyota agree to "recognize" the UAW, which boils down to entering into a "letter of intent" with the union... until production starts up! All the International has "negotiated" is the right to then run in a union certification election—against any other union and the choice of "no union"—and then try to negotiate a contract *after* the companies hire a workforce and *after* production begins.

This is not a "deal," it is complete, groveling, abject surrender by the International, which moreover revoked the Fremont workers' union charter and declared Local 1364 defunct precisely in order to pave the way for this union-busting joint venture. There is no contract, no dues checkoff, no seniority, no pension transfer, no nothing!

Yet this is being sold to the desperate and disowned Fremont workers as "complete recognition of the UAW as Collective Bargaining Agent" and as promising rehire of a "majority" of the laid-off workers! What a cynical and cruel lie to prevent a fight to win seniority rehire and save the union! It will allow the company to throw on the scrap heap workers who put in 10, 20 and 30 years of their lives in that plant.

Ominously, the "letter of intent" provides for an arbitrator to rule on contested firings and disciplines, suggesting that both the company and the union expect a lot of firings and disciplines. Another provision gives the lie to the International's claim to have basically won rehire rights: an appeal body of one company rep, one union rep and one "independent" to decide on cases where a seniority worker protests being refused a job.

Burda/San Jose Mercury

Auto militants confronted UAW Fremont burasucrats at August 16 rally with call for mass picketing.

As UAW Militant Caucus member Ruth Ryan told International reps, despite interruptions by the chair, before the 400-plus workers at Wednesday's meeting, "How can you claim to have negotiated seniority rehire when if you had negotiated seniority there wouldn't have to be any appeal board or arbitration, and you wouldn't have had to dissolve our union local! We are still UAW Local 1364...and the only way we'll win seniority is by mass picketing to keep that plant down till we get it!"

Solidarity House is blowing an enormous amount of smoke to cover up the fact that they are refusing to lead a fight to save the union at Fremont; they are only *hoping* to represent the workers at the reopened plant, whoever those workers may be; and they promise to enforce any wage-cutting, speed-up work rules the bosses desire. As the International's associate general counsel told the *Detroit News* (16 September), "This is not a collective bargaining agreement.... There is no membership, no workforce to submit that agreement for ratification until the joint venture begins hiring...."

According to William J. Usery, "We must understand that GM closed the Fremont facility permanently. Those people were laid off.... There are no contractual rights with the new venture. We are hiring a new workforce" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 22 September). In response to queries about the many high-seniority workers near retirement, UAW vice president Donald Ephlin said, "[GM-Toyota is] a new, a separate corporate identity" that has nothing to do with GM benefits (*Detroit News*, 23 September).

Take it from someone who knows. As Local 1364 shop chairman, George Nano worked hand-in-glove with GM and Solidarity House to squelch any struggle against the bosses. But now he's been left high and dry by the companies, the UAW International and the courts—"free" to take his 20 years seniority and apply as a new hire to GM-Toyota...if they'll take him on. So now Nano is spilling the dirt. Nano told *People's World* (1 October): "'What this interim agreement really means is not jobs for all of us, but that we have to stand at the gate, hat in hand and they will choose who they will hire and at what wages they want and, at least $5 an hour less....' Also there will be no classifications on jobs, seniority is not to be recognized and no COLA will be paid."

Members of the UAW Militant Caucus, two ten-year oppositionists in the union, spoke at the Fremont meeting and were quoted by local TV and newspapers denouncing the union-busting "agreement" for what it is. Deleted by the bourgeois press was their call for mass picketing at the plant gate to stop scab hiring and win seniority rehire for the union members.

Such action by the Fremont workers would surely win support from the rest of the Bay Area labor movement and could spark sympathy action in the other UAW assembly plant locals who must understand that if union-busting succeeds at Fremont it will be tried elsewhere. Airline workers at Continental were hit with the consequences of their union tops standing by while PATCO was being killed and have been forced out on strike in their own defense. The labor movement desperately needs some fights and some victories to reverse the tide of concessions and givebacks which have only encouraged union-busting attacks like the one at Fremont.

The main obstacle in the way of these fights is the backstabbing union bureaucracy. Their treachery is nowhere clearer than in the Fremont case. *It is necessary to oust the labor traitors in order to bust the union busters!*■

New Orleans Black Longshoremen: We'll Load Ships For Russia

Officials of the so-called "progressive" West Coast longshoremen's union, the ILWU, last month did their bit for the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive by refusing to work a Russian freighter. Over the pretext of the 007 Cold War provocation, the misleaders of ILWU Local 13 in Los Angeles, in cahoots with Jimmy Herman's International, kept the Soviet freighter *Novokuibyshevsk* in the harbor for eight days without unloading it. The West Coast cargo was eventually unloaded by Mexican longshoremen, and when the ship subsequently reached New Orleans it was worked by members of the East and Gulf Coast dock union, the ILA.

Irvin Joseph, president of the heavily black New Orleans ILA Local 3000, told *WV* that he personally was in favor of a boycott but, "The men wanted to work it." The *WV* reporter noted that black workers were less affected by Reagan's anti-Soviet harangues. "That's my problem," Joseph said. He reported that black longshoremen told him, "Well, we work ships going to [South] Africa. Why not a ship from Russia?"

The brothers and sisters of ILA Local 3000 are to be commended for loading the ship in the face of the much publicized anti-Soviet stunt by the ILWU. And the New Orleans longshoremen sure hit the nail on the head when they noted that union officials who are eager to stop Russian ships don't lift a finger to stop death cargo destined for Reagan's allies. As we stated in our last issue ("The Shame of the ILWU," *WV* No. 338, 23 September): "...the bureaucrats are willing enough to shut down shipping if it benefits the State Department; but if you fight to do it on behalf of blacks in South Africa or the working masses of El Salvador, then the Herman gang goes for your throat."

UPI

Port of New Orleans, September 15: Longshoremen work Russian freighter, despite anti-Soviet boycotts.

And now there's confirmation that the State Department was directly involved. According to the 20 September *Daily World*, a State Department official was urging longshore locals up and down the West Coast not to unload Soviet ships. The *Daily World* quoted the response of Dave Lomax, vice president of the Western Canada ILWU region: "'This attempt to involve us in a cold war action we just are not buying. We figured this was a kneejerk action and our answer was to tell the U.S. State Department to go to hell'."

When the *Novokuibyshevsk* lay in L.A. Harbor, ILWU Local 13 officials tried to claim that the ranks made the decision not to work the ship. The International claimed they were only "respecting" the decision of Local 13. Baloney! The ILWU officials were doing the bidding of their political masters in Washington.

UNPOPULAR FRONT IN FRANCE

When on the evening of 10 May 1981 it was announced that François Mitterrand had been elected the first Socialist president of the Fifth French Republic, thousands of his followers streamed into the Place de la Bastille singing the "Marseillaise," the "Internationale" and "La vie en rose," celebrating far into the night. "Not since Liberation have we seen anything like this," one police official said. Even those workers less than euphoric about Mitterrand's entrance into the Elysée Palace welcomed the new popular-front government and believed it would carry out radical reforms benefiting the working masses. The bourgeois press the world over presented the replacement of a quarter century of right-wing rule by the Socialist-led coalition as a kind of "revolution" through the ballot box, the most important change in French political life in the postwar era.

Yet a scant two years later the Mitterrand popular front has become universally unpopular. Opinion polls give Mitterrand the lowest rating of any president of the Fifth Republic. A

PART ONE

government which promised to cure recession through public spending is now imposing an austerity program *more severe* than anything the previous right-wing Giscard/Barre regime ever attempted. A government which promised to create 200,000 new jobs in the public sector is now projecting half a million more unemployed in the next year and a half. Meanwhile the franc is tumbling ever downward in world money markets as France suffers massive capital flight. The former Gaullist Michel Jobert, who served in the Mitterrand government as its first minister of trade, resigned recently in protest and is now denouncing the social democrats for bringing the country to the brink of the economic equivalent of the fall of France in 1940.

Last spring witnessed a massive right-wing mobilization against the Mitterrand government with frenzied petty-bourgeois mobs chanting, "We got Allende, we'll get you." A group of ultraright policemen, led by the fascist Le Pen, marched symbolically on the Elysée Palace. Violent attacks on foreign workers, who have been in the forefront in resisting Mitterrand's austerity, are on the rise. Behind the violent rightist demonstrations of students, peasants, shopkeepers and police stands the bourgeoisie which wants a "strong state" regime to break the power of the working class. When the demonstrations began former interior minister Michel Poniatowski, who played the hard cop in the Giscard regime, declared: "We are entering a period where anything might happen" (*Le Monde*, 28 April). Hit hard by the world economic crisis, French capitalism—far weaker than its West German, American and Japanese competitors—cannot afford the Mitterrand "experiment."

We are now seeing a classic example of how popular frontism demoralizes the working class and fuels the forces of reaction. As the Ligue Trotskyste de France, French section of the international Spartacist tendency, wrote

Der Spiegel

Poissy, France, July 21—Foreign auto workers at Peugeot in the vanguard against Mitterrand's austerity program.

Cambio 16

Frenzied right-wing petty-bourgeois mobs riot in streets of Paris against Mitterrand's popular front government in May.

last spring during the right-wing mobilization:

> "What pushes the petty bourgeoisie into the fascists' arms is the basic policy of the popular front—a class-collaborationist policy of loyally administering capitalism. The government's anti-working-class austerity measures, required by the capitalist crisis, also hit the petty bourgeoisie, which will follow the anti-Mitterrand demagogy of a Le Pen or other would-be *Führers*, unless a powerful workers movement shows its determination to fight for power, winning the confidence of layers of the petty bourgeoisie in struggle. Only the working class can provide a radical solution to the crisis of decaying capitalism by seizing power, expropriating the bourgeoisie and installing a planned economy."
>
> —"The Working Class Has the Power to Repulse the Reactionary Mobilizations!" (10 May 1983), reprinted in *WV* No. 334, 15 July

From Gaullist Dirigisme to Giscardian "Neo-Liberalism"

Mitterrand's spectacular electoral victory in 1981 and his no less spectacular failure two years later both have their roots in the contradiction between the relative weakness of French capitalism and its bourgeoisie's ambitions to play an independent role in world politics. Already in the late 19th century Friedrich Engels observed that France's role in world politics was out of keeping with its real economic weight. France emerged from World War II with an antiquated industrial plant and lagged well behind West Germany and Japan in postwar reconstruction. Also a conservative peasantry has been artificially maintained through agricultural protectionism. For France, this is the main benefit and purpose of the Common Market.

To compensate for its economic weakness, the French ruling class has historically had recourse to a degree of government control over economic activity (known as *dirigisme* or *étatisme*) unusual for an advanced bourgeois democracy. Eighty percent of French banking was nationalized under the so-called tripartite (Gaullist-Socialist-Communist) popular-front government of 1944-47. Uniquely among the major advanced capitalist countries, France maintained comprehensive price controls throughout the postwar period until they were abolished in 1978 by the "neo-liberal" Giscard/Barre regime. Also uniquely among the major advanced capitalist countries, France boasts of an "indicative" economic Plan, a comprehensive projection which is supposed to (but, of course, doesn't in practice) guide the decisions of government authorities and businessmen.

Dirigisme was reinforced by the semi-bonapartist Gaullist regime which ruled the country from 1958 to 1974. Whereas conventional bourgeois ideology exalted individual interest and initiative, for de Gaulle the purpose of economic activity was above all to secure and enhance the grandeur of France. As the General put it in one of his last writings:

> "It is my task to demand that the common interest rise above the routines and claims of particular social categories and to show that the object of our striving for prosperity is not so much to make life easier for certain Frenchmen but, rather, to build the security, the power, and the grandeur of France."
>
> —*Mémoires d'espoir*
> (*Memoirs of Hope*, 1970)

Gaullism's posture of national paternalism—its claim to represent the general interest of French society against all selfish interests—had a certain appeal for more backward workers, who nonetheless remained hostile to the traditional right. De Gaulle could always count on almost half the working-class vote and even his successor, Pompidou, received 30 percent of the working-class vote in the 1969 presidential elections.

The electoral revival of French social democracy in the 1970s was in large measure simply the inverse of Gaullism's decline. Most workers who voted for the Gaullist candidate Chaban-Delmas in the first round of the 1974 presidential elections switched to Mitterrand on the second round against the *haut bourgeois* Giscard. This shift was not quite enough to give Mitterrand the edge. However, in 1981 the same electoral shift, this time given backhand support by the Gaullist party boss Jacques Chirac, put Mitterrand into the Elysée.

While Valéry Giscard d'Estaing served as finance minister under de Gaulle and Pompidou, he had his own small party, the Independent Republicans, which had differences with the Gaullists. In economic policy Giscard was much more a conventional rightist in the sense of Milton Friedman. In 1973 he declared, "Planning means inflation," an aphorism encapsulating his economic philosophy. His 1976 tract, *Towards a New Democracy*, is in good part a polemic against traditional French *étatisme*:

> "Competition and the market-place are often viewed negatively by the French. They see in them a kind of disorganization and anarchy. A long-standing leaning toward Statism, going back to Colbert and to the period of the Revolution and Empire, explain this attitude of mind.
>
> "But a modern economy is an extraordinarily complex system, in which every day hundreds of thousands of items of information and decisions play a part. No collective centralization can make such a system work correctly. It can only operate with the help of powerful automatic mechanisms."

While espousing "free market" capitalism, Giscard adopted a somewhat more liberal posture than the Gaullists on social issues (e.g., abortion, divorce), civil liberties and the like. In foreign policy the Giscardians were more "Atlanticist," less prone than the Gaullists to flaunt France's independence of Washington.

The governing coalition between Giscard and the Gaullists broke down in 1976 when the president dumped Chirac as his prime minister. His place was taken by Raymond Barre, a right-wing professor of economics and former Common Market commissioner. Even more so than the haughty Giscard (who looked down on everyone), Barre flaunted his intimate ties to big business. He was a close friend of François Ceyrac, head of the employers association, with whom he dined regularly. The Giscard/Barre government was the purest representative of French finance capital in the modern era. It was free of both the strong bonapartist element of the Gaullist regime and the parliamentary horse trading of the Fourth Republic's musical-chairs ministries.

Shortly after he was appointed prime minister, Barre announced the so-called Blois Program to counter the inflationary impact of the OPEC "oil shock" (France imported 75 percent of its energy supplies). The Barre program had two basic elements. One was the usual deflationary package of fiscal austerity and tight money designed to increase unemployment and weaken the bargaining power of the labor movement. While the rest of the advanced capitalist world was recovering more or less from the 1974-75 slump, the French government was deliberately holding down the economy to defend the value of the franc. The unemployment rate in West Germany *declined* from 4.2 percent in 1975 to 3.4 percent in 1979; in France during the same period it *rose* from 3.9 to 6.0 percent, the highest level in a generation, as half a million more jobless became victims of Barre's "stabilization" plan (OECD, *Main Economic Indicators, 1960-1979*).

The second element of the Giscard/Barre program was the restructuring of French industry to make it more competitive in the world market. Older, backward sectors, like the steel mills of Lorraine, were to be scrapped, while capitalists, foreign as well as French, were encouraged to expand into the new, modern sectors like telecommunications and nuclear power. A quasi-official exposition of the government's grand design was Christian Stoffaes' 1978 *La Grande menace industrielle* (*The Great Industrial Threat*). For Stoffaes and the Giscardians in general: "Making full employment at a national and regional level the priority in industrial policy is the best way to lead industry down the road to underdevelopment."

Giscard/Barre's "open frontiers" policies did *not* result in industrial modernization, but they did spur the international movement of capital in both directions. Multinational firms (especially American) bought up French businesses—always the great fear of the Gaullists—assured that the "neo-liberal" government would not discriminate against foreign investors. Of the top 50 foreign investors in France, 24 are American corporations. At the same time, French monopoly capital was investing much of its profits abroad, since the domestic market was growing at a snail's pace. In 1980, for example, Rhône Poulenc (chemicals and textiles) and Pechiney (aluminum) spent almost a third of all investment money abroad. Saint Gobain (construction materials and glass) nearly half. All three firms were nationalized by Mitterrand as part of his campaign to "reconquer the domestic market."

Der Spiegel

Longwy steel workers take to the streets in early 1979 against Giscard/Barre's mass layoffs. Sharp class battles damaged Giscard regime's authority leading to popular front to contain working-class struggle.

By 1979 it was clear that Giscard/Barre's "neo-liberal" program had failed, even in its own terms. Despite increasing unemployment of half a million, inflation remained stuck at around 10 percent, twice the rate of West Germany. Nor did "neo-liberalism" stimulate French capitalists to invest, at any rate within France. The conservative London *Economist* (25 August 1979) observed: "Employers have not responded to Mr. Barre's goading and incentives for new investment: private-sector productive investment has been almost stagnant for five years. . . ."

In the late 1970s the Gaullists, no less than Mitterrand's social democrats and Marchais' Communists, were denouncing Giscard/Barre for sacrificing the French economy to the interests of Wall Street, the Frankfurt Börse and the multinationals. Chirac contemptuously dubbed the Giscardians a "party of a foreign country."

From Autogestion to Barrisme de gauche

Interestingly, the division between Gaullist *dirigisme* and Giscardian "neo-liberalism" during the 1970s was paralleled in a way within the reformist left. One of the aftereffects of the potentially revolutionary explosion of May '68 was a revival of syndicalist prejudices in the French left under the rubric of *autogestion* (self-management). In part this was a misguided *gauchiste* response to the outright counterrevolutionary role of the Communist Party (CP) in liquidating the general strike in return for a hefty wage increase (which was soon eaten up by inflation).

What is now called *autogestion* actually has a very long tradition on the French left, going back to Proudhonism in the mid-19th century. Proudhon projected a society based on autonomous enterprises owned by their workers which necessarily related to one another through the market. Proudhon and his followers were die-hard opponents of Marxist collectivism.

In the late 1960s-early 1970s *autogestion* was all the rage in the *gauchiste* milieu, hailed as the very emanation of the "spirit of May '68." Its main organizational standard-bearers were the left-reformist Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU) of Michel Rocard and the Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail (CFDT) led by Edmond Maire. Minor prophets in the anti-Marxist cult of *autogestion* were two renegades from Trotskyism: Michel Pablo, who worked within the PSU, and Pablo's former disciple Ernest Mandel, theoretician-leader of the United Secretarial.

Shortly after Rocard brought the main body of the PSU into Mitterrand's Socialist Party in 1974, the latter adopted *autogestion* as part of its official program. In the mid-late 1970s the Mitterrand social democrats used *autogestion* primarily as an ideological shibboleth against communism. Rocard, in particular, condemned state ownership of the means of production and centralized planning as part of the "authoritarian" tradition of Jacobinism and Bolshevism. To this, he counterposed the "autonomy of collectives." He also insisted that the market must remain an instrument for the measurement of results.

Today the leading *autogestionnaires*, Rocard and Maire, stand on the far right wing of the Mitterrand popular front as the hard-line advocates of austerity. Last February Maire announced that the government's austerity program was inadequate and more severe measures would have to be taken. A few months later they were. Superficially, it may seem paradoxical that the wing of French reformism which identified itself with the "spirit of May '68" has become the champion of *Barrisme de gauche*. But, in fact, it is inherent in the logic of *autogestion* to accept the discipline of the capitalist market.

This was explained over 80 years ago by the Marxist Rosa Luxemburg in her famous polemic, *Social Reform or Revolution*, against Eduard Bernstein, the granddaddy of all revisionists. Bernstein, it should be recalled, advocated producer cooperatives (the 19th-century term for *autogestion*) as the road to socialism. Of this reactionary utopian notion, Luxemburg wrote:

> "The domination of capital over the process of production expresses itself practically in the necessity of making labor as intensive as possible, lengthening or shortening the working day according to the situation of the market and, depending on the requirements of the market, employing or throwing labor-power back onto the street. In a word, all methods that enable an enterprise to stand up against its competitors are practiced. The workers forming a production cooperative are thus faced with the contradictory necessity of governing themselves with the utmost absolutism, of playing the role of capitalist entrepreneur against themselves. This contradiction accounts for the failure of production cooperatives which either become pure capitalist enterprises or, if the workers' interests continue to predominate, end by dissolving."
>
> —Rosa Luxemburg, *Selected Political Writings* (1971)

Just as the cult of *autogestion* has led to *Barrisme de gauche*, it likewise provided an ideological bridge between the *gauchisme* of the post-May '68 period and the Cold War anti-Sovietism of Mitterrand's social democracy. During the 1970s the leading *autogestionnaires* condemned the Soviet Union not for its bureaucratic deformations and mismanagement but for the very *existence* of state ownership and centralized economic planning. If statism and centralism are identified as the *main* enemy, then even Reagan's America becomes preferable to Brezhnev/Andropov's Russia. In the United States one speaks of "State Department socialists"; in France one can speak of "NATO *autogestionnaires*."

Redéploiement and the 1979 Battle of Lorraine

Encouraged by its victory in the March 1978 parliamentary elections, the Giscard/Barre regime pushed ahead with its *redéploiement* schemes. Shortly before Christmas the government announced 30,000 layoffs in steel as part of the Common Market's Davignon plan to reduce overcapacity in the West European steel industry. The workers' response produced something like a civil war in the old, depressed steel towns of Lorraine—Longwy, Denain, Valenciennes—in the early months of the new year.

In Longwy militants from the Usinor steel mill not only occupied management offices but also the Crédit Lyonnais bank and took over a television transmitter, demanding that the state network broadcast the truth about the situation instead of the usual lies. And on February 23, two hundred steel workers rigged a battering ram to a bulldozer and tried to break into the Longwy police commissariat. There followed a two-hour battle with the besieged cops firing tear-gas canisters, while the steel workers bombarded the building with pins, bolts, ball bearings, ingots and a few molotov cocktails. Alarmed by this militancy, the local CP deputy and representative of the Stalinist-led trade union, the Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT), finally managed to deflect the siege by calling for an assault on the offices of the Union Patronal (management association). The building was totally sacked: furniture, files, everything thrown out of the window and burned on the spot.

Throughout France public sympathy was with the desperate steel workers. A group from Longwy traveled to the neighboring city of Metz, where the rock singer Johnny Halliday was on tour, and whisked the pop star back for a tour of the Usinor plant, which was scheduled to lay off 5,900 workers. The surprised Halliday said he was "delighted" if his presence could aid the workers' cause.

If the presence of rock star Halliday added a light touch to the events at Longwy, there was nothing light about the situation in the grimy steel town of Denain, the setting in which Emile Zola wrote his great novel of a coal miners strike, *Germinal*. On March 7 a group of workers from the Usinor mill took buses to the border to stop trains and trucks bringing foreign steel (part of the CP's

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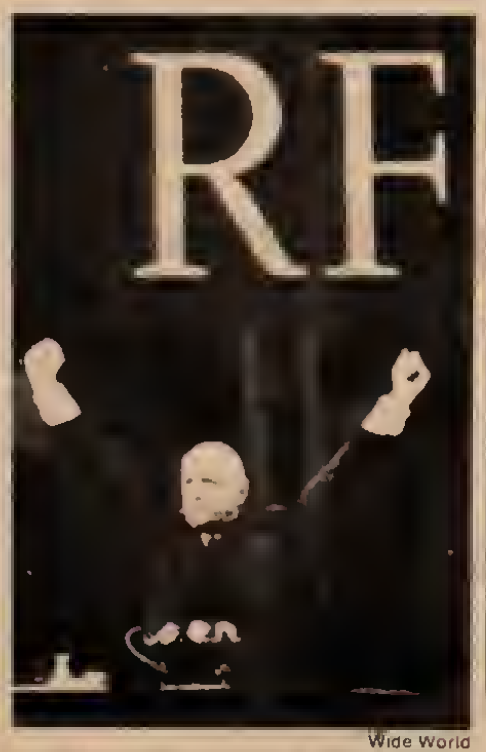

Wide World

Der Spiegel

Two faces of French nationalism: de Gaulle (left), Mitterrand (right).

Don't Mess With Russia...

(continued from page 1)

Times (26 September) published a roundup article by Pentagon official Leslie Gelb on "Korean Jet; Points Still to Be Settled," which lists the many inconsistencies of the U.S. story. And a widow of one of the passengers, Columbia University physicist John Lim, has filed a $1 billion federal lawsuit saying that KAL Flight 007 entered Soviet airspace "at the direction and order of the Governments of South Korea and/or the United States of America for the purpose of engaging in sophisticated intelligence surveillance."

In other developments, the Soviet press reported that *Richard Nixon* canceled a reservation on the doomed jetliner at the last minute "because the CIA 'did not dare send a former president to his death' and alerted him" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 25 September). The West German magazine *Quick* had reported in its 8 September issue that Nixon had been booked on KAL 007 in seat B-2, in the row next to ultra-conservative U.S. Congressman Larry McDonald, traveling to an anti-Communist celebration in Seoul. And the *San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle* (2 October) reports that American officials are now crowing that, "Analysis of the KAL incident gives U.S. intelligence what one source called 'a bonanza' of new information about Soviet radar gaps, communications capabilities and chains of command."

The Reaganites' wild anti-Soviet bellicosity in the past few weeks has to some degree backfired. Three weeks after the KAL 007 provocation and also after the sight of U.S. warships bombarding Lebanon a *New York Times*/CBS poll showed that for the *first time* significantly more Americans disapproved of Reagan's conduct of foreign affairs than approved of it. The Reagan gang itself realized that their unrestrained warmongering rhetoric was getting them into trouble. According to a senior White House official, there was concern that "we were beating the drum too loudly and that it was time for Ronald Reagan, the peacemaker, to consolidate his image" (*New York Times*, 30 September).

So speaking before the UN on September 26 Reagan offered a new "disarmament" proposal. The U.S. would deploy fewer Pershing 2s than now planned if the Russians would dismantle and destroy some of their SS-20 missiles already deployed in Europe. In other words, Reagan demanded, as usual, the *unilateral disarmament* of the USSR combined with a *buildup* of the NATO nuclear arsenal, which already includes the French and British medium-range missiles and U.S. submarine-launched missiles in European waters. The Russians naturally rejected out of hand this "peace move" intended to radically alter the nuclear balance of forces in favor of U.S. imperialism. Andropov reminded the world in his reply to Reagan. "The Soviet state has successfully overcome many trials, including crucial ones, during the six and a half decades of its existence," and he went on to affirm:

> "The Soviet people can rest assured that our country's defense capability is being maintained at such a level that it would not be advisable for anyone to stage a trial of strength."

But the Reagan gang is looking for precisely such a trial of strength with the Soviet Union. As one of them put it a few weeks ago: "We need a win somewhere, whether it's Latin America, the Middle East or with the Russians" (*New York Times*, 18 September). The U.S. ruling class wants to restore the short-lived "American century" of the late 1940s and '50s when it could and did practice nuclear blackmail against the Soviet Union. But today the USSR has rough nuclear parity and is not about to allow Reagan & Co. to attain their declared goal of military "superiority." Washington's global search for a trial of strength with the Soviet Union leads straight to World War III. *Don't Mess With the Russians!*

The acute danger of World War III is not caused, as American liberal "freezers" and European anti-missile protesters believe, by an "insane arms race" of the "two superpowers." The drive toward nuclear war is the drive of capitalist imperialism to destroy the land of the October Revolution, the greatest victory for the world working class in history. Six decades of Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration have certainly dimmed the glow of October; the USSR today is a far cry from the international revolutionary beacon it was under Lenin and Trotsky. But the historic conquests of the Bolshevik Revolution still remain—the socialized property and planned economy—and these must be defended! It is the Soviet nuclear arsenal which up to now has kept U.S. imperialism at bay, which kept it from invading Cuba and overthrowing Castro, from using nuclear weapons in Vietnam. Soviet military strength, even in the hands of a nationalistic bureaucratic caste, has bought the world proletariat precious time to resolve the question of socialism or nuclear annihilation.

Bipartisan War-Making in Washington

The past few weeks have clearly demonstrated—if such a demonstration was needed—the bipartisan nature of U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive. First, the Democratic-controlled House of Representatives voted a military budget in which, as the liberal *Washington Post* (16 September) observed, Reagan "got almost all the new weaponry he wanted for next year." Then the House voted a "compromise" resolution authorizing the Marines to remain in Lebanon for 18 months.

Certainly, the commander in chief of U.S. imperialism has no intention of letting Congress curb his war-making powers. Secretary of State George Shultz informed Congress that the administration refused to guarantee that the Marines would be pulled out in 18 months or that the size of the contingent or its mission would not be changed. So much for the War Powers Resolution! This Congress is even more craven than the one which passed the 1964 Tonkin Gulf resolution legitimizing the war in Vietnam. These bourgeois parliamentarians will yak forever, but when their capitalist masters want action, they'll declare war in 24 hours. And so they have. "We are, in a quasi-way, declaring war with this resolution," Pennsylvania Republican Congressman Robert Walker told his colleagues.

U.S. imperialism has gotten itself into a real quagmire in Lebanon. Boy, is this one unwinnable. The Marines have a mission impossible in trying to prop up the government of Phalange gangsters—the mass murderers of Shatila/Sabra, in collusion with the Zionist army—who are hated by 90-plus percent of the Lebanese population. But behind the U.S. military intervention on behalf of the Gemayel mafiosi in Lebanon is the global anti-Soviet war drive. Syria, whose army controls eastern Lebanon, is the principal Soviet client state in the Near East. And the borders of the USSR itself are only a few hundred miles to the north. The liberal Republican head of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Charles Percy, who voted for the War Powers Resolution, nonetheless recognized: "I don't think any of us know where this is leading. It could lead to direct conflict with Syria or direct conflict with the Soviet Union" (*New York Times*, 24 September). The Marines in Lebanon are yet another tripwire for World War III.

Stop First-Strike Missiles in Germany!

The 1979 NATO decision to place a new generation of medium-range missiles had two purposes: 1) the Pershing 2s are intended to increase the imperialists' first-strike capability against Russia; and 2) they are part of the Pentagon's strategy for an anti-Soviet war to be fought out in the European "theater." The West Germans, already frightened by American scenarios for "limited" nuclear war on *Schlachtfeld Deutschland* were "aghast" last week when the U.S. armed forces paper, *Stars and Stripes*, reported that an American army unit was practicing mass burial procedures. Accompanying photographs showed bulldozed graves similar to those the Nazis used for the victims of the Holocaust. A television commentator asked, "Doesn't the American military realize...that with such macabre practices they are suggesting that nuclear war is increasingly likely?" An Army spokesman replied, not to worry, "mass burials would be resorted to only in case of massive loss of life."

The fear of being sacrificed as pawns in a war between the "superpowers" has fed into resurgent German nationalism, this time clothed in "left" colors. Naturally, the German masses don't want to be annihilated. But behind the nationalism of the "peace movement" stands the revanchist appetites of German imperialism to reconquer East Europe. Thus Rudolf Bahro, former East German Stalinist turned anti-Communist Green, actually welcomes Reagan's unrestrained warmongering because "it can only advance our aims—to withdraw both parts of Germany and Europe from the two military blocs and to neutralize Europe" (*New York Times*, 30 September). This thinly disguised call for capitalist counterrevolution in the DDR (East Germany) is really a call for a "Fourth Reich" to dominate Europe, this time under the rule of "democratic" German capitalism. As in two previous world wars, the fundamental military obstacle will be Russia.

German imperialism is no more pacific than its American and French allies. It merely has a rather different strategy than the Reaganite first-strikers for reconquering the Soviet bloc bureaucratically degenerated/deformed workers states. As the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD), German section of the international Spartacist tendency, wrote last year:

> "The German bankers do not want a third world war *now*, whether fought with nuclear or conventional weapons, because they would lose it *now*. Thus, the German bourgeoisie is striving to undermine the planned economies through credits, commodities and joint projects and at the same time to penetrate these with bourgeois ideology in social-democratic colors with the support of the corrupt Stalinist bureaucracy."
>
> —"The Ominous Resurgence of German Nationalism," *Spartacist* (English edition) No. 35, Autumn 1983

But the legitimate fear of nuclear annihilation and national sentiments of the German masses can be mobilized on a communist program. The TLD calls for the revolutionary reunification of Germany as the motor for a United Socialist States of Europe.

And the missiles *can* be stopped, though not by human daisy chains and civil disobedience, popular referenda and similar petty-bourgeois pipedreams. What is necessary is the mobilization of the powerful German proletariat against the anti-Soviet war drive. While the "peace movement" is going through the motions with impotent mass demonstrations against the Pershing and cruise missiles scheduled for the end of the month, the German Trotskyists demand: "Stop NATO First-Strike Weapons with Workers' Strikes!" (*Spartakist*, October 1983). The call for labor action against the missiles is not a cry in the wilderness, moreover. Thus for the upcoming congress of the Metal Workers Union, some 58 resolutions have been proposed on the issue of the rockets, including several advocating work stoppages. (The union tops' response is for a 5-minute "warning strike"!) In response the TLD has raised the demand for a *two-day general strike against the deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles*. Linked to recent sit-down strikes at shipyards in Bremen and Hamburg, this could prepare a really "hot autumn" for the German bourgeoisie and *bring down the Kohl government through strike action*.

Not Détente Illusions But Workers Revolution!

Stalin's successors in the Kremlin are once again seeking a deal with resurgent German nationalism, hoping in their usual short-sighted way to divide the West European imperialists from Reagan's America. While the Reaganites are certainly consumed with first-strike madness, the notion that Margaret Thatcher, François Mitterrand and Helmut Kohl are "peace-loving" is a dangerous illusion indeed. Defending his nuclear arsenal before the UN, social-democratic Cold Warrior Mitterrand proclaimed that "my country is independent," that France would "not be exposed to the risk of seeing the modernization of its defense come under the control of the two superpowers." Yet there is no doubt that it is the Russians who would be the target of France's "independent" *force de frappe!* As for the Americans, Reagan has made it clear that it is not the *policies* of the Soviets, the Vietnamese, Cuban and Polish deformed workers states and the Nicaraguan Sandinista petty-bourgeois nationalist regime that the U.S. opposes, but *their very existence*.

Military preparedness and a determination to match the imperialists through developing advanced nuclear weapons are *crucial* to defending the revolutionary conquests inherited from the Russian October Revolution. This has been acutely understood by Soviet leaders ever since the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, though the petty-bourgeois pacifists willfully ignore this basic truth. Yet the counterrevolutionary danger cannot be eliminated simply through military action. In his *Pravda* statement, Andropov replied to Reagan: "Those who encroached on the integrity of our state, its independence and our system found themselves on the garbage heap of history" (*New York Times*, 29 September). This was true of Hitler, but today the USSR faces a resurgent German imperialism. In fact, the leaders of today's Japan and West Germany, many of whom have direct ties to the previous fascist regimes, were installed by Moscow's erstwhile "democratic" ally, Washington, as soon as the U.S. had crushed its imperialist rivals in World War II.

Speaking before the Seventh Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik), held in March 1918, Lenin emphatically declared:

> "International imperialism, with the entire might of its capital, with its highly organised war machine...could not, under any circumstances, under any conditions, live side by side with the Soviet Republic.... This is the greatest difficulty of the Russian revolution, its greatest historical problem—the need to solve international problems, the need to evoke a world revolution, to effect the transition from our strictly national revolution to the world revolution."

Today, the Soviets are threatened not just with sabre-rattling but actual war plans. A class-conscious proletariat, led by a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard, must unconditionally defend the Soviet bloc against imperialist attack, must oust the Stalinist bureaucrats who seek an impossible "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, must take power from the capitalists before it is too late. And time is getting short. ■

Mandelites Fly 007 to "Third Camp"

Ernest Mandel, you remember him: the with-it "Marxist economist" who discovered "neocapitalism" where Lenin and Trotsky spoke of the death agony of capitalism; the pseudo-Trotskyist who latched onto every petty-bourgeois fad—student power, the guerrilla road, Portuguese "revolutionary" generals, anything but the proletariat led by a communist vanguard party. "A centrist for all seasons," we called him. But in fervently championing Polish Solidarność—the favorite "free trade union" of Ronald Reagan, the pope and the Wall Street bankers—Mandel and his followers locked into the orbit of NATO-loyal social democrats like French president Mitterrand. And now the Mandelites' descent into "Third Camp" anti-Sovietism has been clearly revealed over the flight of Korean Air Lines 007.

A recent issue of *International Viewpoint* (19 September), English-language organ of Mandel's United Secretariat (USec), printed excerpts from an article by the USec's French section on this Cold War provocation. According to the Mandelites, shooting down this plane which penetrated Soviet airspace for over two and a half hours, overflying some of the most sensitive Soviet military installations while refusing to obey instructions from Soviet interceptors, was "an unjustifiable action" with "terrible and revolting consequences." Not only did this provide "an excellent pretext for launching a wave of anti-Communism," it even "gave aid and comfort to the imperialists"! Working himself into a real frenzy, the writer, one Christian Picquet, declares:

> "The shooting down of the South Korean airliner is a stab in the backs of all those who are fighting the imperialists' super arms buildup."

This is dirty stuff. The "stab in the back"—the *Dolchstoss* Hitler called it, accusing the Social Democrats of betraying the German war effort in WW I. Now the Russian Communists are accused of sabotaging the "peace effort" as WW III looms. Oh, they talk of the "Japan Sea tragedy," but then so does the U.S.-sponsored UN Security Council resolution against the Soviets. (If they were consistent the Mandelites would vote for that, as did Mitterrand's France.) What about the cold-blooded provocation of sending KAL Flight 007 over Kamchatka Peninsula and Sakhalin island in the first place? The USec article has no word of criticism of this.

Now Reagan is using his 007 atrocity to push through his first-strike weapons, the MX, Pershing and cruise missiles. All the fault of those backstabbing Russians, says the USec magazine. "The Western governments are going to take advantage of this brutal action to justify their aggressive orientations." Moreover, "The Soviet response to the perspective of the installation of Pershings was to threaten to deploy intermediate-range missiles on the borders of Western Europe. And they have supported the anti-war movement that has developed on this side of the Iron Curtain only to the extent that it suited their immediate objectives." The only thing missing was references to a drive for "world domination" (and of course "warm water ports") by the "evil empire." And what about "yellow rain"?

The article is infused with oh-so-evenhanded concern about the "race into the abyss," references to the "propaganda services of both blocs" and the like. "The peoples themselves" must "force universal disarmament" by "building an independent mass movement both East and West," you see. Yet it's notable that all the "Third Camp" claptrap comes down to "critical" support for your "own" imperialism. In 1940 Max Shachtman broke from the Trotskyist movement refusing to support the Soviets against "poor little Finland." In 1950 Shachtman refused to defend North Korea and the Chinese Revolution against the direct military assault of U.S. imperialism, and a decade later he was backing the CIA's Bay of Pigs invasion of Castro's Cuba. Now Mandel & Co. join the imperialist chorus against Soviet "brutality" over KAL 007.

The Mandelites' descent into the crudest anti-Sovietism didn't just fall from the sky. The "Eurotrotskyists" are tailing after the Europacifist movement led by the "left" social democrats. And if the Soviets make the imperialist "peace movement" uncomfortable, they must be wrong. Already the USec opposed Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in 1980 where the Red Army beat back CIA-aided counterrevolutionaries. The Soviet action "serves as a pretext for imperialism to justify its policy of rearmament," wrote the USec (*Inprecor*, May 1981). The actual threat to the military security of the Soviet Union, to the social gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution, is dismissed out of hand. Speaking in Australia earlier this year, Mandel asserted:

> "The immediate target of the present rearmament drive is the Salvadoran revolution, is the Nicaraguan revolution, is the Palestinian revolution, is the Arab revolution, and not the Soviet Union."

Tell that to Muscovites soon to be only eight minutes away from nuclear annihilation by European-based Pershing 2 missiles.

While Ernest Mandel lustily sings along in the anti-Soviet chorus, his erstwhile "fraternal" associates in the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) have done their best to disappear the 007 affair. Unable to duck the issue altogether, Jack Barnes & Co. have resorted to their old standby of posing "unanswered questions" and pointing to Reagan's "hypocrisy" without providing any answers themselves. More than three weeks after the South Korean intruder plane was shot down, the SWP ventured to criticize the rad-lib *Guardian* for its disgusting condemnation of the Soviets. But while rejecting the "two superpowers" line which says that nuclear war is threatened by a reciprocal "arms race," the SWP never explicitly defends the Soviet Union or the revolutionary gains it embodies.

While the Mandelites howled with the Reaganite wolves against "Soviet barbarism," and the SWP ran its mealy-mouthed stories about "doubts" and "questions," the Spartacists, Trotskyists, proclaimed "Reagan's Story Stinks!" and "KAL 007: Cold War Provocation." With a communist program to defend and extend the gains of the October Revolution, we told the unvarnished truth. In contrast Mandel, who looks to the Mitterrand social democracy, and Barnes, torn between liberal "doves" and Fidel Castro, can only squirm. Liberal Congressman Les Aspin summed up the Democrats' dilemma over the 007 affair, which is also that of both wings of the USec: "The Soviets sure do make it tough to be a liberal in this country." Ay, there's the rub.■

KAL and the KCIA

For the interest of our readers we print below excerpts from a report by Alan Berlow, aired over the National Public Radio network on 26 September, documenting the extensive ties between Korean Air Lines and the Korean Central Intelligence Agency. For the considerable body of evidence indicating that KAL Flight 007 was likely on a spy mission, see our last two issues (*WV* Nos. 337 and 338, 9 and 23 September) and *Young Spartacus* No. 111, September 1983.

Berlow: The downing of Korean Air Lines Flight 7 has left a lot of unanswered questions about how one of the most highly sophisticated planes in the world could have unintentionally ended up so far off course. But while there is some speculation about a possible spy mission there is no concrete evidence to support such theories. There is, however, a considerable amount of evidence linking the Korean Air Lines Company, or KAL, to the Korean Central Intelligence Agency, or KCIA. While this does not mean that Flight 007 or any other Korean Air Lines passenger flight was engaged in spying, it nonetheless suggests one reason the Soviets may have been suspicious of a KAL jet that had intruded far into Russian airspace. Korean Air Lines was established in 1962 by the Korean government which took over the privately owned Korean National Airlines. According to a KAL spokesman, in 1969 the government asked two private businessmen to take control of the company. The two businessmen, who had previously been involved in other aspects of South Korea's transportation industry, were the Cho brothers: Cho Choong Hoon and Cho Choong Kun. Philip Litke was a specialist in Asian affairs for the Central Intelligence Agency. He worked for the CIA in South Korea between 1969 and 1974.

Litke: The Cho brothers were very close to the late president Park Chung Hee, who was assassinated a few years ago. At the time the Park military clique was in control of South Korea, the Cho brothers were members of this inner circle.

Berlow: Lee [Jai Hyon, former South Korean information officer in the U.S.], who served 20 years in the Korean government and now teaches at Western Illinois University, says Korean Air Lines was sold to the Cho brothers at a bargain basement price. The airline was subsequently financed and operated with government loans. According to Lee, while not directly operated by Korean intelligence agencies, KAL is indirectly controlled by these agencies. When they need something done by KAL, Lee said, it's done. I asked Lee if KCIA officers ever fly on KAL jets.

Lee: Oh, yes. I know that out of my own personal experience. Yes. There are always KCIA agents flying in the Korean Air Lines planes.

Berlow: Lee said these agents are present not to prevent hijackings but as part of an extensive program of surveillance of Korean nationals. Lee and other sources said KCIA involvement in private Korean businesses is not limited to the airline but that it's rather typical of the KCIA's involvement in some 20-odd other major Korean businesses. And they said the KCIA's presence in South Korean society pervades almost every institution. Ex-CIA agent Litke also says KAL has been used as a cover for KCIA operatives working abroad and that the airline was used routinely for other KCIA operations.

Berlow: It is of course not surprising that KAL pilots have close ties to the Korean military. According to Philip Litke most of the senior officials and pilots of KAL are ex-Korean air force officers or pilots who have close ties to the ruling government. But Litke also says the crews on KAL planes have regular and frequent contact with Korean intelligence agents. According to a report in the *Boston Globe*, Korean Air Lines is also involved in assembling military aircraft for the Korean air force, including U.S.-built helicopters and fighter jets. During the Vietnam War the airline serviced the Korean military by moving equipment and supplies to Vietnam. Sources familiar with the KCIA's role in Korea confirm that the agency has lost some of its clout in recent years. They attribute this to the fact that the KCIA was directly responsible for the assassination of President Park Chung Hee. These sources say Korean military intelligence became much more powerful when some 300 KCIA officers were removed following the assassination. Nevertheless all of these sources agree that the KCIA and military intelligence continue to play a major role in the operation of large Korean businesses, including Korean Air Lines.■

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Chicago Teachers...

(continued from page 1)

for the anti-Soviet war drive. The CTU must become the vanguard of a struggle for real integration, to unite factory workers facing layoffs with the masses of unemployed, to demand big pay increases for all city workers and free mass transit.

Harold Washington is presiding over the increasing decay of a city that *never* worked for blacks and the poor. The only hope for black Chicago is a class-struggle fight against the racist capitalist system which turns ghetto schools into prisons and offers no future to its graduates but permanent unemployment. The teachers must mobilize all Chicago labor and the black masses to stop the austerity/cutbacks drive which affects every area of city life, leading all the oppressed in a fight for survival.

The Teachers Walk

Early yesterday morning the picket lines went up and hundreds of schools shut down as 27,000 teachers were joined by 11,000 maintenance and service workers in a joint strike against the Chicago Board of Education. CTU members have gone for two years without a pay raise, and they opened their first paychecks this September only to find their pension payments cut off as well. School Superintendent Love is claiming any pay increases must be offset by teacher layoffs and larger class sizes, and the administration is cynically trying to portray the strike as "anti-integration." The strikers are rightfully fed up with being made the scapegoats for the city's declining school system—the 19 striking unions deserve a big pay boost and they know it.

The city's campaign to break the strike began before the picket signs were printed up. While Mayor Washington hypocritically maintains a public posture of "neutrality," his backers have gone all out to line up the oppressed black population of Chicago against the teachers. Thus the black newspaper *Chicago Defender* (6 September) portrayed the impending strike as a blow against the school system's newly-implemented "voluntary desegregation plan," going so far as to quote a "source close to the school board" labeling the approximately half-black CTU "racist"! And today's *Defender* headlined "Mayor's Allies See Strike Plot," trying to claim that Washington's racist opponent, City Council leader Vrdolyak, was behind it. Meanwhile, Jesse Jackson's PUSH announced tonight a "walk-in" at the negotiations to demand the schools open up; if that doesn't work, they say they're going to court to seek a back-to-work order.

The school strike comes in the context of a general attack on Chicago city labor. Last week Washington won in the courts the "right" to lay off more than 700 city employees after a bitter fight against "Fast Eddie" Vrdolyak's racist bloc of 29 in the City Council. The "29" wanted to shift the overwhelming burden of Chicago's austerity budget onto the shoulders of blacks and Hispanics. The Vrdolyak forces have played up the race issue to the hilt, with ex-cop Ed Burke even demagogically hinting at a "general strike" of white workers, i.e., a race war.

And now the layoff campaign has significantly broadened to include the heavily black work force of the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA). Last Tuesday CHA chairman Renault Robinson, a Washington appointee who was formerly head of the Afro-American Patrolmen's League, fired 259 unionized craft workers and suggested the retired CHA residents might do much of the maintenance themselves! On Thursday Robinson slashed the payroll again, this time discharging some 700 union janitors who, claimed Robinson, "are just not giving us a day's work for a day's pay." Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) workers may well be the next victims of the budget-cutting ax, in line with the capitalists' program of letting mass transit, public housing, and education—services that blacks and the working poor urgently need—go to hell.

What is needed is a united, fighting labor offensive to win the allegiance of all the oppressed in Chicago and put a stop to the austerity drive. Remember Jane Byrne's "salami tactics" of 1980, when she sliced off the teachers, firemen and transit workers one at a time. City workers must not let this happen again. The CTU, with its integrated membership and its history of combativity, is in a good position to spark a wider battle by city workers, cutting across the racial polarization. A massive labor demonstration for "Victory to the teachers strike" could spark a broad *class struggle*, uniting black and white workers to smash the city's austerity moves.

Washington's Chicago: Strikebreaking and Segregation

When Washington ran for mayor last spring, we refused to politically support this Democratic Machine politician. When he won the primary, to be the first black mayor of Chicago, he was greeted by a racist backlash that posed a threat to every black in the city. At that time, the Spartacist League asserted that "Washington has as much right to be mayor and exercise the prerogatives of his office as any other capitalist politician." At the same time, we warned:

> "As a Democratic Party mayor of Chicago [Washington] has to maintain capitalist law and order. That means, just like Coleman Young in Detroit, he's going to break strikes. He's going to slash social services. He's going to lay off city workers. And he's going to have the racist cops break up protests by trade unionists, blacks and others who can't take it any longer. That's Harold Washington's job."
>
> —"Harold Washington Will Betray Black Chicago," *WV* No. 328, 22 April

That's what "responsible" and "statesmanlike" black politicians are supposed to do.

There's a larger picture to the Harold Washington election than the initial shock of local white Democrats who looked to the perennial Daley machine. They couldn't stand it, but the national party was behind Washington in a big way, in order to win the 1984 election by deceiving blacks into voting once again, for the hundredth time, for the Democrats. If you want to know what a Democratic victory in '84 would look like, take a look at this strike and who's carrying the burden now in Chicago.

Washington and his Democratic Party friends have started to carry out that job with a vengeance. In a repeat performance of his strikebreaking role in the 1973 teachers strike and the 1981 firefighters strike, Washington ally Jesse Jackson and his Operation PUSH are currently organizing scab schools. J.J. is clearly trying to prove he'd make a decent strikebreaking American president.

For 20 years the Chicago Board of Education and Daley's Democratic Party which ran it blocked every effort to integrate the schools. Now, as a strikebreaking ploy, Washington allies try to defeat the teachers by waving around a sham "desegregation" program that will leave more than three quarters of the schools segregated and 82 percent of black elementary school children in all-black schools!

Taking their cue from the old "community control" black nationalist demagogues in the 1968 New York City and '71 Newark teachers strikes, Chicago black pols try to portray the teachers strike as an action *against* the black children. This is classic union-busting demagogy. But, although the CTU has a paper position for desegregation, neither they nor the rest of the labor bureaucracy has done a thing to mobilize labor to fight for black democratic rights, including centrally integrating the schools. For this to have any meaning at all in Chicago, it requires busing black students to the ring of lily-white suburbs which surround the city and vice versa. And that means being prepared to form labor/black defense guards to protect the kids and stop the racists.

The CTU supported Harold Washington for mayor—now the city tries to break the strike. Likewise, virtually the entire reformist left fell all over themselves trying to climb on the Washington bandwagon last spring. The Communist Party, ever on the prowl for a populist Democrat to lead its "anti-monopoly coalition," called Washington's election a "great people's victory." Sam Marcy's Workers World Party termed it a "victory against racism," while the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party virtually deep-sixed its own mayoral candidate Ed Warren, and lauded Washington's election as a sign of "the striving of working people...to get some political power." Progressive Labor, which simultaneously calls Washington a "black social fascist" and sucks up to him through its front group InCAR, recently accused the teachers union in Los Angeles, in very similar circumstances, of fomenting a "racist strike." Which side will these reformists take as the Washington administration goes after the workers, both black and white? Certainly none of them have any serious scruples against open strikebreaking: they all scabbed on the New York City teachers strike in '68.

American Workers Revolution Needs Black Leadership

The Chicago school board's strikebreaking is part of the whole municipal austerity cutback offensive which began in New York under the Democrats in the mid-1970s and became national policy under Reagan. A decade after the ghetto explosions of the '60s, the ruling class has long since run out of token civil rights reforms and pork barrel poverty programs. Instead it has cultivated a layer of black overseers to police the city unions and keep the lid on the inner cities. From Richard Hatcher's Gary, an industrial ghost town, to Coleman Young's Detroit, where hundreds of thousands of auto workers will never see the inside of a plant again, the black mayors of America (see accompanying box by Cliff Carter) are presiding over the wholesale dismantling of U.S. industry. The Chicago steel industry is devastated, with Wisconsin Steel gone and South Works on the chopping block while the announced merger of Republic Steel and LTV threatens even more mass layoffs.

Meanwhile cop terror against minorities has continued unabated since Washington took office: a black jogger shot in Hyde Park, a Puerto Rican stomped to death in Pilsen, a CTA driver arrested and charged with a felony for the "crime" of being beaten by a gang of racist white youth celebrating the Sox pennant.

Black people know that for them the "American dream" is a nightmare. They hate this rotten, racist system, and whenever they have a chance to win something, blacks are the most militant, the most combative. The white capitalist ruling class fears the revolutionary potential of blacks and reds. They gunned down and locked up the most militant fighters for black liberation of the '60s, and pieced off a tiny minority with poverty programs and elected offices. But a few "black faces in high places" won't free the black masses; on the contrary, from Newark to Chicago, they're used to rip up what few gains are left. A victory for the Chicago teachers strike is vital to other black Chicago workers; Transit Authority workers may be next under the gun, along with Housing Authority employees.

The Spartacist League fights for a workers party, to break the workers and oppressed from the black Democratic Party front men—the Jesse Jacksons, Coleman Youngs and Harold Washingtons—who tie impoverished South Side blacks to the party of La Salle Street bankers...and racist wardheelers like Vrdolyak. With 75 percent unemployment among ghetto youth, with tens of thousands of industrial workers thrown out of their jobs, with hundreds of thousands living in tenement firetraps—the only solution for American blacks is socialist revolution. And the American revolution needs black leadership. ■

Concerning the Black Mayors of America

"House Negroes" in City Hall

By Cliff Carter

A great while ago all the American cities got into trouble politically and financially. The cities have hit "rock bottom"—they are in a mess from bottom to top and have no direction to go in a positive way.

The approach that the ruling class is taking is the same as the slave masters took when their plantations were in trouble; they would dress the house Negro with a new suit of clothes (or rather one of his hand-me-down suits) and put him in charge of a certain portion of his business. Tell his house Negro what to do, how to do it and who to work and where to work them.

But the minute this house Negro faltered or couldn't control the plantation, he was dropped like a hot potato and sent to work in the field. They would call another Negro, dress him in a suit of clothes, top hat and all, and place him in charge.

This Harold Washington was placed in charge of Chicago because the city is in trouble and the capitalist system needs a "scapegoat" to blame all the financial problems upon because all the profits have been misused by the city bosses from sometime ago up until now. And with Washington, a black man, in charge, the capitalist rulers could tell the workers everything was good before this house Negro was put in charge and just about everybody besides a "thinker" will really believe Washington did mess up the Chicago business.

Now you may say Harold Washington was voted in legally, but who campaigned for votes for Washington? None other than Jesse Jackson and Company. And who finances Jackson? None other than the rich rulers. If you then say it was the Democratic Party who pushes Jackson, then stop and think who dictates to the Democratic Party (and Republican Party too)—none other than the ruling class.

When Harold Washington is taken out of charge of the Chicago Plantation, it will be controlled by another house Tom. This goes for all the other City Plantation Rulers, for they are just fronts for the Slave Masters' Children. Remember the Civil War was never finished, for the slave masters are still in charge of the plantations.

LETS ORGANIZE AND WITH A PROGRAM, FINISH THE CIVIL WAR.

Killer Cop Gets Bounty for Murder of Patrick Mason

Racist Outrage!

A GROTESQUE RACIST OUTRAGE! For murdering a five-year-old black child, Patrick Mason, Orange County cop Anthony Sperl has been awarded $35,000 from a Worker's Compensation Appeals Board for "psychological damage" he claimed as a consequence of the shooting! It was the most abominable and heartrending racist murder since the Birmingham church bombings. Mason's mother, Patricia Ridge, was at work when the white cop busted into the apartment and shot her little boy to death in his bedroom. In an obscene racist version of the criminal accusing the victim she was hounded for months by a grand jury for "neglect" and "murder." An innocent black child gets a .357 bullet in the chest, his devoted and grief-stricken mother is subjected to a vicious witchhunt and Sperl, the child-killer cop, gets a *$35,000 bounty*, a price that hangs like a lynch rope over the head of every black person in racist America.

Sperl got his blood money on July 29, but this racist atrocity was not made public until it appeared on October 1 in the bourgeois press. If this outrage were not enough, *in addition* to the worker's comp award the Stanton police department gave Sperl (because, they said, his "medical problem is job related") medical retirement at the age of 24 with 50 percent pay! Of course, when workers are maimed or killed on the job, the hundreds of thousands of victims of industrial hazards and accidents, the worker's comp system provides fixed "compensation" to the victims (or their survivors)—a couple of thousand dollars for a lost limb, a little more for loss of eyesight, etc. In exchange for this pathetic pittance, the worker loses the right to sue his boss for real compensation. But for the racist cops it's different. The bourgeois state looks out for its own and racist killer cops like Sperl get settlements for "psychic injuries" in the "line of duty."

Take the case of the L.A. cop, killer of black woman Eulia Love, shot eight times in her home in 1979. Like Sperl he was awarded a "stress related" pension of 50 percent of his regular pay. Now he has filed a $1 million damage suit for "severe emotional distress" for the "criticism" he received over this racist murder. What next? Will the Nazi "Butcher of Lyons" Klaus Barbie sue the French government for defamation of character? The gestapo police forces of Los Angeles and Orange County, trained in the My Lais of Vietnam, know they are paid to terrorize and murder black people and the victims had better not squawk about it.

The grand jury witchhunt was launched against Patricia Ridge because she did not simply shut up about the brutal racist murder of her son. Instead she courageously filed a $20 million "wrongful death" claim which the Stanton City Council rejected while Sperl was collecting his bounty and pension. It is going to take a lot more than first steps like mass labor/black mobilizations to stop this racist outrage. The 5,000-strong November 27 demonstration that stopped the Ku Klux Klan racist killers in Washington, D.C. showed the way forward to a world where "worker's compensation" isn't bounty for racist killers and where black people can live without fear of the nightriders' lynch rope or the killer cop's .357. Vengeance for Patrick Mason! Life behind bars must be the only "reward" for Anthony Sperl! $20 million for Patricia Ridge! ■

Emergency Demonstrations!

Stop This Racist Outrage!

- **Down with the State's $35,000 Bounty to Killer Cop for Cold-Blooded Murder of 5-Year-Old Black Child!**
- **$20 Million for Patricia Ridge!**
- **Life Behind Bars Must Be Only Reward for Anthony Sperl!**
- **Vengeance for Patrick Mason!**

Thursday, October 6

5:00 p.m.
California State Building
1111 Jackson Street
OAKLAND

5:30 p.m.
State Office Building
First Street & Broadway
LOS ANGELES

Moonies...

(continued from page 5)

essentially one international organization. This organization depends heavily upon the interchangeability of its components and upon its ability to move personnel and financial assets freely across international boundaries and between businesses and nonprofit organizations.

(2) The Moon Organization attempts to achieve goals outlined by Sun Myung Moon, who has substantial control over the economic, political, and spiritual activities undertaken by the organization in pursuit of those goals.

(3) Among the goals of the Moon Organization is the establishment of a worldwide government in which the separation of church and state would be abolished and which would be governed by Moon and his followers.

(4) In pursuit of this and other goals, the Moon Organization has attempted, with varying degrees of success, to gain control over or establish business and other secular institutions in the United States and elsewhere, and has engaged in political activities in the United States. Some of these activities were undertaken to benefit the ROK Government or otherwise to influence U.S. foreign policy.

(5) While pursuing its own goals, the Moon Organization promoted the interests of the ROK Government, and at times did so in cooperation with, or at the direction of, ROK agencies and officials. The Moon Organization maintained mutually beneficial ties with a number of Korean officials.

(6) The Moon Organization established the KCFF ostensibly as a nonprofit foundation to promote Korean-American relations, but used the KCFF to promote its own political and economic interests and those of the ROK Government.

(7) The Moon Organization extensively used the names of Senators, Congressmen, U.S. Presidents, and other prominent Americans to raise funds and to create political influence for itself and the ROK Government.

(8) A Moon Organization business is an important defense contractor in Korea. It is involved in the production of M-16 rifles, antiaircraft guns, and other weapons.

(9) Moon Organization agents attempted to obtain permission from an American corporation to export M-16's manufactured in Korea. The M-16's are manufactured under a coproduction agreement approved by the U.S. Government, which puts M-16 production under the exclusive control of the Korean Government. Despite this, Moon Organization representatives appeared—apparently on behalf of the Korean Government—to negotiate an extension of the agreement....

* * * * *

The Moon Organization has self-proclaimed goals of controlling political and secular institutions and a strident ideology which envisions the formation of a "Unification Crusade Army." Moon's speeches foresee an apocalyptic confrontation involving the United States, Russia, China, Japan, and North and South Korea, in which the Moon Organization would play a key role. Under these circumstances, the subcommittee believes it is in the interest of the United States to know what control Moon and his followers have over instruments of war and to what extent they are in a position to influence Korean defense policies. ■

Taylors...

(continued from page 16)

workers who came out from the Ford River Rouge plant, UAW Local 600, site of an earlier plant gate rally in defense of the Taylors. Mobilized by the RMC, these workers carried signs for "Labor/Black Defense of the Taylor Family" and "Labor/Black Mobilizations to Stop Klan/Nazi Terror." This stands in sharp contrast to the UAW International, which has not lifted a finger to mobilize auto workers in defense of the Taylors.

Speakers included Don Andrews for the Spartacist League and the LBSL, Charles DuBois from the Rouge Militant Caucus, Topaz DuBois for the SYL, and Marty Freedman, a member of CWA Local 4001 in Detroit. The rally was endorsed by the WSU Democratic Socialists of America, which sent one member who spoke. Brother DuBois stressed that the defense of the Taylors is the defense of us all: "They're stealing our jobs, stealing our welfare and snatching families like the Taylors from their jobs and putting them in jail. Every decent worker has got to take a stand on this issue, because if they get away with it, no one will be safe."

Detroit's black television station, Channel 62, gave extensive and accurate coverage of the demonstration on its evening news. But the *Detroit News* and the WSU *South End* want to make criminals out of the victims of Southern lynch law. The *News* made the incredible claim that the cops had been murdered, headlining its 24 September article: "2 Pontiac Men Face Trial in Alabama Cop's Killing." The *South End* articles on the rally twice asserted the Alabama grand jury's frame-up charges as *fact*, describing the Taylors as "five blacks who shot and beat two white plainclothes police officers who allegedly burst in on the group at a funeral wake" (*South End*, 23 September).

Don Andrews stressed the urgency of building on the demonstration to bring out the power of labor and blacks: "The monstrous, racist frame-up of the Taylor family, who went down South to bury a relative and now face the State of Alabama's lynch rope, can and must be stopped! We are here to defend this courageous family, whose salvation lies in mass labor/black rallies, demonstrations and protests, North and South!" ■

France...

(continued from page 9)

campaign to turn the steel workers' protests in the direction of national chauvinism). On the way back one of the buses was ambushed by the hated CRS riot police. The CRS thugs smashed the windows, fired tear gas into the bus and *wouldn't* let the workers—now blinded and retching—out.

The next day thousands of angry steel workers surrounded the Denain police commissariat and battled the CRS with iron bars and bolts for 13 hours! At midday a truce was called to allow children to leave the school building unharmed. The CRS used this truce to fire tear-gas cannisters at the workers among whom the schoolchildren were now mingled. Some cannisters were even found in the school. Absolutely enraged, the workers returned to the fight, which lasted far into the night. In the end the CRS cops resorted to gunfire and were answered by small arms from the workers. Both sides suffered casualties, though no one was killed. The CGT bureaucrats finally restored calm by making a deal with the authorities. The CRS forces would be withdrawn from Denain and the workers would leave the center of the city alone.

The battle of Lorraine marked the highest level of class struggle in France since May '68. In fact, everyone in France was asking: would the dramatic events in Longwy and Denain spark a nationwide general strike against the despised Giscard/Barre regime? A march on Paris reluctantly called by the CGT and CFDT tops on March 23 clearly demonstrated this explosive potential. Carrying red flags and singing the *Internationale*, tens of thousands of workers chanted, "Giscard, if you stay we'll kick you in the ass!" and "Everything for us, nothing for them!" We wrote at the time:

> "Trotskyist revolutionaries would seek to reach the demonstrators with the demand that a genuine 'march on Paris' be built to muster forces for an unlimited general strike for expropriation of the steel trusts and against the capitalist government's austerity policies and layoffs—for full employment and protection against inflation by a sliding scale of wages and hours. It was necessary to combat popular-front illusions that this could be solved simply by putting the reformists and their bourgeois bloc partners in the ministerial chairs—for a 'new '68' that goes all the way, workers to power!"
>
> —"Steel Workers Rock France," *WV* No. 228, 30 March 1979

However, the CGT and CFDT bureaucrats refused to extend the industrial actions beyond the steel towns of Lorraine, and the Giscard regime helped defuse the crisis by postponing the layoffs for a year.

The events in Lorraine in early 1979 had an effect on the Giscard regime somewhat similar to that of May '68 on the Gaullist regime. It shattered the Giscardians' claim to be the "party of order" and exposed the danger of further social explosions inherent in their "neo-liberal" economic program. The steel workers' missiles which demolished the police commissariat in Longwy fatally damaged the authority of the Giscard regime. It would survive only another two years.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Endorsers of the Demands of the Phone Strikers Defense Committee

"I/my union endorse the demands of the Phone Strikers Defense Committee, that 1) Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero be reinstated at their jobs with full back pay; 2) Amnesty be granted to all victimized phone strikers; 3) All charges against Lauren Mozee, Ray Palmiero and all other phone strikers be dropped."

List of Endorsers (Partial)

AFGE Local 1686, Martinez, CA
J.C. Apperson, Executive Vice President, CWA Local 11574, Los Angeles, CA
Manje Argue-Heggerd, Executive Board, CWA Local 9415, Oakland, CA
Susane Atwood, Executive Board, OPEIU Local 3, San Francisco, CA
Kathy Bebof, Secretary, Federal Employees Metal Trades Council (Mare Island), Vallejo, CA
M.E. Bellesteros, Steward, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
Phil Baptista, Chapter President, SEIU Local 535, Oakland, CA
Marge Berrett, Member, one of 18 arrested, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles CA
Erwin Baur, Past President, UAW Local 306, Detroit, MI
Willie Lee Bell, Recording Secretary, IAM Local Lodge 739, Oakland, CA
Al Belmontez, Past President, UAW Local 216, South Gate, CA, Executive Board, California State Democratic Party and Vice President, Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA)
Harvey Birch, Business Manager, Plumbers Local 343, Vallejo, CA
Michael Black, Community Services Chairman, CWA Local 4008, East Detroit, MI
David Blackburn, Steward, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
Harry Blanks, Shop Committeeman, UAW Local 22, Detroit, MI
Helen Bowden, Union Representative, OPEIU Local 29, Emeryville, CA
John Bowers, Research, SEIU Joint Council No. 2, San Francisco, CA
Allen Brill, Director, San Francisco Interns and Residents Association, San Francisco, CA
Steve Bull, Member, one of 18 arrested, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
David A. Bundy, Shop Steward, NALC Branch 214, San Leandro, CA
Bill Burke, Retired Business Agent, ILWU Local 6, Oakland, CA
Jerry Butler, Member, District Council, ILWU Local 6, Oakland, CA
Mike Campbell, Business Agent, SEIU Local 614, Napa, CA
John Campos, President, AFSCME Local 3239, North Hollywood, CA
Clara Carlini, Chief Steward, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
F.U. Celona, Grand Lodge Representative, IAM Local 597, Los Angeles, CA
Millie Cleveland, Member, Negotiating Team, UAW Local 76, Oakland, CA
Margaret Clouser, Executive Board, CWA Local 9410, San Francisco, CA
Ann Coughlin, President, OPEIU Local 29, Emeryville, CA
David Crequa, Vice President, United Teachers of Oakland, AFT Local 771, Oakland, CA
CWA Local 9410, San Francisco, CA
CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA'
Frank Damiel, President, Central Labor Council, Napa/Solano County
Bill D'Arcy, Business Agent, Engineers and Scientists of California, MEBA, AFL-CIO
John Davidson, Recording Secretary/Business Representative, Painters Union Local 4, San Francisco, CA
Ignacio De La Fuente, Business Manager, Molders Local 164, Oakland, CA
Manuel Delgadillo, Member, one of 18 arrested, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
William Dow, Member, ILWU Local 6, Oakland, CA
Tom Duffy, Secretary-Treasurer, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
Corky Duke, Secretary, Local 343, Member, OPEIU Local 29, Vallejo, CA
I. Duren, Steward, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
Jan Eakles, Union Representative, OPEIU Local 29, Emeryville, CA
Dale L. Earnest, Steward, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
Dave Ebert, Recording Secretary, Millwrights Local 102, Fairfield, CA
Jim Edwards, Business Representative, IAM Local 1546, Oakland, CA
Jim Eggleston, Labor Attorney, Mocine, Plotz & Eggleston, Oakland, CA
Kay Eisenhower, Executive Board, SEIU Local 616, Oakland, CA
Phyllis N. Fell, Vice Chairperson, Unit Meetings, ORTT/IBEW Local 1011, Oakland, CA
Marcelle Farinha, Secretary-Treasurer, OPEIU Local 29, Emeryville, CA
Tim Fernandez, Vice President, Painters Local 376, Vallejo, CA
Roland B. Gelahol, Chief Shop Steward, NALC Branch 214, San Francisco, CA
Loree Gaskill, Executive Board, Women's Committee Chair, CWA Local 11586, Santa Fe Springs, CA
John George, Chairmen, Alameda County Board of Supervisors, Oakland, CA
Kenneth Gibbons, Recording Secretary, IAM Local 284, Oakland, CA
Tom Gibbons, President, IAM Local Lodge 79, Seattle, WA
Earl Gilmen, Chief Steward, SEIU Local 535, San Francisco, CA
Myles Goldfein, Member, one of 18 arrested, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
Dow H. Gothard, President, IBEW Local 551, Santa Rosa, CA
Stanley R. Gow, Executive Board, ILWU Local 10, San Francisco, CA
Weller Green, District Committeeman, UAW Local 22, Detroit, MI
Frank Grinnon, District Representative, ORTT/IBEW Local 1011, Oakland, CA
Bruce Groulx, Union Representative, SEIU Local 250, Oakland, CA
Jack W. Hammond, Jr., Representative, Union of Cement, Lime, Gypsum and Allied Workers, District Council No. 3, Victorville, CA
Bob Handerson, Steward, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
Ed Hernandez, Member, one of 18 arrested, ORTT/IBEW Local 1011, Los Angeles, CA
Ernest Higgins, Secretary-Treasurer, Laborers Local 1165, Grand Rapids, MI
IAM Local 284, Oakland, CA
IAM Local Lodge 739, Oakland, CA
IBEW Local 551, Santa Rosa, CA
Kathy Ikegami, Executive Board, CWA Local 9410, San Francisco, CA
ILWU Local 10, San Francisco, CA
Irene Irving, Steward, Hospital Workers Local 250, Richmond, CA
Dolores J. Jackson, Executive Board, AFSCME Local 1652, Detroit, MI
Randy Johnese, Senior Field Representative, SEIU Local 535, Oakland, CA
Al Johnson, President, ATU Local 192, Oakland, CA
Roland M. Kelz, Business Agent, PEU Local 1, Martinez, CA
Leo Kormie, Association for Union Democracy, Oakland, CA
Annie Kuykendall, Secretary-Treasurer, AFSCME Local 2920, Detroit, MI
Don Kyle, International Representative, OCAW Region 9, La Mirada, CA
Labor/Black League for Social Defense, Oakland, CA
Bernice Lathan, Past President OPEIU Local 88, Vallejo, CA
Stanley Leiben, Past Secretary-Treasurer and Business Manager, UFCW Local 373, Vallejo, CA
Bill Leech, Secretary-Treasurer, CWA Local 11510, Santa Ana, CA
Elwin Leemel, President, IAM Local 824, Richmond, CA
Timothy Ligosky, Steward, Executive Board, IAM Local 284, Oakland, CA
Ronald Lind, Director of Organizing, UFCW Local 428, San Jose, CA
Tom Lineberger, Recording Secretary, Painters and Tapers Local 15, Redwood City, CA
Ed Logue, Jr., Union Representative, IAM Local 824, Richmond, CA
Fred Lonidier, Secretary-Treasurer, AFT Local 2034, San Diego, CA
Cassie Lopez, North Oakland Chairperson, Oakland Progressive Political Associations, Member, AFT Local 771, Oakland, CA
Francis J. Marino, Steward, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
Linda C. Merka, Treasurer, AFGE Local 2795, Detroit, MI
Rey Martinez, Steward, CWA Local 9410, San Francisco, CA
Lione McDaniel, Vice President, NALC Branch 705, Vallejo, CA
Stan P. McIntosh, President, Black and Minorities Employees Association, Member, AFSCME Local 444, Oakland, CA
Ken B. McLean, National Organizer, AFGE, 12th District, Rohnert Park, CA
K.V. McPherson, Vice President, UAW Local 76, Oakland, CA
Wally Medeiros, Executive Board, IAM Local 1546, San Leandro, CA
Fernando Medina, Member, one of 18 arrested, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
R.W. Meyers, District Representative, ORTT/IBEW Local 1011, Oakland, CA
Millwrights Local 102, Oakland, CA
Manuel Morales, Steward, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
D.E. Morris, Member, one of 18 arrested, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles CA
Jerry R. Morris, Chief Steward, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
William Moultrie, Past President, CWA Local 4016, Detroit, MI
OPEIU Local 29, Emeryville, CA
Victor Pamiroyen, Business Agent, ILWU Local 6, Oakland, CA
Partisan Defense Committee
Keith A. Phelps, Business Manager, Laborers Local 1165, Grand Rapids, MI
Floyd B. Phillips, District Representative, Union of Cement, Lime, Gypsum and Allied Workers, Victorville, CA
Barbara Pierce, Steward, CWA Local 11550, Los Angeles, CA
Carolyn Pittman, Steward, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
Plumbers Local 127, Vallejo, CA
Plumbers Local 343, Vallejo, CA
Dave Probstfeld, Steward, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
Geraldine Ramsey, Steward, AFSCME Local 2920, Detroit, MI
John Reimann, Recording Secretary, Carpenters Local 36, Oakland, CA
Flo Reynolds, Area Steward, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
Frank J. Rivera, Steward, IAM Local 685, San Diego, CA
Jim Robinson, Committeeman, Glassworkers Local 418, Tracy, CA
Lee L. Robinson, Executive Board, ILWU Local 10, San Francisco, CA
Jose V. Rodriguez, Grand Lodge Representative, IAM Local 1546, Union City, CA
Paul D. Roose, President, NALC 1111, Oakland, CA
Ronald Rosa, Central Labor Council, Delegate, IAM Local 284, Oakland, CA
Al Rosel, President, United Teachers of Oakland, AFT Local 771, Oakland, CA
Jerry Schmidt, Former CIO organizer, 1937, Los Angeles, CA
Ellen Shaffer, President, AFSCME Local 1650, San Francisco, CA
Charles H. Shaine, President, Berkeley campus AFT [illegible]cal 1795, Berkeley, CA
Jim Shoch, Western Regional Coordinator, Democra[illegible] Socialists of America, Berkeley, CA
Jose Silva, Coordinator, Keep General Motors Van Nuys Open, UAW Local 645, Van Nuys, CA
John Silver, Media Director, AFSCME, U.C. Santa Cruz, Santa Cruz, CA
Ken Sirola, Vice President, International Association of Fire Fighters Local 1186, Vallejo, CA
Bernard Smallwood, Chief Steward, Executive Board, IAM Local 1518, Oakland, CA
Charles C. Smith, President, AFSCME Local 2920, Detroit, MI
Joyce Smith, Steward, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
Michael J. Smith, Business Representative, Hospital Workers Local 250, Sonoma, CA
Rusty Smith, Steward, Editor of local paper, SEIU Local 715, San Jose, CA
Yvonne A. Smith, Chief Steward, ORTT/IBEW Local 1011, Oakland, CA
Clyde J. Spearman, President, AFGE Local 1666, Martinez, CA
James Steward, Steward, AFSCME Local 1659, Detroit, MI
Thomas Sullivan, President, USWA Local 1304, Emeryville, CA
Ray Talavera, President, Teamsters Local 85, San Francisco, CA
Ron Teninty, Business Agent, Teamsters Local 315, Contra Costa County, CA
Don Tormey, International Representative, United Electrical Workers, Boston, MA
Stuart H. Tropp, Steward, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
Bill Twohey, Business Representative, IBEW Local 1245, Walnut Creek, CA
Ben Vendnoli, Business Manager, Engineers and Scientists of California, MEBA, AFL-CIO
Brian Wallace, Member, House of Representatives, United Teachers/Los Angeles, Los Angeles, CA
Myron M. Waters, Shop Steward, Hospital Workers Local 250, Richmond, CA
Tony Weatherspoon, Steward, AFSCME Local 2733, Ypsilanti, MI
Jack Weintraub, Past President, Teamsters Local 85, Pacifica, CA
Stan Weir, Publisher, Singlejack Books, San Pedro, CA
T.J. Whalen, International Staff Representative, UAW, Bell, CA
Ben White Delegate, East Los Angeles College Labor Coalition, Member, Carpenters Local 2231, Los Angeles, CA
Paul Wong, Trustee, IAM Local 1546, Oakland, CA
Peter Woolston, General Executive Board, ILWU Local 6, Oakland, CA
Ted Zuur, Steward, Hotel Workers Local 2, San Francisco, CA

'No endorsement of any organization implied

Organizations listed for identification purposes only.

Lauren & Ray...

(continued from page 16)

arrested an entire picket line of 18 people during the strike, supporters of the Defense Committee in CWA Local 11502 collected 150 signatures in two days for a motion they presented to a union meeting endorsing the Committee and its demands. As a result of this rank-and-file action, all three locals, the biggest CWA units in California, have passed motions defending Lauren and Ray.

A statement by the Phone Strikers Defense Committee noted:

> "PT&T has singled out Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero to cover for its own violent strikebreaking.... The company was particularly enraged at the spirited picket line built by operators—mainly women, largely black and Latin—who the company expects to 'stay in their place' and who instead took a strong stand for unionism."

Mozee and Palmiero are militants with years of active participation in the labor and black movements. They are both members of the Militant Action Caucus in the CWA, which has fought for solid union action to stop impending layoffs that threaten tens of thousands of phone workers' jobs. And they are a racially integrated couple, making them particular targets for the racist bosses and the government. So the vindictive phone company and the Alameda County D.A.'s office (which has high-level connections to the Reagan administration) have ganged up to railroad these unionists to prison. As the Defense Committee statement said:

> "It is the duty of every good union man and woman to stand with victimized union members—Don't let Ma Bell give Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero the PATCO treatment!"

WV recently interviewed Lauren and Ray about their fight against this vicious frame-up:

WV: Why do you think the phone company and the district attorney's office have picked you out for firing and prosecution?

Ray: Well, first of all, it's a result of a very bitter strike that was forced on the union. The phone company is going through with this so-called "divestiture" and reorganization. They're looking to lay off thousands of phone workers and, in the process, tear up the national contract and get rid of the CWA as a national union representing phone workers from coast to coast.

The strike also took place in the context of Reagan's war on the unions in general. Everybody knows that since PATCO was destroyed, there's a green light from the Reagan administration to bust unions. There was violence in this strike, all right, from the company's side. Pickets were hit by scab trucks racing through picket lines. Strikers were beat up by management scabs. Entire picket lines were carted off in paddy wagons to clear the way for scabbing.

So the phone company went after union members who were trying to make the strike successful. Lauren and I were among those advocating mass picketing to stop the scabbing and really shut the phone company down. And the phone company was very aware of that. Phone company security was all over the place with cameras, videotape, spies. We feel like they went after us to intimidate not only our union members, but as an example to the labor movement as a whole, that if you defend your picket lines and attempt to make your strike a successful one, this is the kind of treatment you will receive.

Lauren: I also feel that because we were militants in the company before the strike, the company was looking to railroad us out of the system. Ray and I are both in the Militant Action Caucus of the CWA and we were very active in union activities and very active on the picket lines. The company did not like

WV Photo

Pickets confront trucks at Doolittle Drive in San Leandro.

us organizing, did not like our militancy. So we were singled out.

We were also singled out by the San Leandro D.A.'s office because they're racist. The police are, in particular, quite racist. Ray is white and I'm black and they hate seeing black and white together, fighting on the same side. There has been Klan activity in San Leandro for at least the last five years. It's also pretty much a non-union city. Several big unionized companies have been put out of business and lots of people have been put out of work recently.

At the time of Ray's arrest, I didn't even know about any warrant out on me until that evening watching television. They plastered my picture all over TV, as far as being wanted. They put me out to be dangerous, "still at large." This was mainly due to the San Leandro police department. They had to have dug this picture up from one of my old Panther days, when I was active in the Black Panther movement.

WV: Could you tell our readers something about your background that led you to be active union members?

Lauren: I'd been active in the Black Panther Party since its inception in 1966. From 1966 to 1976, ten years. At that time, the Panthers were on their way out. The district attorney's office and the police departments around the country had either killed them all or jailed them all. I had two kids to raise and started looking for work and ended up at the phone company.

I'd been there maybe two and a half years before I met members of MAC. I liked what they said, I liked their politics, I liked what they were doing as far as telling us what the company was doing and what was going on in the union. I started working with them and eventually joined the MAC. The company got wind of this and that's when they started to harass me. The last of '82 until now, they have been on my case for one minor incident after another. It was evident that they were trying to railroad me one way or the other.

I and my family have been active in union work for as far back as I can remember. My mother's brothers, aunts, uncles were all members of the postal workers union and the UAW. They have a Chrysler plant in Missouri and most of my family, my mother, my father and his family, were mainly all union members. We were just all union families struggling to make a decent living.

I also learned about racism and the cops early in my life. My mother was married to a Caucasian for 15 years before he died. He was a member of the Teamsters, driving an 18-wheeler, and he was constantly harassed by members of the Illinois and Missouri police departments for being married to a black woman. He would be dragged out of his truck and beaten when he would take my mother on trips. I remember a particular incident where we were all with him and the police dragged him out of the truck and beat him because he was

Union seeks support at pickets' hearing

The Daily Review
Tuesday, September 13, 1983

...ent was a relatively minor one, as ...e scuffles go.'

"a big turnout" for today's court

right eye stemming from the incident.

Kleeman said Palmiero was charg... to go

The Daily Review
Wednesday, September 14, 1983

Phone strikers face 'frame-up' charges

By RHONDA FINDLING

SAN LEANDRO — Lauren Mozee never thought self-defense resulted in charges of assault and battery — until she had to defend herself against an angry manager from Pacific Telephone.

Mozee, an installer for Pacific Telephone for four and a half years and a member of Communication Workers of America (CWA) Local 9415, has become a victim of the recent heated national strike battle that lasted three weeks between unions and the corporate giant AT&T.

After throwing racially tainted verbal insults at Mozee on a picketline Aug. 10 in front of the San Leandro Directory Assistance office, Pacific Telephone manager, Michelle Rose Hansen struck her, breaking Mozee's lip. Mozee struck Hansen back and then turned around and walked away.

Pacific Telephone is now bringing two counts of felony assault against Mozee, one with a deadly weapon (Mozee's fist) and a battery charge with intent to produce great bodily injury.

Pacific Telephone is also charging Ray Palmiero a direc-

Hansen. Palmiero says he never touched Hansen.

"They (Pacific Telephone) are fabricating this whole thing," said Palmiero. "They are trying to show CWA that they should stay in line."

Mozee and Palmiero were suspended from their jobs Aug. 29 pending investigation for dismissal for alleged violation of a Pacific Telephone conduct code. They were fired the next day.

"These firings followed the frame-up of Ray and Lauren on trumped-up felony charges for defending the picket line against attack by a manager-scab who struck Lauren," read a statement from the Phone Strikers Defense Committee. "The purpose of these charges and firings along with many other arrests around the country, is to intimidate CWA members. Pacific Telephone has singled out Mozee and Palmiero to cover for its own violent strikebreaking."

"We were fired without any investigation based on Hansen's testimony," said Mozee. "I didn't say anything at all to her," Mozee continued. "She approached me and hit me."

Hundreds of phoneworkers, trade unionists, and others have rallied to Mozee's and Palmiero's defense. Already over 90 labor officials have endorsed the defense committee's demands which state that Mozee and Palmiero be reinstated at their ...s with full back pay, that ...e granted to all victi... strikers, and that all ...e dropped against ... Palmiero and all other ...ers.

Mozee and Palmiero both face seven and eight years in jail if convicted of the felony charges. A pre-trial hearing is scheduled for Oct. 7 at the Hayward Municipal court.

The phone strikers defense committee is gearing up for what they feel is "high level collusion between the phone company and the District Attorney, John Jay Meehan's office."

Meehan, who slapped the heavy, multiple felony charges on Mozee and Palmiero was appointed by outgoing District Attorney Lowell Jensen, who left office to work for Reagan.

The attorney representing the victimized strikers, Rick Simmons, claims there must have been pressure on Meehan from high levels of the phone company because of the "speed with which the charges went through."

To further add to the "frame-up" appearance of the charges, "Pacific Telephone aired wild stories about Mozee and Palmiero on the network news, complete with 'mug shot' photos describing them as wild desperados on the loose."

"This whole thing is being blown out of proportion," said Palmiero. "The phone company is trying to show that if you stand up for yourself, this is what will happen to you."

The phone strikers defense committee is urging people to endorse the demands of the defense committee, make a contribution to the committee, and send letters and telegrams to Alameda County District Attorney John J. Meehan and Pacific Telephone president Ted Sanger demanding that all charges against Mozee and Palmiero be dropped.

"An injury to one is an injury to all," said Mozee. "We know that if the company gets away with this frame-up, any union member can be victimized."

PEOPLE'S WORLD
VOICE OF THE LEFT FOR OVER 40 YEARS
CENTRAL EDITION
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1983

PacTel strikers plead not guilty in assault case

By Karen Franklin
Staff writer

HAYWARD — As about 30 supporters filled up half the courtroom, two fired phone company workers pleaded not guilty Tuesday to felony assault charges stemming from an incident on a San Leandro picket line during last month's nationwide phone strike.

Union activists say they expect at least as many supporters to show up in Municipal Court each time Ray Palmiero, 30, and Lauren Mozee, 36, have to appear. The next court date for the two is Oct. 7.

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evidence — it's in their hands," she said.

Palmiero was a directory assistance officer at the 530 E. 14th St. office in San Leandro — where the Aug. 10 incident occurred — for four years. Ms. Mozee was a phone installer in Oakland for 4½ years.

Palmiero said that he and Ms. Mozee are being targeted, while non-union workers who injured strikers have not been prosecuted. He said one picket had her foot run over by a non-union worker, while a man's kneecap was shattered when a van roared through the picket line

...n, the deputy ...o charged the ...nt was not a

...e) is about 6 feet 1, ... a little woman ...s in the face and ...be said.

...court records, a ...ctor treated tele... manager Michelle ... of San Leandro ...ture, a cut lower ...lling around her ...ng from the inci...

... Palmiero was ...'when a man tried ... Hansen's) aid, he ... prevented it."

...ted this version of ...s. Hansen hit Ms. ... that she only de...

... tried to get in... ...d to keep him out

... it a pretty minor ... to what nor... mally happens on a picket line. . . . It was a very spirited picket line."

has no comment on the rehiring demand. "The courts have the

The Mercury News
Wednesday, Sept. 14, 1983

Two deny picket-line assault on phone worker

Two former phone workers who claim they are being framed pleaded innocent Tuesday to charges of assaulting a management supervisor during a picket-line scuffle.

Lauren Mozee, 36, and Ray Palmiero, 30, both of Oakland, will return to Hayward Municipal Court on Oct. 7 for a pretrial hearing.

The two Pacific Telephone Co workers are accused of assaulting Michelle Rose Hansen on Aug 10 outside the San Leandro Directory Assistance Center on East 14th Street.

They were fired on Aug 30

Hansen, a supervisor, was returning from lunch when she allegedly was attacked by a spirited group of striking phone workers.

Defense attorneys claim, however, that Hansen started the scuffle when she knocked a can of soda out of Mozee's hand

On Tuesday, about 30 members of "The Phone Strikers Defense Committee," organized by members of the Communications Workers of America, crowded into the courtroom of Municipal Judge Joseph Carson in Hayward to show their solidarity with Mozee and Palmiero

The committee, in a statement handed out Tuesday, claims that Mozee and Palmiero are the only phone workers in the country to face felony charges as a result of the three-week nationwide strike against the telephone company.

"PT&T has fabricated charges against Lauren and Ray because of their defense of the picket line at San Leandro Directory Assistance against attack by a manager-scab who struck Lauren," the statement reads.

with a black family. And when the police found out that this was his wife and stepkids, they became even more violent, banging his head up against the truck.

After that my mother was sort of blackballed in a lot of factories around Missouri, she could only get jobs in sweatshops, pressing slacks for five cents a pair. It took her years of working in sweatshops, non-union places, before she could build herself back up. Now she works for General Motors and she's still active in the union. But the situation is not as right-wing as it was back in the late '50s and early '60s.

My son Shawn, he's 17, and my daughter Olaywa, 13, are finding just how our system works because they're experiencing firsthand not being able to get the clothes they want or even a record. We turn off the TV early at night because I no longer can afford to pay the PG&E [Pacific Gas & Electric] bills. They're feeling the pressure of the system as it's been forced upon us. They're suffering, even though I try to make the burden lighter for them. They know the issues, the problems we're having. They're bearing with us.

Ray: Both my parents were workers who emigrated from Italy and settled in Cleveland. My dad was a laborer and my mother was a seamstress. My first experience in being involved in a strike was on a visit to Italy, in the spring of 1977. There was a regional general strike in the Lazio region, which includes Rome, where I was working. I respected the strike and was fired for that. It's a tremendous awakening to see that kind of labor power in action, to see everything shut down because everything is run by workers. It's an educational experience and one I learned a great deal from.

I've been with the phone company for four years now, all of them as a directory assistance operator, and that in itself leads one to draw certain conclusions about your employer and employers in general, because there is constant harassment, constant monitoring. I mean, you have to wait your turn even to go to the bathroom. It's very oppressive. But I might add, the reason I was working there was it was the first job I could find after a six-month search, after moving to California from Cleveland, where I was born and raised.

WV: Lauren, could you tell us so far what's happened in terms of your defense?

Lauren: Upon my arrest, the CWA made the bail of $3,000, which I might add, the D.A. originally wanted set at $10,000! The union also made Ray's bail and retained attorneys for us. Both San Francisco and Oakland CWA Locals 9410 and 9415, and also Los Angeles Local 11502, have passed motions demanding that we be reinstated and that the charges be dropped. At our arraignment on September 13, over 30 people showed up to support us in the courtroom and we got press coverage in three local papers. We also just got a big write-up in the *People's World*.

People have just been real supportive in a whole lot of ways. A group of operators at San Leandro Directory Assistance, where Ray worked and where the incident took place on the picket line, take up a collection for food every payday. They go to the store and deposit big bags of groceries on us. Two weekends ago, the Defense Committee organized a rent party for us. Between advanced ticket sales and people who just showed up, the Committee raised more than $1,200. That helped a lot!

During the strike, we had T-shirts made up that say "FULL AMNESTY FOR ALL STRIKERS!" on the front and "SCABS MUST GO!" on the back. The Defense Committee is selling them and at last count I think we'd sold more than 70 of those. And, on November 14, a local blues club, "Your Place," has agreed to let us hold a benefit. A number of blues musicians, including Sonny Rhodes and Maxine Howard, have already agreed to play and we hope that this will be a big success.

Ray: The Phone Strikers Defense Committee was started up by friends and supporters of ours within the CWA in order to build support not only within our union but throughout the labor movement. We feel that the question of defending the right to strike, the right to picket, the right to defend yourself from scab violence, is not one which involves just our union, but the entire labor movement. The Defense Committee has been very successful in its early efforts. We've gotten support not only from the CWA locals Lauren mentioned, but from a lot of other unions. To date, over 90 union officials and ten local unions have endorsed the Defense Committee demands. We feel this is very important. We need as much support as possible and as much pressure to be brought on the district attorney and the phone company as we can get to expose and defeat this frame-up.

Lauren: The different responses that Ray and I have received from all sorts of different people have been sort of an up for us at a time when we've been denied quite a bit—our jobs, we've been denied unemployment, we're facing pretty stiff charges. These are trying times, we have family, we have bills to pay, court appearances that sometimes get to us, and so contributions are important, but just a word of support helps, too. ■

Lauren and Ray Need Your Help!

- The Phone Strikers Defense Committee desperately needs money to mobilize support behind and publicize the fight to defend phone unionists Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero. In addition to frame-up felony charges, both Lauren and Ray have been fired from their jobs and have been denied unemployment benefits. They are the providers for three children.
- Endorse the demands of the Phone Strikers Defense Committee, that:

a) Lauren and Ray be reinstated at their jobs with full back pay;

b) Amnesty be granted to all victimized phone strikers;

c) All charges be dropped against Lauren and Ray and all other phone strikers.

- Send a telegram to support the demands of the Phone Strikers Defense Committee (plus a copy to the Committee) to: John J. Meehan, Alameda County District Attorney, 1225 Fallon St., Oakland, CA 94612; and Ted Saenger, President PT&T, 140 New Montgomery St., San Francisco, CA 94605.

Contact/send contributions to:
Phone Strikers Defense Committee
P.O. Box 24152
Oakland, CA 94623

WORKERS VANGUARD

Bay Area Phone Workers Face Prison for Picket Duty

Labor Support Rolls In for Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero

OAKLAND, October 1—In the wake of the three-week nationwide strike against AT&T this summer, two Bay Area phone workers, Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, have been fired and face up to *eight years* in state prison on outrageous trumped-up multiple felony charges. In the course of the strike, Mozee and Palmiero were picketing the San Leandro Directory Assistance (SLDA) facility when a Pacific Telephone (PT&T) manager/scab called Lauren a "black nigger bitch" and then struck her, breaking Mozee's lip. PT&T is now trying to frame up Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero for felonious-assault and battery, including "assault with a deadly weapon," for their defense of the union picket line and themselves against this *violent company assault.*

This incident was part of Ma Bell's campaign of massive scabherding and violence during the strike, particularly vicious in the notoriously anti-union East Bay suburb of San Leandro. Twice during the strike men drove by SLDA threatening pickets with guns. At a nearby phone location a supervisor drove into a picket with his truck, to which the cops responded by warning the *victim* that filing "false" charges was a crime! Yet the brutal jail terms hanging over the heads of Mozee and Palmiero are the only felony prosecutions of which *WV* is aware. The charges as well as the outrageous bail and TV blitz, complete with a mug shot of Mozee designed to portray her as a "dangerous criminal," point to one of the most vicious labor frame-ups in years.

This attack is a threat to all labor. They want to bring back the days when California unionists Mooney and Billings were framed for the bombing of a 1916 "preparedness" war parade in San Francisco. If strikers can be fired and put away for years in the state pen for doing picket duty, then every union member's right to strike is threatened. And many unionists are realizing this. A Phone Strikers Defense Committee has been formed whose demands have received endorsements from more than 100 union officials and locals, along with at least another 100 rank-and-filers, demanding that Lauren and Ray be reinstated with full back pay, all charges against them and other strikers be dropped and amnesty be granted to all victimized phone strikers.

In the Communications Workers union itself support is growing. In Lauren's Local 9415 almost a hundred members endorsed a statement defending Mozee and Palmiero; 54 of these were workers at San Leandro, where the manager/scab attack took place. Across the bay in San Francisco, several dozen members in Ray's Local 9410 signed support statements. And in Los Angeles, where the LAPD labor squad

continued on page 14

WV Photo

Ray Palmiero and Lauren Mozee at the CWA picket line. All labor has a stake in the fight against their frame-up!

Detroit Rally Demands: Save the Taylors!

DETROIT—"For labor/black defense of the Taylor family!" chanted students and auto workers, black and white, at Wayne State University on September 22. Initiated by the Labor/Black Struggle League (LBSL), the Spartacus Youth League and the Rouge Militant Caucus (RMC), the emergency demonstration was held to protest indictments handed down by a Montgomery, Alabama grand jury. The targets of this attempted legal lynching are a black family of auto workers from Pontiac, Michigan and Warren, Ohio.

Last February the Taylors, including five United Auto Workers (UAW) brothers from Pontiac, gathered in Montgomery to mourn the death of their mother. When two white racist Klan-style marauders armed with guns burst in on the mourning family, the Taylors disarmed the racists and called the police for aid. But now five members of this brave family face up to life imprisonment in the racist hellhole prisons of Alabama, because the marauders Spivey and Brown were themselves plainclothes cops! What's driven the Alabama cops and court into a frenzy is that Northern black auto workers heroically *defended themselves* against racist terror. The State of Alabama smells blood—they have made the frame-up of the Taylors a test case on the road to making the lynch rope the law of the land!

In the militant picket, over 50 demonstrators, including many black WSU students, chanted "Stop the racist police spree, the Taylor family must go free!" and "Down with Jim Crow justice, free the Taylors now!" Expressing outrage at the bludgeoning to death of a Chinese American by a racist Chrysler foreman, the demonstrators demanded, "Vengeance for Vincent Chin—Racist killers in Jackson pen!" LBSL and SL/SYL placards demanded "Down with the Grand Jury Indictments! Jail Spivey and Brown!" and "Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive Is Killing Blacks and Labor at Home."

Particularly important were the

continued on page 13

WV Photo

September 22 Detroit rally demands: Drop the charges against the Taylor family! Jail the murderous cops! $1 million in compensation!

WORKERS VANGUARD

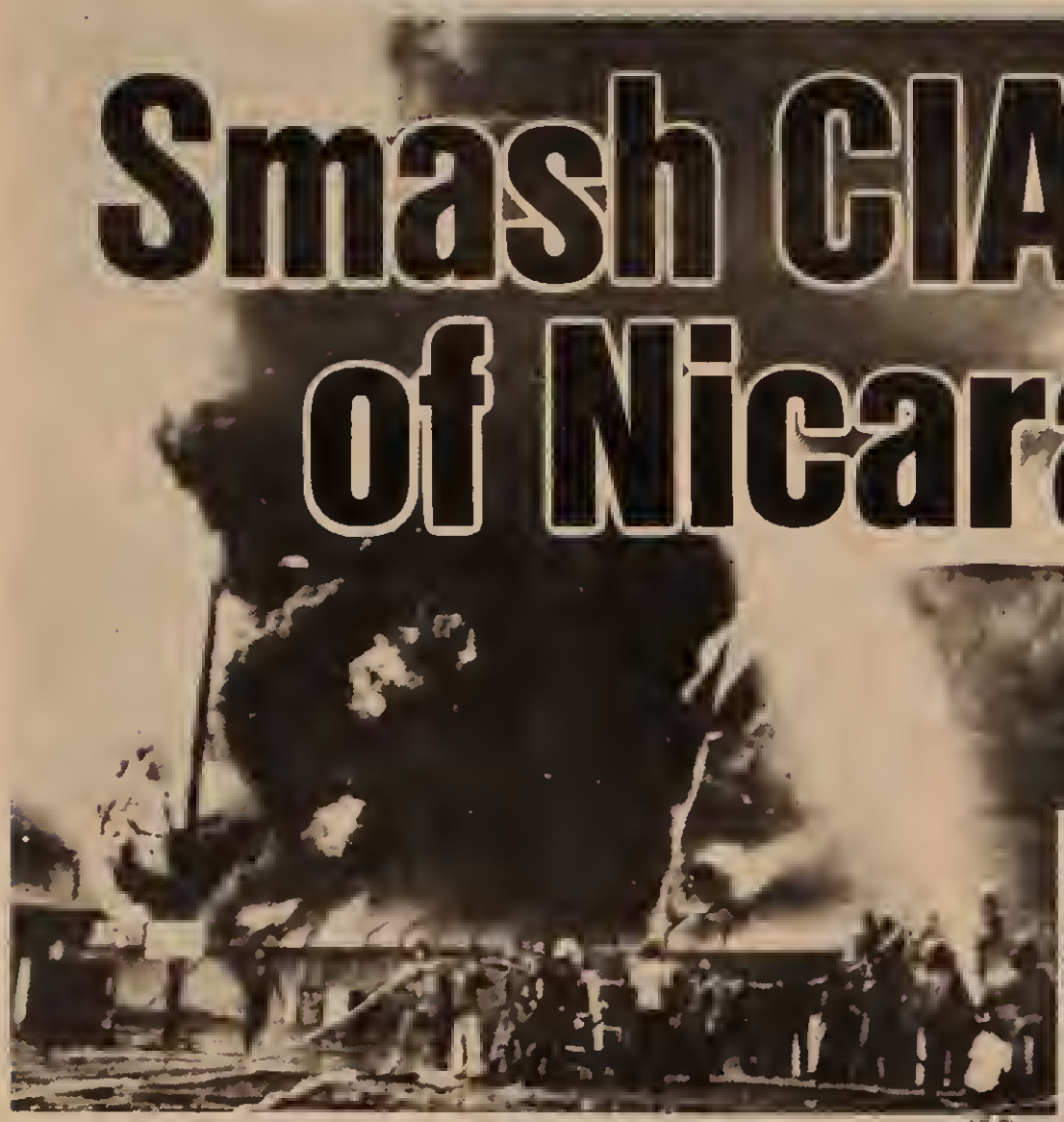
25¢

No. 340

21 October 1983

Sandinistas Need Arms...Now!

Smash CIA's Siege of Nicaragua!



AP Photos

CIA/contra sneak attack on oil depots at port of Corinto forces 25,000 people to flee.

OCTOBER 18—With last week's CIA sneak attacks on key oil facilities in the ports of Corinto and Puerto Sandino, U.S. imperialism's war against the Nicaraguan revolution has reached an ominous turning point. For a small country where 75 percent of oil imports flows through one pipeline and more than half of all foreign trade passes over a single bridge, the effect of these attacks on the economy is devastating. Nicaragua has reportedly now been reduced to barely one month's oil reserves. And while smoke billows from the oil tanks, the Nicaraguans are supposed to politely "negotiate" with war criminal Henry Kissinger! It was the U.S. "two-track" policy summed up: bombs and bullshit. On Saturday, October 15, thousands of angry Nicaraguans demonstrated against this imperialist blackmail, marching behind a giant banner proclaiming (in English), "Reagan Son of a Bitch!"

The Nicaraguan masses have fought too long and suffered too much to lie down and die. For almost half a century the Somoza dynasty, installed by the U.S. Marines in 1934, sucked the blood of Nicaragua's workers and peasants. Fifty thousand people, overwhelmingly youth, were killed in the civil war which finally ended that long night of terror. When the radical nationalist Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) marched into Managua in August 1979 and West Point graduate "Tacho" Somoza fled for his life, U.S. imperialism experienced a defeat in what Ronald Reagan calls its "front yard" which gave the Americans visions of "another Cuba."

Determined to reverse their ignominious rout, U.S.-armed and directed *contras* (counterrevolutionaries), mostly drawn from the sadistic gangsters of Somoza's National Guard, have waged a campaign of terrorism. But as the *contras* were routed by the Sandinista

continued on page 14

Fight New Witchhunt Guidelines!

Spartacist League Sues FBI

The anti-Soviet war drive is finding its inevitable natural reflex in secret police terror. The FBI's new Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines announced by Reagan's attorney general William French Smith in March target the political opponents of the government.

These guidelines direct the FBI to wipe out any legal distinction between the government's political opponents and "organized crime." Painting the political opponents of the government as not simply "subversives" but "terrorists," the new guidelines are a set-up for the legal murder and wholesale destruction of the left.

This dangerous development must be fought with all the political, moral and legal resources that can be mustered. That is why the Spartacist League has initiated a suit against the FBI and Attorney General—against the guidelines and their application to the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League in flagrant violation of our basic democratic rights. Excerpts from the complaint filed by the SL/SYL are reprinted on page 4.

As Marxists, we are hardly shocked that the American state, in its campaign of repression against the left, practices a covert form of General Pinochet's rule. More precisely, when it's having trouble it engages in "excesses" which it then deplores when they have served their purpose, from the mass deportations of leftists in the Palmer Raids to the systematic conspiracy to frame up, jail and if necessary murder the Black Panthers. But this government claims that it is democratic, that its people are permitted such social and religious views as they see fit. We Marxists claim and fight for the rights which issued from the American political revolution and are encoded in laws.

Section III of the new guidelines—headed "Criminal Intelligence Investigations"—places the left within

continued on page 4

They're Trying to Kill the Rosenbergs All Over Again...8

Drop the Charges Against Compton NAARPR Leader!

Mattie Billinger: Victim of Racist Vendetta

LOS ANGELES, October 17—An outrageous racist frame-up is being perpetrated here against long-time community activist and National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR) member Dr. Mattie Billinger. Last Thursday Compton cops barged into her sister's home, dragged Billinger out, arrested her on trumped-up charges and slammed her in jail when she could not raise the astronomical $150,000 bail. Dr. Billinger, a child psychologist and local real estate appraiser, has been active in health and education affairs here for two decades. She is a former candidate for mayor of Compton, has served as vice chairman of the King-Drew Sickle Cell Center, on the advisory board of Martin Luther King Hospital, and as housing chairman of the NAACP.

This latest attack against Mattie Billinger is part of the L.A. County Sheriff's Department disruption of the activities of the newly created Compton branch of the NAARPR—which was campaigning against police brutality. In the early morning of June 9, Dr. Billinger was leaving her office when sheriff's deputies, outside their jurisdiction, stopped her car. They asked her if she had a gun. "Yes, it's on the seat," she told them. The gun belonged to the security officer who guards her office. Dr. Billinger was then charged with carrying a *concealed* weapon—a misdemeanor—handcuffed and spent 13 hours in jail. "This was clearly racist and political," Billinger said. "The police regularly advise white businesswomen in Compton to carry weapons" (*People's World*, 17 September).

When she was arrested, Dr. Billinger told the deputies she had business materials and several thousand dollars worth of cashier's checks and money orders in the car, but was not allowed to take them with her. The janitor in her office, whom she had been driving home, was also refused permission to remove the securities from her car, driven home by the deputies and subsequently arrested when he tried to return to the abandoned car. When Dr. Billinger finally got back to her car the following morning, it had been broken into and the securities, worth some $30,000, were gone.

Then on June 28, county sheriff's deputies again stopped Dr. Billinger. This time they held a shotgun to her head and searched her. With several witnesses on the scene, the deputies, again out of their jurisdiction, left. After this incident Dr. Billinger's attorney, Lawrence Teeter, filed a damages claim against the sheriff's department, protesting this blatant case of political harassment and frame-up. As Teeter told *WV*, the department maintains an intelligence division which is the county's counterpart to the infamous LAPD "Red Squad." In order to uncover any police surveillance, a discovery hearing was set for October 14, at which all intelligence files on Billinger and the NAARPR were to be made available.

But on October 13, the day before the discovery hearing, Dr. Billinger was arrested in her sister's home, interrogated and jailed. Only later was her attorney informed she had been arrested on the outlandish charge that she embezzled her own business of approximately $160,000! During the interrogation, one of the cops waved in her face a National Alliance leaflet defending her and said, "I never thought you'd blast the Compton police like this." The dirty work of hatching the felony charges against Billinger was done by the Compton Police Department in an obvious attempt to take some of the heat off the sheriff's department. But on Monday, *after* she'd been locked up in jail for the weekend, the judge released her on her own recognizance. This is "justice" Los Angeles-style. In El Salvador, when the human rights commission started an investigation, they simply killed the human rights commissioner. In L.A. if somebody complains about cop brutality, the obvious thing to do is lock her up!

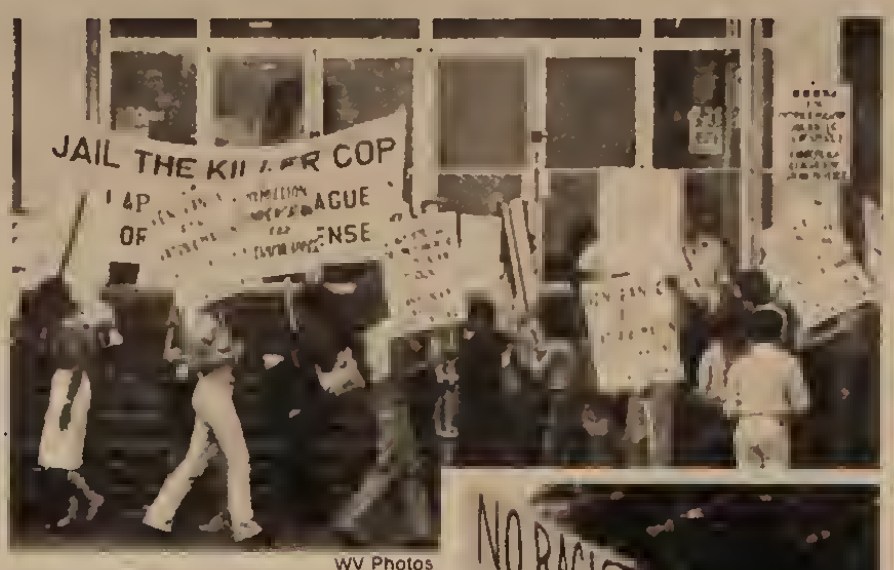
With Billinger in jail, attorney Teeter got a month's continuance on the discovery hearing in the misdemeanor case. Deacon Alexander, L.A. county co-chairman of the Communist Party-supported NAARPR, told *WV* that busting Dr. Billinger was an attempt to make her appear as a criminal when she came before the court on Friday. He said Compton was the National Alliance's nationwide choice to campaign for "community control of the police," and that the NAARPR is presently drafting a ballot initiative on this question. An Alliance leaflet defending Dr. Billinger states she was arrested because "our community does not have any control of the police" and "we are all victims by the police instead of protected by them."

But the job of the police is to enforce the "law and order" of capitalism, not to "protect" the general population. These armed bodies of men will not be "controlled" by the exploited and oppressed until the government of, by, and for the bosses is swept away and replaced by a workers government. These are basic Marxist truths which are demonstrated in every strike and the experience of daily life in the ghetto. But the CP/NAARPR prefers spreading dangerous illusions, just as in their call on the capitalist state to "ban the Klan." Such "anti-extremist" laws will inevitably be used against leftists, as the Smith Act was against the Trotskyists in World War II (while the CP cheered) and then against the Communist Party itself. The way to deal with the fascists was shown in Washington, D.C. last November 27, when 5,000 came out to the call of the Spartacist League-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the KKK from marching in the nation's capital.

On October 6, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League demonstrated in L.A. to raise a cry of outrage against the bounty payment to racist Stanton cop Sperl for his hideous murder of a little five-year-old black child, Patrick Mason, demanding "life behind bars" for the killer cop. As militant unionist Manuel Delgadillo told the protesters:

> "We all know that racist terror must be stopped. But we better know how to do it. Civilian review boards, [Los Angeles black Democratic mayor] Tom Bradley or a Democrat in the White House won't change the racist hellholes we have endured in the ghettos and *barrios* here and throughout the U.S. What is needed to put a stop to the payment of a reward to this racist baby-killer is...to mobilize the enormous power of the labor movement with its black and Latin memberships."

The outrageous racist cop harassment against Mattie Billinger must be stopped! Drop all charges against Dr. Billinger! The Partisan Defense Committee has sent a donation and urges readers of *WV* to do likewise. Contributions may be sent to NAARPR, P.O. Box 104776, 3870 South Crenshaw, Los Angeles, California 90008. ■



WV Photos

No Bounty for Racist Baby-Killer Cop!

"Life Behind Bars for Killer Cop Sperl!" demanded demonstrators in Oakland and Los Angeles October 6. Above, 90-plus demonstrators outside California State Building in Oakland, protesting obscene "compensation" award to Orange County cop for "psychological damage" he allegedly suffered when he murdered five-year-old black child Patrick Mason in his bedroom last March 3.

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Local	Quota (points)	Week Five	%
Atlanta	120	115	96
Berkeley/Oakland	450	436	97
Boston	350	417	119
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Los Angeles	280	288	103
New York	900	975	108
San Francisco	350	383	109
Washington, D.C.	120	124	103
At Large	-	150	-
National Total	3,340	3,791	114

For Polish Trotskyism to Defeat Solidarność Reaction

Why KOR Counterrevolutionaries Should Now Be Released

When Solidarność chief Lech Walesa was awarded the Nobel "Peace" Prize early this month, the anti-Soviet propaganda mills were churning away. It was a triumph of the "free trade union movement" in Poland, proclaimed Ronald Reagan, who demonstrated his concern for "free" labor by busting the PATCO air controllers union. It was certainly appropriate that the head of this yellow "union" for the Vatican and Wall Street bankers should receive a "peace" prize inaugurated by the Swedish inventor of dynamite. Previous Nobel recipients include Mr. Big Stick, Teddy Roosevelt, imperialist war criminal Henry Kissinger and Zionist terrorist Menachem Begin. Walesa's Solidarność—which has called for subjecting the Polish economy to the starvation dictates of the IMF bankers' cartel—is to trade unionism as these warmongers are to peace.

Solidarność Counterrevolution Spiked

In the fall of 1981 Poland stood on the brink of civil war. Three and a half decades of Stalinist bureaucratic rule—highlighted by catastrophic economic mismanagement and conciliation of reactionary forces centered upon the Catholic church—had produced a mass anti-Soviet, clerical-nationalist movement in and around Solidarność. When this Polish "free [read: anti-Communist] trade union" at its first national congress in September 1981 consolidated around an explicit program of dismantling the planned economy in favor of "self-management" and "free elections," the international Spartacist tendency raised the call: "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!"

Burnett/Contact

The pope of counterrevolution tours his Polish homeland last June, inciting anti-Communist and anti-Soviet hysteria.

Fortunately for the international proletariat, Solidarność' hid for power was spiked by the beleaguered Jaruzelski regime in December 1981 at what appeared to be the last possible moment to stop it on the basis of state power. Had Walesa and his colleagues taken over Poland, this would have meant bringing NATO imperialism to the very borders of the Soviet Union, cutting off East Germany and setting the stage directly for a nuclear World War III.

At the same time, we recognized that it was the Stalinists who had driven decisive sections of the historically socialist Polish working class into the arms of the Vatican, the International Monetary Fund and the Reagan White House. Indefinite prolongation of martial law, with its accompanying danger of military bonapartism, could only postpone the day of reckoning while giving the imprisoned Solidarność leaders the aura of martyrdom. Thus right after General Jaruzelski's countercoup, we stated: "As the immediate counterrevolutionary threat passes, these martial law measures must be ended, including release of the Solidarność leaders. A Trotskyist vanguard seeks to defeat them *politically*, by mobilizing the Polish working class in its true class interests" ("Power Bid Spiked," *WV* No. 295, 18 December 1981).

Martial law was formally suspended this past July. But while the imperialists seek to revive flagging spirits with their Nobel for Walesa, the Jaruzelski regime recently indicted four prominent Solidarność advisers for activities against the fundamental institutions of the system, charges which bring five to ten years imprisonment. The four singled out for prosecution—Jacek Kuron, Adam Michnik, Zbigniew Romaszewski and Henryk Wujec—are all former members of the Workers Defense Committee (KOR). Among other things, they are being accused in typical Stalinist fashion of "connections with Trotskyite terrorist groups in the West." However, KOR was not a terrorist conspiracy but a propaganda group (and certainly had nothing to do with Trotskyism). Now that the military danger has been surpassed, Kuron et al. should be released along with the rest of the Solidarność gang.

The pro-Western social democrats of KOR are no worse (just more sophisticated) than the rest of the Solidarność leaders, most of whom were released even before the suspension of martial law, including the "charismatic" Walesa. Moreover, while going after Kuron and his colleagues, the Stalinists continue to placate the Catholic hierarchy, the *main* organizing center for counterrevolution in Poland and *the real power behind KOR*. Only last June, Warsaw invited Pope John Paul Wojtyla to tour his homeland, inciting an orgy of anti-Communist and anti-Soviet nationalism.

We are for releasing the KOR leaders, fully aware (as we warned repeatedly) that their aim was a counterrevolutionary seizure of power. In the fall of 1981 Kuron called for a "council of national salvation" to split away a wing of the corrupt and demoralized Stalinist bureaucracy, subordinating it to the church hierarchy and clerical-nationalist Solidarność. He added: "The moment the council is formed, it would suspend operation of all authorities, including the government" (UPI dispatch, 16 September 1981). After these plans were frustrated, the KOR leader (who had previously been regarded as a "moderate") threw caution to the winds. According to the well-informed *Der Spiegel* (10 May 1982), Kuron smuggled a secret message out of prison proclaiming:

> "In my many years of oppositional activity I have always advocated the principle that one must avoid any resort to force. Therefore I feel obliged to speak out in order to declare that today I regard preparing the overthrow of the occupation [regime] through a general uprising as the least evil alternative."

But Kuron's criminal call for an uprising went unheeded, sparing the Polish masses a bloodbath with horrendous consequences.

As spelled out in response to a letter last year (see "How to Fight Polish Anti-Communists," *WV* No. 306, 28 May 1982), under conditions of civil peace Trotskyists uphold the norm of freedom of expression in the bureaucratically degenerated/deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc, even for capitalist-restorationist tendencies. We do not support imprisoning people because of their *ideas*, however reactionary; it was the counterrevolutionary *acts* of Solidarność which had to be stopped at all costs. The protracted crisis of Stalinist Poland can be resolved in a progressive direction only by proletarian political revolution establishing genuine soviet democracy. This requires the crystallization of a Trotskyist vanguard party, following the path of Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg, which can break the hold over the masses of the clerical-nationalist and social-democratic currents embodied in Solidarność.

KOR: The Pope's Dissidents

Jacek Kuron was not always an organizer for "democratic" counterrevolution. As an adolescent in the early 1950s he was a Stalinist fanatic who enjoyed baiting anti-Communist reactionaries, even then all too numerous in "People's Poland." He first came to prominence in 1964 when he was sentenced to six years in prison for co-authoring an "Open Letter" to the ruling Polish United Workers Party. His political outlook at that time was vaguely syndicalist, though couched in some Marxist terminology. In many respects Kuron and his colleagues resembled New Left radicals in the West, who in turn could identify with these Polish dissidents. Despite its fundamental theoretical flaws, the "Open Letter" clearly called for working-class rule:

> "Under workers' democracy, the representatives in the plants would constitute the political and economic authority.... There would also be an organization with the power to coerce—the workers' militia."
>
> —reproduced in *Revolutionary Marxist Students in Poland Speak Out* (Merit, 1968)

Der Spiegel

KOR leader Jacek Kuron, agent of the Vatican and NATO imperialism.

In this way Kuron distinguished himself from the advocates of imperialist parliamentarism and social democracy. Moreover, the "Open Letter" noted that "the bureaucratic and reactionary dictatorship *favors* the traditional political right." And it warned against "*politically right-wing* groupings and currents headed by the church hierarchy, which hang on to the old catchwords of reactionary ideology" (emphasis in the original). When sentenced to prison by the Gomulka regime, Kuron and his fellow oppositionists marched out of court singing the Internationale.

The "Open Letter" was labeled both by the Stalinists and Western bourgeois media as "Trotskyist." And the pseudo-Trotskyists of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat embraced Kuron and his co-thinkers as their own. But even in 1964 it was clear that Kuron was *not* a Trotskyist. As a sophisticated intellectual, who had been tutored by one of the few Polish Trotskyists to return from Stalin's forced labor camps, he knew well that Trotsky considered Stalinism to have a *dual* nature: seeking accommodation with imperialism but resting

continued on page 13

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 340 21 October 1983

FBI Suit...

(continued from page 1)

the special set of RICO (Racketeer-Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act) conspiracy laws, which have already been used for terrible abuse. In his introduction to these guidelines, Attorney General Smith wrote:

> "The new approach, combining both organized crime and domestic security investigations in a single set of guidelines, should make it easier for your [FBI Director Webster's] agents to focus their intelligence efforts on those criminal enterprises which threaten our people to attain ideological goals."
>
> —*Criminal Law Reporter*, Vol. 32, No. 24, 23 March 1983

"Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines" is the official title for the Smith guidelines and there should be no doubt as to what is meant here by "terrorism." The statement by Senator Jeremiah Denton (chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism) that groups which "produce propaganda, disinformation and 'legal assistance' may be even more dangerous than those who actually throw the bombs" makes it clear that the FBI's targets are, as usual, leftist political organizations (hearing before the Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism, 24 June 1982). "Terrorist" has been the official description for Salvadoran peasants struggling against the oligarchy, black South Africans fighting apartheid and the women and children of Palestinian refugee camps.

Now this fraud has come home with a vengeance. Lawful dissent is presumably limited to college professors who write letters to the *New York Times* delicately questioning the U.S. validation of El Salvador's human rights record. All other political opponents of the government become "criminal terrorists." Even the chairman of the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights noted that the FBI "wants to investigate speech": "The guidelines permit the launching of a full investigation based on 'advocacy' alone" (*New York Times*, 8 March).

The new guidelines replace those instituted by Gerald Ford's attorney general in 1977, which supposedly sought to curb the FBI's abuse of "legitimate authority." As we said at the time, the Ford/Levi guidelines simply streamlined the secret police agencies while pacifying the "respectable" citizens who were chagrined to learn that *their* mail had been opened, *their* phones tapped, *their* medical records and sex lives investigated.

For the left and labor movements, such secret police harassment has been the norm for decades. The deadly COINTELPRO campaign against the Black Panther Party involved vicious frame-ups, jailings, provocations, forgeries and cold-blooded murder. Ask some Panther survivors of the 1960s what it means to be tagged as a "terrorist" by the feds.

In 1976 an "administrative index" or ADEX "memorandum" was obtained through the Freedom of Information Act and made public by *CounterSpy* (6 December 1976). The ADEX file was supposedly "abolished" in 1974, but two years later this memo revealed that the FBI maintained a list of 17 organizations targeted for "special" attention. Among them were the Spartacist League, the Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP). We have every reason to believe that the reality of ADEX still exists; according to the FBI's own testimony they do not destroy files "related to subversive, terrorist or extremist activities" and such information remains "readily retrievable ("Analysis of Claimed Terrorist Incidents in the U.S.," 1981). We also note that the FBI's official definition of the Spartacist League has remained identical since prior to 1977. That "definition" is particularly insidious and ascribes to us a conspiratorial putchism: "...the SPL [FBI acronym for the SL] does not *openly* advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. government *at this time*..." (emphasis ours).

If not "openly" then presumably covertly. That the FBI, the truly secret arm of the ruling class responsible for massive, organized violence worldwide, should mount such an attack on the "dangerous" thought of Marxists is more than an irony—it is historical perversity. In fact, the capitalist government is not "overthrown" violently or non-violently. The historical probability is that in a revolutionary situation there may well be little government to "overthrow" and surely not this government in its present form. The choices posed will most probably be between the democratic soviets of the working class and a tottering bonapartist dictatorship led by some retread of General MacArthur, General Haig, Jeane Kirkpatrick or the like. Any organization that fits the FBI's conspiratorial definition would have to be a group of suicidal psychopaths.

Nothing is less conspiratorial than a Marxist working-class organization, whose success is entirely dependent on the open and widest dissemination of its views and aims. In this tradition the SL takes special care to preserve and make publicly available full records of its public expression and internal discussion.

Decade in and decade out, such palpably false characterizations have been used as a cover in order to harass opponents of the government. For 60-plus years the Communist Party has been subjected to intensive, continual government surveillance; the Socialist Workers Party for 40-plus years and the SL for 20 years. Yet there have been no prosecutions of the CP, SWP or SL—or any members thereof—for violent crime or terrorism—a rather remarkable record (and far superior to that of the government) considering the duration and scope of such "investigation." The only successful prosecutions of the left have been for so-called "thought crimes" such as the witchhunting Smith Act. *Sixty years* and the only thing they can get us for is reading Lenin!

The secret police and their bosses haven't changed since Karl Marx was harassed by secret agents of Prussia. Unable to feed the hungry or provide jobs for the unemployed, periodically plunging the population into devastating interimperialist war, sacrificing every vestige of rationality or decency to its insatiable hunger for profit, the bourgeoisie cooks up a spectre of the revolutionary movement as a criminal conspiracy. With this Big Lie oft repeated, they attempt to discredit Marxists in the eyes of the masses and create a climate of opinion favorable to their witchhunting.

The point of a really effective witchhunt is to coerce the entire population into ideological conformity. The immediate victims, meanwhile, are gotten through the device of conventional fictions whose hypocrisy is made vicious by the suffering that results. There is, for instance—in addition to the usual harassment which results in firings, trouble with one's landlord or bank, visits to one's family—the FBI practice of forwarding to the Secret Service the names of leftists, who are thus made out to he potential threats to the life of the president, upon no proof or evidence whatsoever. Any Marxist—whose views must necessarily be utterly at variance with such acts of individual terror—can only feel the keenest personal resentment and indignation at being lumped with the likes of the obscure Oswald or the fantasizing fascist Hinkley.

Secret police infiltration and harassment of the left aims to poison both the human and comradely relations within the Marxist organization and those necessary contacts between us and various public authorities in connection with assuring the peaceful and effective exercise of our democratic rights. Should various police authorities take or claim to take the FBI's lies at face value, it lays the basis for murderous violence against us. For instance, any group believed to be "violent" "terrorists" would become an immediate target for police and/or right-wing attack in the course of carrying out ordinary propaganda work: a rally, a street sale, a public meeting. The state takes on "terrorists" with its guns drawn. And such a climate feeds the genuinely criminal activities of the racist and right-wing terrorists such as the Ku Klux Klan, emboldening them to attempt more Greensboro massacres.

All of us on the state's hit list had better know what it can mean to be treated as a terrorist outlaw in America. While almost every left press in the country has taken note of the new FBI guidelines, they have taken no action to defend against this McCarthyism with a drawn gun. We are compelled to undertake this legal battle, not only to defend ourselves against the new FBI red-hunt but also to fight to preserve the existing democratic rights of the working-class movement. We do not intend to be blown away—faceless, nameless victims in the dead of night. As the organization which embodies the continuity of revolutionary Marxism in the U.S. today, our task is too important: the liberation of the workers and oppressed from the chains of this decaying, racist system through victorious socialist revolution. A Workers Party Has a Right to Organize!

We urge our readers to strongly support this case. Donate generously to the Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99 Canal Street Station, New York, New York, 10013.

* * * * *

UNITED STATES
DISTRICT COURT
SOUTHERN DISTRICT
OF NEW YORK

SPARTACIST LEAGUE;
SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE;
JAMES M. ROBERTSON and
SUSAN ADAMS, on behalf of
themselves and all others similarly
situated,

Plaintiffs,

-against-

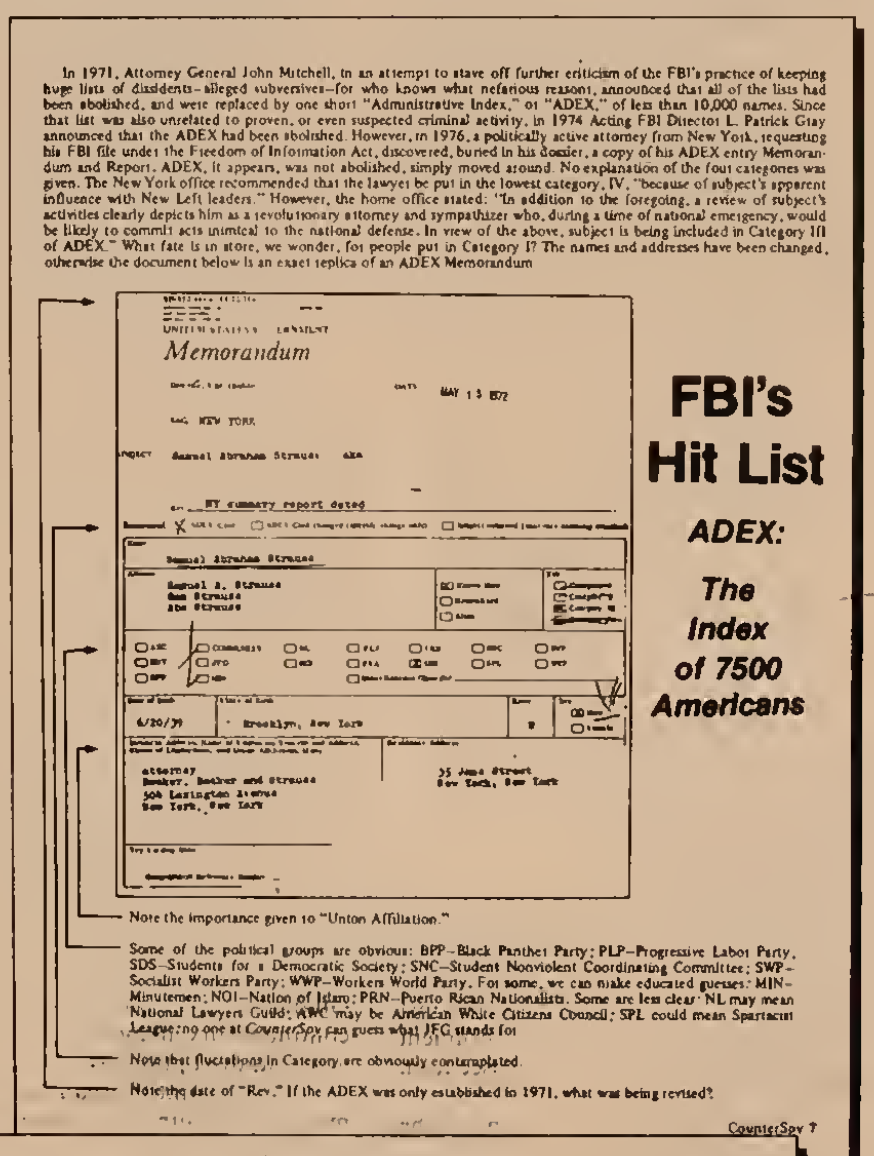
ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE
UNITED STATES; DIRECTOR OF
THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF
INVESTIGATION; and THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

Defendants.

Plaintiffs, by their attorneys, complaining of the defendants, allege as follows:

1. This action for declaratory and injunctive relief concerns political intelligence investigations conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, Marxist political organizations, and the impact of the Attorney General's Guidelines on Domestic Security/Terrorism Investigations upon such investigations.

2. The Attorney General's Guidelines on Domestic Security/Terrorist Investigations recast the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE as violent criminal



In 1971, Attorney General John Mitchell, in an attempt to stave off further criticism of the FBI's practice of keeping huge lists of dissidents–alleged subversives–for who knows what nefarious reason, announced that all of the lists had been abolished, and were replaced by one short "Administrative Index," or "ADEX," of less than 10,000 names. Since that list was also unrelated to proven, or even suspected criminal activity, in 1974 Acting FBI Director L. Patrick Gray announced that the ADEX had been abolished. However, in 1976, a politically active attorney from New York, requesting his FBI file under the Freedom of Information Act, discovered, buried in his dossier, a copy of his ADEX entry Memorandum and Report. ADEX, it appears, was not abolished, simply moved around. No explanation of the four categories was given. The New York office recommended that the lawyer be put in the lowest category, IV, "because of subject's apparent influence with New Left leaders." However, the home office stated: "In addition to the foregoing, a review of subject's activities clearly depicts him as a revolutionary attorney and sympathizer who, during a time of national emergency, would be likely to commit acts inimical to the national defense. In view of the above, subject is being included in Category III of ADEX." What fate is in store, we wonder, for people put in Category I? The names and addresses have been changed, otherwise the document below is an exact replica of an ADEX Memorandum

FBI's Hit List

ADEX:

The Index of 7500 Americans

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

MAY 13 1972

NEW YORK

Samuel Abraham Strauss aka

NY summary report dated

Samuel Abraham Strauss

Samuel A. Strauss
Sam Strauss
Abe Strauss

6/20/39 · Brooklyn, New York

attorney
Booker, Booker and Strauss
300 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York

35 Jane Street
New York, New York

Note the importance given to "Union Affiliation."

Some of the political groups are obvious: BPP–Black Panther Party; PLP–Progressive Labor Party, SDS–Students for a Democratic Society; SNC–Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; SWP–Socialist Workers Party; WWP–Workers World Party. For some, we can make educated guesses: MIN–Minutemen; NOI–Nation of Islam; PRN–Puerto Rican Nationalists. Some are less clear: NL may mean National Lawyers Guild; AWC may be American White Citizens Council; SPL could mean Spartacist League; no one at *CounterSpy* can guess what JFG stands for.

Note that fluctuations in Category are obviously contemplated.

Note the date of "Rev." If the ADEX was only established in 1971, what was being revised?

CounterSpy 7

SPARTACIST LEAGUE

The Spartacist League (SPL), founded in 1965 by former members of another Trotskyist-communist organization, advocates the destruction of the capitalist system and the creation of a workers class system and a workers class society. The SPL national headquarters is located in New York City. While the SPL does not openly advocate the violent overthrow of the U. S. Government at this time or violations of other Federal or state laws, the SPL does believe that eventual violent revolution to overthrow the present capitalist system of government in the U. S. is inevitable. The objective of the SPL is to organize a membership to take action to precipitate such a revolution when conditions are ripe and to direct and seize control of the revolution when it occurs.

Above: Sample page from FBI's "ADEX" hit list, as it appeared in CounterSpy magazine, 6 December 1976. Below: 1976 FBI definition of the Spartacist League, identical to that published in 1982. Both use classic witchhunt language, claiming that the SL "does not openly advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government at this time" (our emphasis). The new FBI guidelines resurrect the ADEX list and add the characterization of "terrorist."

enterprises and terrorist outlaws on the basis of their exercise of constitutionally protected speech and advocacy. These Guidelines, promulgated without lawful authority, provide a pretext for continued and intensive government political intelligence investigations against the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, the criminalization of political opposition and the targeting of these Marxist political organizations for government surveillance, disruption, harassment, suppression, infiltration, prosecution and physical attack.

3. Plaintiff SPARTACIST LEAGUE [hereinafter also referred to as the "SL"], a Marxist political organization, is an unincorporated association with members and supporters throughout the United States. The national office of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE is in the City, County and State of New York. The SPARTACIST LEAGUE was founded in 1966. The historical and theoretical roots of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE derive from the early Communist Party, U.S.A. [hereinafter also referred to as the "CP"] and the Socialist Workers Party [hereinafter also referred to as the "SWP"]. The immediate precursor of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE was the Revolutionary Tendency [hereinafter also referred to as the "RT"] of the Socialist Workers Party. For twenty years the SPARTACIST LEAGUE has engaged in lawful political, educational and organizing activity. Members and supporters of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE have sought state and local elective offices. The SPARTACIST LEAGUE sues on behalf of itself and its members.

5. Plaintiff JAMES M. ROBERTSON is a member and National Chairman of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE. JAMES M. ROBERTSON joined the Communist Party in December 1946 and thereafter was a member of the Workers Party (later known as the Independent Socialist League), the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. Plaintiff ROBERTSON was a member of the Revolutionary Tendency of the Socialist Workers Party and a founding member of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE.

6. Plaintiff SUSAN ADAMS, formerly National Secretary of the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, is a member of the international Spartacist tendency, the parent organization of the plaintiff SPARTACIST LEAGUE. Plaintiff ADAMS is Chairman of the Trotskyist League of France and a member of the International Executive Committee of the international Spartacist tendency.

12. Throughout their entire existence in the United States, the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party and the plaintiffs SPARTACIST LEAGUE and SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE have been targeted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation [hereinafter referred to as the "FBI"] as subversive organizations, subject to continual, intensive governmental political intelligence operations including, but not limited to, surveillance, warrantless electronic surveillance, mail openings, infiltrations by government agents and informants, burglaries, harassment and counterintelligence operations. The aforementioned Marxist organizations, members and sympathizers have been and continue to be the primary intelligence targets.

13. The FBI's justification for this massive political intelligence investigation is the premise that Marxist political organizations are a threat to the national security; dangerous because of a purported strategic commitment to violence; an alleged adherence to the violent overthrow of the government and use of violence to achieve political goals.

14. The entire history of the aforesaid Marxist organizations in the United States is absent of any criminal activity. The Communist Party has been subjected to intensive, continual government surveillance for over sixty years, the Socialist Workers Party for over forty years and the SPARTACIST LEAGUE for twenty years. There have been no prosecutions of the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party or the SPARTACIST LEAGUE, or members thereof, for violent crime or terrorism despite over six decades of intensive government investigation, a rather remarkable record considering the duration and scope of such investigation. Thus, the continuing investigation of these Marxist organizations is based not on conduct, but ideology.

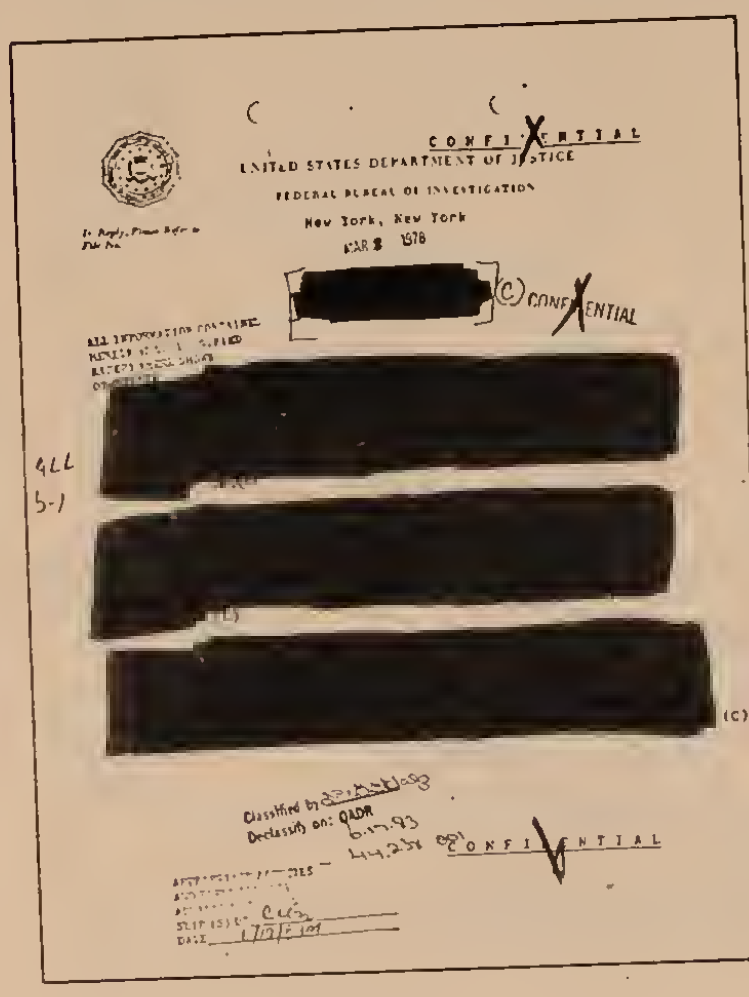
16. From the formation of the Revolutionary Tendency in 1963, through the founding conference of the SL in 1966, and continuing until the present, the defendant public officers and their predecessors and agents agreed and conspired, together with other public officers and their agents, unlawfully, intentionally and knowingly, pursuant to a common plan, to cause agents of the United States to engage in political intelligence operations including a systematic pattern and practice of warrantless electronic surveillance, unauthorized opening and monitoring of mail, burglary, infiltration by government agents and informants, COINTELPRO activities, unauthorized interrogation, and other harassment against the SL and the SYL, their members and supporters.

20. The defendant public officers and their predecessors and agents, together with other public officers and their agents, included the SL and JAMES M. ROBERTSON among the targets of a sustained covert and systematic program known as COINTELPRO to disrupt, disparage, neutralize and destroy the SL.

21. During or about the year 1963, and continuing thereafter, the Revolutionary Tendency of the SWP, the immediate predecessor of the SL, and plaintiff JAMES M. ROBERTSON were subjected to extensive surveillance and COINTELPRO disruption activities, intended to create division between the RT and the SWP.

22. The purpose and effect of the foregoing actions by the defendant public officers and their predecessors and agents was to induce the SWP to expel the RT in order to disrupt, neutralize and destroy both organizations.

23. From the formation of the RT in 1963 through the founding of the SL in 1966, and continuing until the present, the defendant public officers and their predecessors and agents have conducted surveillance of and harassment of the SL and the SYL by causing secret government agents and informants to join or otherwise associate with the SL and the SYL; to report upon attendance, presentations, discussions and activities at classes, conferences, meetings and demonstrations; to disrupt trade-union support work, political demonstrations, legal defense activities, electoral campaigns and distribution of SL and SYL publications; to record the names and addresses of members and contributors; to record the election of national and local officers and central committee members; to purloin and surreptitiously copy documents, reports, pamphlets and memoranda available only to members; and, at the direction of the defendant public officers and their predecessors and agents, to influence SL and SYL policies and programs, secure positions of authority, provoke or exacerbate dissension within and without the organizations, and otherwise to interfere with and disrupt their activities.



An FOIA file as released to the SL: typical "Freedom of Information" in Reagan's America.

37. The defendant public officers and their predecessors and agents have included the plaintiff organizations, SL and SYL national officers and members, solely because of their political affiliation, on a series of published lists, including the Security Index, the Communist Index, the Administrative Index, and the Agitator Index, used by federal, state and local law enforcement agencies for intensive surveillance and harassment of the plaintiffs, targeting them as dangerous to the national security, inciting public animus against them and exposing them to government surveillance, harassment, prosecution and physical attack.

39. As a result of inclusion on the Administrative Index, JAMES M. ROBERTSON, SUSAN ADAMS and other SL and SYL national officers and members have been targeted for summary detention and indefinite internment during times of national emergency solely because of their association with the SL and the SYL.

40. In or about February 1965 and every year thereafter, agents of the defendant FBI DIRECTOR and his predecessors and agents sent a report of the whereabouts and status of plaintiff JAMES M. ROBERTSON to the Secret Service falsely describing him as a person dangerous to the life of the President of the United States.

48. From the formation of the RT in 1963 through the founding of the SL in 1966, and continuing until the present, the defendant public officers have premised their political intelligence operations and harassment of the SL and the SYL, and plaintiffs JAMES M. ROBERTSON and SUSAN ADAMS, upon the alleged commitment of the plaintiff organizations to the violent overthrow of the Government of the United States as well as their alleged conduct which might involve violation of the Smith Act, Internal Security Act and Voorhis Act.

67. On March 21, 1983, Attorney General William French Smith promulgated new guidelines superseding the Levi Guidelines on domestic security investigations. The new guidelines, entitled Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines [hereinafter referred to as the Smith Guidelines or Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines], are integrated into the Attorney General's Guidelines on General Crimes and Organized Crimes Investigations [hereinafter referred to as "the Guidelines"] as a subpart of the criminal intelligence investigations section, with a framework identical to the Racketeering Enterprise Investigations.

68. Organizations previously designated as politically subversive are improperly and impermissibly recast by the Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines as violent criminal enterprises and terrorist outlaws. Marxist political organizations are now categorized as criminal enterprises as a pretext for justifying increased scope and intrusiveness of FBI investigative techniques, and facilitating prosecution of Marxist political organizations as criminal racketeering enterprises.

71. FBI determination to target an individual or organization for a domestic security/terrorism investigation is made on the basis of speech, political belief and ideology, and not acts of force or violence.

85. The defendant public officers, their predecessors and agents have equated the Marxist ideology of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE with advocacy of the violent overthrow of the United States government. The false premise of advocacy of criminal or violent conduct is the pretext for initiating, and continuing indefinitely, a domestic security/terrorism intelligence investigation of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE.

87. The defendant public officers and their agents have applied and continue to apply the Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines to the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, JAMES M. ROBERTSON and SUSAN ADAMS in bad faith, knowing or having reason to know that the SL and the SYL are neither terrorist nor criminal organizations, and that JAMES M. ROBERTSON and SUSAN ADAMS are not terrorists or outlaws. Using the language of conventional law enforcement, the Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines are a pretext for justifying continual surveillance, infiltration, harassment, disruption, as well as prosecution of the plaintiff organizations, their members and supporters based solely on advocacy. Political intelligence investigations of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE, the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, JAMES M. ROBERTSON and SUSAN ADAMS, pursuant to the Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines, are unlawful, neither pertinent to nor within the scope of any authorized law enforcement activity, nor authorized by any executive order or statute.

88. As applied to the SPARTACIST LEAGUE, the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, JAMES M. ROBERTSON, SUSAN ADAMS and SL and SYL members and supporters, the Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines infringe rights secured by the Constitution and laws of the United States. The Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines transform the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE

continued on page 6

Support SL Suit Against Moonie Libel That Kills

The Moonies are trying to frame up the Spartacist League (SL) for our role as the initiators and principal organizers of the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. on November 27, 1982. The ultrarightist Moonies' *Washington Times* falsely accused the Spartacists of "provoking violence" against the police on that day. These lies are not just an attempt to discredit the largest, most effective anti-fascist action in decades—the Moonies are trying to set up the socialists who led that demonstration to be shot down in the streets like the Black Panthers were. The Moonie frame-up fits right in with the FBI's new witch-hunting "guidelines": the FBI defines all Marxist political activity as "violent" and "criminal," and the Moonies offer up the Spartacist League as a target. The SL and the Spartacus Youth League have filed a libel lawsuit against the *Washington Times* because this is libel that kills.

The Partisan Defense Committee has launched a fundraising campaign to help pay for and publicize this important legal battle. Support for the case is growing among blacks, unionists and supporters of black rights who see the November 27 victory over fascist terror as their own. Among the endorsers to date are: Conrad Lynn, attorney and civil rights activist; Michael Meeropol, of the National Committee to Re-Open the Rosenberg Case; Israel Shahak, of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights; Florynce Kennedy, civil rights attorney; and Ford Greene, attorney and ex-Unification Church member, ex-deprogrammer, now anti-Moon activist.

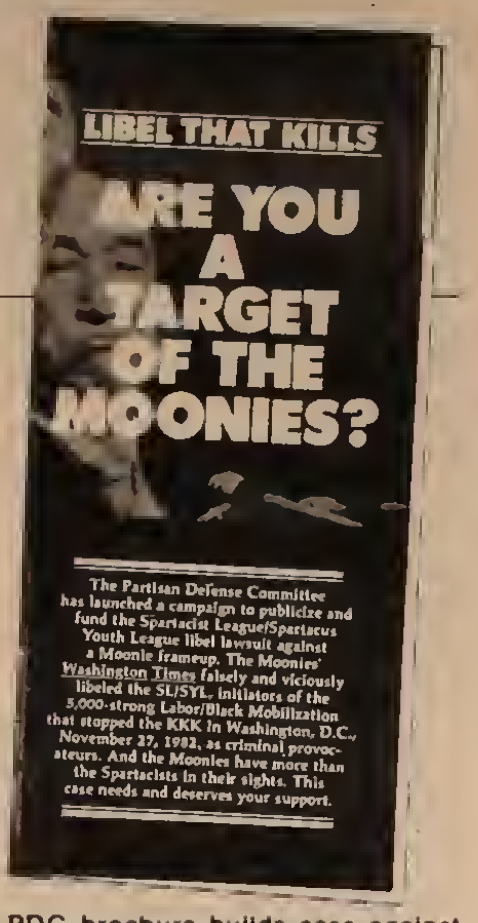
The KKK and the Nazis are the terrorist expression of increasing racism in America. A five-year-old black child, Patrick Mason, is blown away in his own home and the killer cop is awarded a $35,000 bounty. Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero were fired and face eight years in prison for doing their duty on the picket line during the recent phone workers strike because they are an interracial couple, they are union militants, they are fighters against KKK and cop terror, and because Lauren was a ten-year member of the Black Panther Party. Mass labor/black actions can check the growing racist terror and police brutality in this country. The Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the Klan in its tracks shows the way. The Moonie libel goes after all those who endorsed and participated in that action. The Moonies have not only smeared the Spartacists but the over 70 trade-union officials, locals and executive boards who supported that demonstration. That's why it's not surprising that many of these people are among the initial endorsers of our lawsuit.

A number of the endorsements are from Virginia Tidewater-area unionists including: Spurgeon L. Boone, president, IBEW Local 2280, Portsmouth, VA; Reginald Carrington, ILA Local 1458, Norfolk, VA; Marvin Foreman, business representative, Hotel and Restaurant Workers Local 23, Norfolk, VA; Cleophas Hawkins, steward and treasurer, IBEW Local 2280, Portsmouth, VA; Jimmy Volivia, president, UAW Local 919, Norfolk, VA. Brothers from the predominantly black waterfront unions were among the first supporters of the Labor/Black Mobilization and brought the Nat Turner Brigade to the demonstration. Coming from the largest working-class area in the Southeast they understood that Klan threats to march in Washington, D.C. represented an immediate danger. Many of them also participated in the rally monitor squads along with scores of other unionists and Spartacists to ensure that the demonstration was as orderly and disciplined as it was militant. They know firsthand that the Moonie libel is a pack of lies.

Other endorsers of the Labor/Black Mobilization who have now endorsed our libel suit include: Robert Edwards, president, ILWU Local 2, San Francisco, CA; Shelton Tappes, retired UAW member, Detroit, MI; and Alfonso Wells, chairman of retirees, UAW Local 1776, Willow Run, Ypsilanti, MI.

The Spartacist League or anyone else must have the right to organize against Klan/Nazi terror without being subject to frame-up by the Moonies and their press. As the SL warned when we filed the suit, "If the Moon cult prevails in their libel of us, any group or individual in the lead of struggle against fascist terror will be marked for destruction." The Spartacists have truth on their side. But it will take more than that to win against this highly dangerous, super-rich cult. We need your help.

Your financial support and endorsement are urgently needed to win this lawsuit. Send contributions to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99 Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■



PDC brochure builds case against Moonie libel.

FBI Suit...

(continued from page 5)

from lawful political organizations into violent criminal enterprises on the basis of their constitutionally protected speech and advocacy. Thus, the Guidelines target the plaintiff organizations, their members and supporters, as well as plaintiffs JAMES M. ROBERTSON and SUSAN ADAMS, as terrorists and outlaws existing without the protection of the laws of the United States. The Smith Guidelines codify, make public and direct the FBI and other law enforcement agencies to ignore legal distinctions between political opponents of the government and organized criminals. The Smith Guidelines expose the plaintiff organizations and their members and supporters and plaintiffs ROBERTSON and ADAMS to surveillance, infiltration, disruption, harassment, prosecution and violence on the part of law enforcement authorities and political extremists of the right.

89. By promulgating the Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines and applying them to the SPARTACIST LEAGUE, the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, their members and supporters, and JAMES M. ROBERTSON and SUSAN ADAMS, as a pretext for stigmatizing the plaintiffs as terrorists solely as a result of their Marxist ideology and beliefs, the acts of the defendant public officers, and their predecessors and agents, violate the First, Fourth, Fifth, Ninth and Fourteenth Amendments of the Constitution of the United States inasmuch as:

(a) stigmatizing the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE as terrorist and criminal organizations constitutes a badge of infamy, has the purpose and effect of injuring their good name, reputation, character and standing as Marxist political organizations;

(b) designating the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE as terrorist and criminal organizations renders the plaintiff organizations and their members and supporters excluded from the protection of the First, Fourth, Fifth, Ninth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, subject to continual law enforcement surveillance, harassment, disruption, prosecution and physical attack;

(c) characterizing the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE as violent criminal and terrorist organizations induces in law enforcement authorities fear and hatred of the SL and the SYL and their members and supporters, thereby exposing them to increased threats and potential of violence;

(d) characterizing the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE as violent criminal and terrorist organizations invites extremist groups or individuals of the right to commit acts of harassment and violence against the SL and the SYL, and their members and supporters;

(e) designating the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE as violent criminal and terrorist organizations and enterprises permits the government to prosecute the SL and the SYL, and their members and supporters, on conspiracy and racketeering charges solely as a result of their exercise of protected First Amendment rights.

WHEREFORE, plaintiffs SPARTACIST LEAGUE, SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, JAMES M. ROBERTSON and SUSAN ADAMS demand judgment as follows:

A. Declaring unlawful the actions of the defendants complained of herein, and permanently enjoining the defendants, their agents, successors, privies and all persons acting in concert with them....

B. Declaring unconstitutional as applied to the plaintiffs herein those portions of the Attorney General's Guidelines on General Crimes, Racketeering Enterprise and Domestic Security/Terrorism Investigations that pertain to Domestic Security/Terrorism Investigations, and permanently enjoining the defendants, their agents, successors, privies and all persons acting in concert with them, from:

(a) implementing or conducting investigations of the plaintiffs pursuant to the Attorney General's Guidelines on Domestic Security/Terrorism Investigations effective March 21, 1983;

(b) retaining or disseminating information about the SL and the SYL, their members and supporters, compiled since March 21, 1983;

C. Declaring unlawful the defendants' use of information about the SL and the SYL, their members and supporters, compiled prior to March 21, 1983 as the basis for conducting an investigation pursuant to the Attorney General's Guidelines, and permanently enjoining the defendants, their agents, successors, privies and all persons acting in concert with them from conducting any such investigation;

D. Awarding the plaintiffs reasonable attorney's fees;

E. Awarding the plaintiffs the costs and disbursements of this action;

F. Granting such other and further relief as may be just and proper.

Dated: New York, New York
October 19, 1983

Katz & Weinstein, P.C.
and
Rachel H. Wolkenstein
Attorneys for Plaintiffs

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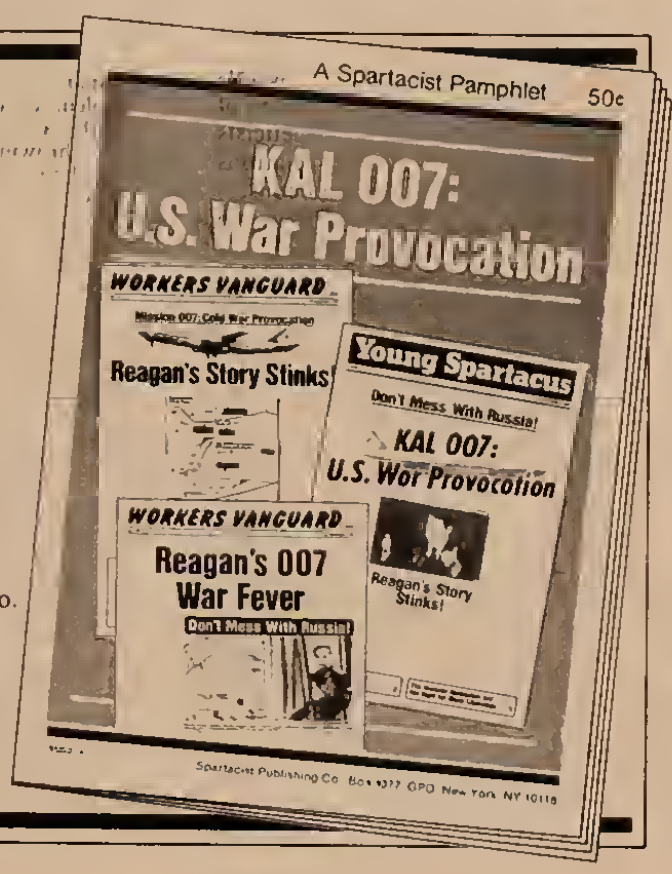

"Z" = Stalinist... And "i" = FBI

Used to be, when you ran across references to "Trotzkyites," you knew right off who you were dealing with. Using an archaic transliteration from the Russian Cyrillic script, the Stalinists sought to portray Trotskyists as alien, foreign-sounding, with "z" as in Nazi, etc. The spelling itself was an orthographical fingerprint.

More recently, another distinctive misspelling has appeared in some pretty funny places: "Sparticist." Through the years we've noticed how this odd rendering of our name seemed to crop up in connection with the wildest and most sinister smears of the Spartacist League and our forebears, including accusations of arson, baby-killing, violent attacks on leftists.

There was that clumsy attempt to frame up the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) at Wayne State in Detroit, in June 1980 (see "Nasty Lies or Murder Set-Up?" *Young Spartacus* No. 84, September 1980). Someone set a fire in the student center, and scrawled on the blackboard there, "The Sparticus Revolution Begins!" As we pointed out in our denunciation of this crude frame-up attempt, "even if we had abandoned all our political principles and turned to isolated acts of terrorism, wouldn't we at least be certain to spell our name correctly?" We noted, "The arson frame-up is also the kind of 'dirty tricks' the FBI has used over the years to discredit black, labor and leftist organizations and to justify its bloody repression." The SYL leaflet (24 June 1980) asked, "And can anyone be sure that COINTELPRO is really dead?"

Then there was the column by John Trinkl in the *Guardian* (21 April 1982), "Left in form: Right in essence," which accused the "Sparticist League" of "harassment and physical attack" against leftists, especially young women, at the 27 March 1982 demonstration on El Salvador in Washington, D.C. This was an opening salvo of a wave of slander, violence-baiting and cop-baiting aimed at us by rad-lib apologists for the Democratic Party. But Trinkl did not limit himself to a slanderous falsification of our defense of workers democracy in breaking through a cordon of "marshals" who were trying to seal us off and censor our revolutionary slogans. Trinkl resorted to outright fabrication when, incredibly, he also accused us of attacking *our own demonstration*, an anti-Nazi mobilization in Ann Arbor on 20 March 1982. (For a detailed refutation of these slanders, including numerous accounts by unaffiliated eyewitnesses, see "The Big Lie," *WV* No. 305, 14 May 1982, especially the section subtitled, "Trinkl, Trinkl... How We Wonder What You Are.")

The orthographic mutant shows up again, this time in the Moonies' *New York Tribune* (31 May 1983), where Albert Weeks, the "national security editor," by judiciously twisting outmoded references, tries to pin the 1932 kidnap/murder of the Lindbergh baby on the German "Sparticists" (the Spartakusbund of Rosa Luxemburg, forerunner of the German Communist Party).

Anyone remotely acquainted with the Spartacist League, the Spartacus Youth League, the international Spartacist tendency, our journal *Spartacist*, knows how we spell our name. Even those unfamiliar with the left saw Kirk Douglas as Spartacus, leader of a slave revolt in ancient Rome, whose name derived from the Greek city-state Sparta. So why this peculiar misspelling, "Sparticist"?

Students of medieval literature and language trace the history and lineage of painstakingly hand-copied manuscripts by tracking the source and radiation of errors in text and spelling; geneticists trace evolutionary paths and relations by tracking the replication and conservation of mutant genes. Similarly, we looked for the source of this distinctive typo, so often associated with sinister, violence-baiting innuendo and falsehood.

Among the latest batch of Freedom of Information xeroxes we have received, a few pages begrudgingly relinquished from the FBI's voluminous files on us, one page escaped the ubiquitous black marker of the censor—a search request for information on the "Sparticist League."

A check back through earlier records turned up yet another clue: heavily censored documents obtained under the Freedom of Information Act from the CIA's "Operation CHAOS," aimed at infiltrating CIA agents into left-wing political groups in the U.S. under the guise of seeking foreign subversion. Once again, the characteristic misspelling appears, this time in an "INTEL" document of February 1972 on the Socialist Workers Party and its left critics:

> "Sparticist League seems to be the more violent of the two organizations but both are extremely committed to overthrowing the system. SWP advocated the more parliamentary path to power by supporting independent movements making reforms within the system, until the Revolution—while Sparticist feels that only through violence can anything concrete be established."

In the founding issue of *Spartacist* (February-March 1964) we described the origins of our name:

> "We chose the title, SPARTACIST, after the name, Spartakusbund, taken by the German revolutionary left wing led by Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht during the First World War. The German Spartacists waged a brave struggle against their imperialist rulers in wartime and, moreover, had to fight every step of the way in opposition to the degenerate, patriotic Majority social democrats of their time.
>
> "In the United States the Trotskyist youth in the early 1930's called their paper *Young Spartacus*. It was an outstanding journalistic fusion of an advocate of revolutionary ideas with a guide to action. We aspire to do no more today than serve as well in honor of the name we have chosen for our endeavor to express the viewpoint of consistent *Trotskyism*, the authentic revolutionary Marxism of our epoch."

We do not yet know (and may never know this side of the American workers revolution) the original mutagenic agent for this misspelling, any more than we know which wing of the secret political police first fabricated the false charges of violence in an effort to smear our decades of lawful political activity and set us up for bloody state repression. As for those who echo these false accusations, we can be sure of only one thing: they have not read the by now millions of papers and leaflets we have published, the picket signs and banners we've marched under. No, they evidently get their information on the "Sparticist League" somewhere else. By their typos shall ye know them.... ■

(COPY)

INTEL

SWP charges that Sparticist League has "sold out the Revolution" by establishing a bureaucratic-elitist rule. Sparticist is also charged with analyzing situations for the Revolution incorrectly and therefore will not last to be in the vanguard of the movement.

As opposed to this, Sparticist league charges SWP with bureaucratic-elitist rule, disregarding the necessity for Democratic-Centralism. Spartist also charges SWP with reformism and opportunism; they do not require the discipline and commitment from individuals that is necessary to make the Revolution.

(Comment: Sparticist League seems to be the more violent of the two organizations but both are extremely committed to overthrowing the system. SWP advocates the more parliamentary path to power by supporting independent movements making reforms within the system, until the Revolution - while Sparticist feels that only through violence can anything be established.)

New York Tribune

ALBERT WEEKS

Kidnapping of Lindbergh baby continues to fascinate

Fifty years ago, Bruno Richard Hauptmann, later ... and executed ... kidnap- ... March 1, ... the Lindbergh ... of Scientific Magazine when he embarked on his

Hauptmann penned a letter to the local radical Marxist-Leninist group, the Sparticists, appealing for help with these words: "I have always been a faithful Sparticist."

famous book, ... back in 1961 ...

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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- [ ] Main ______ References Only
- [ ] Exact Name Only (On the Nose)
- [ ] Buildup
- [ ] Variations
- [ ] Restricted to Locality of ______

Subject: The Sparticist League
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SPPCTICIST	
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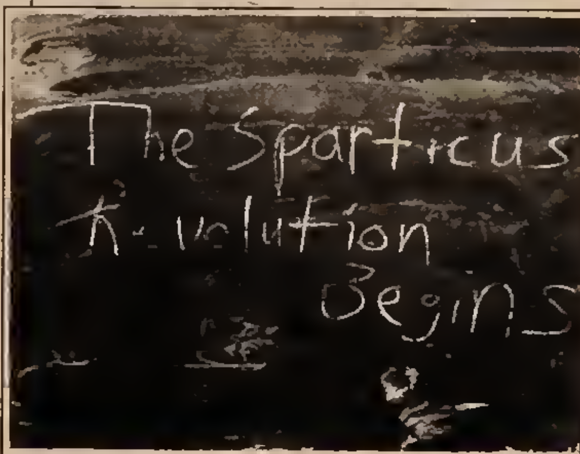


Guardian

on the left

Left in form:
Right in essence

The scenario is almost always the same. There is a large demonstration. Often it is against U.S. intervention in El Salvador, but it also could be a demonstration against the Nazis or a rally against the Reagan cutbacks. A smaller group forms away from the main demonstration and yells angrily at the main group. Soon the smaller group works itself up into a frenzy and charges into the larger rally, fists swinging.

Who is this group? Is it the "Moonies," the ultraright followers of the anticommunist Rev. Sun Myung Moon? The remnants of the fascist U.S. Labor Party? Overeager partisans from the Young Americans for Freedom? No, it's the Sparticist League (SL), a small Trotskyist group whose sectarianism has reached new heights.

The SL has a long history of super-revolu-

(Clockwise from upper left) secret informer's memo from CIA's "Operation CHAOS" file; Moonies' New York Tribune; Guardian's John Trinkl; unknown arsonist at Wayne State, Detroit; FBI files: they all misspell us "Sparticist," they all slander us as violent criminals.

Above, our Spartacist masthead reproduced in 1965 New York Times Magazine. Left, October 1918 issue of Spartacus, journal of Rosa Luxemburg and German Spartacists.

Cold War Rad-Libs Embrace FBI Frame-Up

THEY'RE TRYING TO KILL THE ROSENBERGS ALL OVER AGAIN

At the funeral near the end of the movie *Daniel*, the characters based on the Rosenberg family are buried, and in quick repeat frames buried again and again. The Hebraic mourners' *kaddish* wails as the caskets descend repeatedly into the graves. One cannot help remembering the execution on 19 June 1953—how the executioners strapped the Rosenbergs into the oak chair, how they failed to kill Ethel with the first jolt of lethal electricity. So they did it again.

The Rosenbergs haven't been easy to kill. And the memory of their case, which stands as an indictment of American Cold War vengeance and secret police terror, has been harder still to bury. But now, 30 years later, in the midst of Cold War II, with the anti-Soviet war drive in high gear for a nuclear first strike, and the U.S. secret police on "red alert"—along comes a new set of political executioners to pull the switch on the Rosenbergs again. A concerted campaign by social democrats, New Leftovers and the liberal media is trying to frame up and bury the Rosenbergs once and for all under a mudslide of old lies and anti-Communist swill shoveled up pretentiously as the "new" discovery of the guilty "truth" of the Rosenberg case.

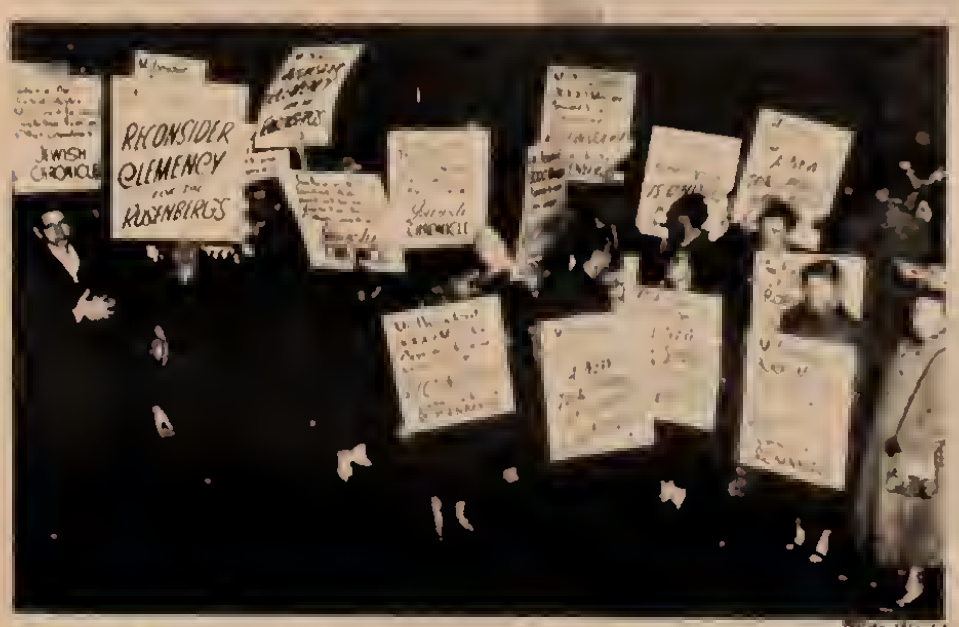
At the center of controversy in this reactionary campaign is an apparently literary debate over the newly released book, *The Rosenberg File: A Search for the Truth* (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1983) by Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton. The audience for this controversy has become large enough for it to play at New York City's Town Hall on October 20 where Radosh/Milton will debate Walter and Miriam Schneir, who wrote the most exhaustive defense of the Rosenbergs, *Invitation to an Inquest* (Pantheon, 1965, revised 1983).

That a debate in 1983 asks the question, "Were the Rosenbergs framed?", marks how far right the rad-lib and reformist milieu has moved under the pressure of the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. The government legally murdered the Rosenbergs and sent Morton Sobell to prison for 30 years on the basis of testimony cooked up by the FBI and its battery of informers, professional turncoats and lying squealers. What will rad-libs debate next? Sacco and Vanzetti? Dreyfus?

UPI

The brave Rosenbergs, martyrs of Cold War witchhunt.

Make no mistake about what is going on here. Arguments may hinge on apparently minute historical details and legal logistics, but the debate over the Rosenbergs is no mere literary exercise. The prosecution of the Rosenbergs in the liberal press is a defense of the secret police, prosecution, judiciary and highest federal authorities who framed them. There is another Red Hunt in the making and its intended victims had better learn to recognize and fight it. What is at stake is the mobilization of opinion behind the anti-Soviet war drive, and the witchhunting of its opponents. That is the clear and present danger of this Cold War II campaign.



Wide World

Demonstration for clemency in U.S. Radosh/Milton hatchet job claims the CP wanted the Rosenbergs dead.

The new Cold War can use these social-democratic prosecutors of the Rosenbergs. The anti-Soviet war drive already has its McCarthy types in Jeremiah Denton, Jesse Helms, et al. But it needs a new younger, activist layer of witchhunting liberal intellectuals to bring anti-Sovietism to a boil. Where is the American Committee for Cultural Freedom now that the CIA really needs it?

It isn't enough to howl in the pages of the *New York Review of Books* about the Soviets' invasion of Afghanistan against the mullah "freedom fighters." It isn't sufficient to take out "I-was-a-dupe" ads in the *New York Times* when the Stalinists came to power in Vietnam. Or to wail for Reagan's favorite "union," counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność, or scream "Soviet barbarism" over the recent U.S. war provocation, KAL Flight 007. Just as the Rosenberg case drew the line in the postwar witchhunt, it is again the Rosenberg case which draws political blood today. Ideological limits must be set and enforced: "Beyond this point—treason." It was the ex-Communist Granville Hicks who said that every American Communist "is actually or potentially a Soviet agent" (David Caute, *The Great Fear*).

The political basis of the postwar witchhunt was set by the Cold War liberals. Their obsessive anti-Sovietism dominated over the Henry Wallace forces as well as the McCarthy gang; they had their torches out long before the Senator from Wisconsin started waving his list of names. It was the pro-Truman anti-Communists who founded the ADA, and the social democrats who drove the CP and radicals out of the unions. McCarthy was a fringe development in the anti-Communist hysteria; and when he went "too far"—that is, added the names of Cold War liberals to the Attorney General's List—they dumped him. The liberal Cold Warriors shared the same enemy, Communism, but thought McCarthy wasn't efficient.

The campaign to re-try the Rosenbergs in 1983 is part of this tradition of liberal witchhunting. But the new Cold Warriors have a special problem. After the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and the exposures of domestic secret police terror such as COINTELPRO and Operation CHAOS, they face not only the "Vietnam syndrome": an abiding distrust of the government's secret police and hostility toward McCarthyism. Into the breach, for the Vietnam generation, has jumped a new political animal: the Cold War rad-lib. Radosh/Milton take the most dramatic example and symbol of McCarthyite victimization to show how they can be lynched by "respectable" anti-Communists.

We don't want to hear clichés about history not repeating itself. Once again the Rosenberg case is the dividing line in the realignment of reformist forces in the anti-Reagan popular front around the Democratic Party. Once again men and women will display their loyalty to their government's anti-Soviet policy by denouncing the "atom spies." For its part, the CP acts as if it does not know what is happening, as once again it blithely continues to hold hands with the liberal "progressives" who are preparing the anti-Communist witchhunt. And the social democrats do a social-patriotic jig on the graves of the martyred Rosenbergs.

The Selling of The Rosenberg File

The Rosenberg File has been hailed by the liberal and right-wing press anxious to find the Rosenbergs guilty as charged. In the *New York Times* (14 August), Alan Dershowitz proclaims *The Rosenberg File* "definitive" and insists with a pomposity that seems to come naturally to Harvard law professors that "all future discussions about the Rosenberg case, at least those that are reasonable, will have to begin with the historical fact that Julius Rosenberg *was* guilty of espionage."

The liberal book review establishment has jumped at the opportunity to declare *The Rosenberg File* "definitive" and "exhaustive" (*New York Times*) and "honorable" (*Los Angeles Times*). The lightning rods of liberal intellectual anti-Communism at the *New York Review of Books* took the unusual and provocative step of having Radosh/Milton review the Schneirs' book, against which their own is a polemic. Social-democratic editor of *In These Times* James Weinstein—whose memory of a casual connection to Julius Rosenberg, Radosh claims, started "The Search for The Truth"—found the book "convincing," of course, even

"fearless" and praises the author for having done "a great service" for the left. But the ultraright, from McCarthy's clone Roy Cohn to the dangerous Moonie cult, applauds the "great service."

What is particularly galling about *The Rosenberg File* gang is their accusations that their critics on the left are sentimental liars, bleeding hearts, softheads and emotional cripples. When for instance one of the sons of the Rosenbergs, Michael Meeropol, wrote an outraged letter to the *New York Times Book Review* (18 September) after Dershowitz' political puff piece on *The Rosenberg File*, citing errors of fact, missing sources, faked interviews and the like, Radosh/Milton and Dershowitz struck Olympian poses of patronizing disdain. Radosh/Milton "fully understand the pain and grief" of the Rosenberg children, but..."it is impossible for us to tailor our findings to satisfy his emotional need." And Professor Dershowitz, not to be outdone for sanctimony and self-righteous sneering by a couple of upstarts from second-rate universities, explains that he "honestly" looks at the problem, whereas "Understandably, the Rosenberg children do not have the luxury of changing their minds about so personal a tragedy." The charges made by Meeropol and the Schneirs however are not at all emotional, but an intellectual frontal assault on the integrity of *The Rosenberg File*. It is the cheap-shot academics who use the personal tragedy of the Rosenberg family in one of the more disgusting *ad hominem* attacks one is likely to see: the Rosenberg children cannot be believed or taken seriously because they are, after all, "understandably"...the Rosenberg children. We hail the efforts of the children of the Rosenbergs to vindicate the name of their brave, martyred parents.

It is no wonder the liberal anti-Communism of *The Rosenberg File* is such a hot commodity in Cold War II. According to the ads, here was the "Search for The Truth" conducted by left-wing radicals persuaded, against their prejudices to the contrary, of the guilt of the Rosenbergs. This son-of-god-that-failed routine for ex-New Leftists is nothing new. Calling himself "a man of the democratic left" (p. xiv), Ronald Radosh, the principal author of *The Rosenberg File*, parades his left-wing "credentials" in an attempt to make his thesis more believable. He begins the book with an "Up from Communism" personal memory of the 1953 deathwatch for the Rosenbergs in Union Square. Now a member of Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), he has recently protested against the portrayals of him as, in his words, "a McCarthyite right-winger." But Radosh proudly declared to a *Washington Post* (10 September) interviewer: "It's true I'm an anticommunist. It's a sensible thing to be."

These "sensible" anti-Communists claim to present a dispassionate, scholarly historical study relying on the newly released FBI files (and other files of the secret police) pried away from the government in FOIA lawsuits. The government's McCarthyite case is so discredited that Radosh/Milton for the prosecution try to appear evenhanded. In the vocabulary of prosecutors everywhere, they describe Ethel, for instance, as "an accessory." But they concede that there was "no hard evidence against her." They admit the government's "questionable tactics" in the trial and an overzealousness which "hardly fulfilled the high standards of American justice."

The Rosenberg File is an intellectual fraud and a political outrage. Its posture of evenhanded scholarship is a smokescreen for the fires of a new witchhunt. The authors of *The Rosenberg File* fully deserve to be taken apart for their lousy scholarship: for making up interviews with Communist Party members at the time, falsifying incidents, taking FBI stories at face value, and making cross-checking nearly impossible. But that angle of attack misses the main political point. This book is more a political occasion than the serious historical groundbreaker it claims to be. Despite all the pretense to scholarship, *The Rosenberg File* is a pulp-style popularization of the FBI's line. It is at bottom an event in the mobilization of opinion for Cold War II, along with the American Bar Association's leaking of a report in support of Judge Kaufman, and in a contradictory and unfortunate way, the movie *Daniel*, a grim and twisted version of Doctorow's powerful book. In the film, only the *New York Times* reporter seems to make sense: they had to be guilty of something.

FBI Garbage: "It Comes From Radosh"

It is precisely because the government's case against the Rosenbergs is so discredited and the methods of McCarthyism so despised that Radosh/Milton claim to have discovered the "new" Truth among the FBI files. But they present no credible evidence of the Rosenbergs' "guilt." On the contrary, their own book provides ample evidence of the government's frame-up: the FBI-coached testimony of fingermen Greenglass and Gold, Judge Kaufman's death sentence reached in consultation with the prosecution, the "confess or die" strategy particularly using Ethel's death sentence as "lever."

So what are the "new" revelations claimed to "prove" the Rosenbergs guilty? They scavenge in the FBI's garbage to attempt to construct a new case built on uncritical acceptance of FBI reports on informers, hearsay about connections between Julius Rosenberg and his CCNY friends, innuendo and FBI speculation, "mysterious disappearances" plus some interviews the content of which is being denied at a rapid rate. Car rides are taken to be secret espionage missions; apartments are viewed through the lens of the FBI as spy nests; and even in the midst of the vicious Cold War witchhunt, flight is offered as "evidence" of guilt. No doubt Radosh/Milton expect Rosenberg's CP friends to trust to those "high standards of American justice."

Radosh/Milton digest and then disgorge as "The Truth" the garbage even the FBI refused to use. And what does their case boil down to? The same testimony of the Greenglasses corroborated by the infamous Harry Gold. As their interviews with the Greenglasses show, they are no more believable 30 years later.

We are not experts on the disputed details of the Rosenberg case. We haven't examined the Rosenberg files. We haven't brought in our own handwriting experts to make an independent check on the "Hilton Hotel Card," and we haven't interviewed James Weinstein's roommates. But we do know a government frame-up and social-democratic political hatchet job when we see one. One need not be an expert on the Rosenberg case to see that *The Rosenberg File* is itself part of the continuing frame-up.

First, Radosh/Milton take the FBI as good coin. The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC)—a class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League—backed the legal fight of the Committee to Re-Open the Rosenberg Case to get the files released. But of course the PDC had no expectation that the FBI would hand over files which proved the Rosenbergs innocent if such files were in their possession. It ought to be obvious that the secret police are going to withhold or censor the most self-condemnatory materials, and doctor some files they do release. Marshall Perlin, attorney for the Meeropols and the Committee to Re-Open the Rosenberg Case, estimates that at least 100,000 pages, *about one-third of the total*, have been withheld by the secret police. We demand: Release all the files! We too want to see the government's files exposed. And we are confident that they will reveal even more clearly, for those who are willing to see it, the vicious political frame-up of the Rosenbergs. Indeed, already with the 250,000 pages of newly released files, this is what has happened, Milton/Radosh to the contrary.

Just as the defenders of the Rosenbergs have argued for years, there is further confirmation that the key testimony was cooked up with the close collaboration of the FBI. On the stand, it was Harry Gold's "I come from Julius" which pointed the finger at Rosenberg. The FBI "reconciled" their contradictory statements about the alleged meetings in Albuquerque in 1945. Gold had told the FBI his password was "Greetings from Ben in Brooklyn," Greenglass said there were no "greetings" from anybody. So the government moved Greenglass in with Gold, who was one of the biggest compulsive liars in U.S. judicial history. He said he had become "so tangled up in a web of lies.... It is a wonder steam didn't come out of my ears" (*The Rosenberg File*, p. 154). The FBI worked on their stories. On 28 December 1950, the FBI agent who interviewed them both together at the Tombs wrote:

> "Concerning the reported salutation 'Greetings from Ben,' Greenglass says that he has no recollection of such a statement made by Gold.... Greenglass proposed that possibly Gold had said 'greetings from Julius' which would of course make sense to Greenglass. Gold's spontaneous comment to this was that possibly Greenglass was right that he had mentioned the name Julius rather than Ben."
>
> —*Invitation to an Inquest*, p. 463

Even Radosh/Milton admit that for those who want to prove an FBI conspiracy this is the "smoking gun" (p. 161). But not for the "Searchers for Truth" who find no conspiracies anywhere but among Communists.

Radosh/Milton drag out as a "new" revelation the files on the police fink Jerome Tartakow. Tartakow, a pimp, a convicted robber serving time on his third conviction, struck a deal with the FBI in exchange for money and early parole. The "confession" to a jailhouse informer is practically a genre in the history of American frame-ups. Whenever evidence is hard to find, a jailhouse informer is easy to find. *The Rosenberg File* authors want their readers to believe that Julius Rosenberg, who was daily tormented to "confess" to the FBI to save his wife from the electric chair, blabbed to this jailhouse informer. Carl Marzani, the respected World War II OSS officer and left-wing publisher, who went through the House of Detention in the summer of 1950, has recently written of his conversation with Rosenberg there, noting that Julius Rosenberg told him "the prison was full of informers" (Ann Mari Buitrago, "The Fraud of the Century," *Our Right to Know*, Fall 1983). According to Radosh/Milton, not only did Rosenberg "confess" his own guilt in detail, but also supplied the names of friends as "Soviet agents" and "trusted courier of the Russians." However, the Schneirs note that while the FBI was hardly averse to bugging private conversations, they never bothered to wire their jailhouse rat, Tartakow.

It is obvious that with Tartakow the FBI could produce any story it wanted and get it back as though it came from the mouth of Rosenberg. Those who buy the Tartakow "confession" story ought to be in the market to make a down payment on the Brooklyn Bridge.

Once again, Radosh/Milton are reprosecuting with material that even the FBI and prosecution teams knew wouldn't make a case against the Rosenbergs. The FBI characterized Tartakow as a man of "unknown reliability." They never had their fink

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UPI

Paris Match

UPI

Judge Irving Kaufman (left) sent Rosenbergs to the chair in act of Cold War terror. Radosh/Milton frame-up rests on stories of David Greenglass (center) and Harry Gold: still liars after all these years.

Rosenbergs...

(continued from page 9)

sign a sworn statement, and they certainly were not going to expose his story to cross examination on the stand. But for Radosh/Milton no rock is too slimy to pick up if they can throw it at the memory of the Rosenberg martyrs. And no lie too big or obvious for these "Searchers for The Truth" who must imagine that their readers have suspended all critical judgment in the interest of "proving" the Rosenbergs guilty. Or they think we're just dumb.

Show Trial U.S.A.

It was not only the Rosenbergs but the "Soviet threat" which was on trial. The Rosenbergs were tried as "atom spies" because U.S. imperialism, after years of portraying the Soviet social system as too primitive to accomplish a technological breakthrough of this magnitude, now was forced to explain its loss of the nuclear monopoly—and thus of its capacity for nuclear blackmail. The government needed to gear up the U.S. for the "arms race," that is, imperialist war preparations. The explosion of the Soviet atom bomb, the victory of the Chinese Red Army over the U.S.-backed Kuomintang, and then the Korean War—the Rosenbergs were blamed for all of it.

The U.S. had come out of the second imperialist World War relatively unscathed and hegemonic among its imperialist rivals. Only the USSR stood between the U.S. and its dreams for "an American century." American weakness was thus attributed to spies and saboteurs, a Communist "Fifth Column." "Who lost China?" The "pinkos" in the State Department. How did the Russians secure their Western border? New Dealer "spy" Alger Hiss engineered it at Yalta. How did the Soviets get the atom bomb? Julius Rosenberg stole "the secret" and gave it to them. The Rosenbergs, as political scapegoats, got the death sentence. Of course, "treason" is supposed to involve giving aid and comfort to the enemy in wartime—but the USSR was an *ally* in World War II!

Judge Kaufman declared (*Invitation to an Inquest*, p. 170): "I consider your crime worse than murder.... I believe your conduct in putting into the hands of the Russians the A-bomb..." (a charge neither made nor proved) "has already caused...the Communist aggression in Korea, with the resultant casualties exceeding 50,000 and who knows but that millions more of innocent people may pay the price of your treason" (also not charged or proved). And President Eisenhower himself denied clemency on a clear political basis: "I can only say that, by immeasurably increasing the chances of atomic war, the Rosenbergs may have condemned to death tens of millions of innocent people all over the world" (*ibid.*, p. 248).

The government ran its show trial knowing it had no case against the Rosenbergs and Sobell for espionage. So they were charged *not* with espionage but *conspiracy* to commit espionage. The government knew, as the FBI files show, that the Rosenbergs did not "steal the secret of the Atomic bomb." Nor was the sketch recreated by Greenglass on a single sheet of paper what Roy Cohn called it, a drawing of "the atom bomb itself." The newly released files include the formerly secret testimony of Manhattan Project chief, General Leslie Groves, before the Atomic Energy Commission: "I think the data that went out in the case of the Rosenbergs was of minor value. I would never say that publicly. Again, that is something, while it is not secret, I think should be kept very quiet because irrespective of the value of that in the over-all picture, the Rosenbergs deserved to hang..." (Schneirs, p. 466).

The government hoped to get a series of show trials to frame up the CP for espionage. They went on frequent fishing expeditions hoping to find someone who would "break" under the pressure. They wanted to force "confessions" and get the confessors to point the finger at other CPers, no matter what the facts. The FBI may have struck paydirt with the Greenglasses but not with the Rosenbergs. So they made it a matter of life and death. As we wrote in 1975 in our first article on the Rosenberg case, "In Defense of the Rosenbergs" (*WV* No. 86, 21 November 1975):

> "Above all the state hoped to set off a chain reaction of FBI-authored 'confessions,' with the Rosenbergs and Sobell playing along, to linger the real 'masterminds.' During the trial and right up to the executions the Rosenbergs were promised time and again that the state would be lenient if only they would 'cooperate' and name names...the Rosenbergs, with their lives at stake, never swayed."

The authentically great Soviet spy Kim Philby called them "the brave Rosenbergs." Many admired the Rosenbergs' heroism in stopping this government domino strategy. Cast by an accident of history into the role of martyrs, this otherwise rather undistinguished CP couple did not renounce the Soviet Union, and met their political fate without a flinch. Now Radosh/Milton want to take every statement of their heroism as "evidence" of their "guilt."

The Rosenbergs and the Russian Question

From the pages of the *Times* to the debate at NYC Town Hall, the debate on the Rosenberg case has focused narrowly on the question of whether or not Julius Rosenberg engaged in espionage for the Russians. Yet it is clear that the government killed the Rosenbergs for political purposes. The question of their innocence or "guilt" mattered not at all. Nor is it the key question for revolutionaries in this historic case. The unstated but central issue in the resurfaced debate over the Rosenberg case is the dominant political issue of our time—the Russian Question. For Radosh/Milton and the rest of the social-dems, Russian espionage is a crime not only on the law books but in their own American social-patriotic eyes.

For revolutionaries, on the contrary, those who helped the Russians achieve nuclear capacity did a great service for humanity. Had U.S. imperialism maintained a nuclear monopoly, it would have meant historic defeats for the international proletariat. It would have meant nuclear destruction from Southeast Asia to Latin America. Who can doubt that U.S. imperialism would have destroyed Vietnam totally with nuclear weapons if they did not fear a retaliatory Soviet strike? Would Cuba exist today if the U.S. had a nuclear monopoly? It is clear that the USSR's advance to nuclear capacity and then to nuclear parity has thus far been instrumental in staying the nuclear hand of U.S. imperialism.

It is the Soviet Union which is the main target of imperialism as the new battery of first-strike missiles clearly shows. Since the October Revolution overturned capitalist property relations, the imperialists have been at war—sometimes hot, sometimes cold—to restore their social order. One need only imagine the monstrous political and social results if Ronald Reagan faced a non-nuclear Soviet Union with nuclear weapons in his holster. As Manhattan Project chief General Groves put it, Truman dropped two bombs on Japan because two was all he had.

The social gains of October remain despite the Stalinist political counterrevolution. We Trotskyists defend the Soviet Union against imperialism as we fight for a political revolution against the conservative bureaucratic caste which has usurped political power from the proletariat and promotes suicidal illusions in "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialists.

With the Rosenberg case the government asserted with state terror that the Communist Party was the direct secret agent of a hostile state power. That is what the charge of espionage means. It charges the entire CP with spying on the basis of its sometimes queasy political support to the Soviet Union. Judge Kaufman was quite explicit in this regard, as he sentenced the Rosenbergs to death:

> "It is so difficult to make people realize that this country is engaged in a life and death struggle with a completely different system. This struggle is not only manifested externally between these two forces but this case indicates quite clearly that it also involves the employment by the enemy of secret as well as overt outspoken forces among our own people."
>
> —*Invitation to an Inquest*, p. 169

The connection between "overt outspoken forces" with "secret" espionage is fatal. Outspoken pro-Soviet politics thus becomes "evidence" of espionage, and every CPer can be charged or intimidated with the charge of espionage. Unfortunately, the present Rosenberg debate is posed as a battle for the hearts and minds of those for whom the defense of the Soviet Union is a crime. And as the going gets tougher in Cold War II it may become, in Judge Kaufman's words, a crime "worse than murder."

How the CP Failed the Rosenbergs

One of the creepier anti-Communist themes of *The Rosenberg File* asserts that the CP wanted to see the Rosenbergs dead: "So, while the Rosenbergs were not the victims of a frame-up, they were indeed hapless scapegoats of a propaganda war—a war in which their deaths would be counted as a victory for both sides" (p. 452). Radosh/Milton equate the government's legal murder of the Rosenbergs with the CP's defense policy. *The Rosenberg File* authors explain the CP's reluctance to take up the Rosenberg defense until 1952 as more implied "evidence" of their guilt. But in fact the entire left, with the exception of the *National Guardian*, was slow to take up the case. It wasn't until the death sentence was ordered that the fundamentally political character of this case became evident.

Radosh/Milton argue that the CP wanted the Rosenbergs dead so that they could be sure they wouldn't "confess." To what? The government wanted the Rosenbergs to name other CPers as espionage agents. Once again this disgusting "proof" of the Rosenbergs' alleged guilt misses the entire point of why the American left, including the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party (SWP), didn't rush to defend the Rosenbergs. *All* the organizations of the American left were on the defensive and for good reason. It was a time when militants were tried and sent to jail for long stretches often on nothing other than their libraries. Congressmen were calling to make CP membership a capital crime. The government was looking to brand left organizations, particularly the Communist Party, as espionage agents. The witchhunters would have welcomed the opportunity to join the Smith Act "advocacy" cases with the spy cases.

By 1952 the Stalinists had organized a large international campaign. The defense of the Rosenbergs had tremendous appeal outside the U.S. with its particular brand of Cold War pressure. In France, the demand for clemency spread to mainstream bourgeois opinion. It was portrayed as an American Dreyfus case. Even the pope came out for clemency. The CPs stressed the anti-Semitic aspects of the Rosenberg case which were present, though clearly secondary. Radosh argues that the real reason the CPs built a defense campaign for the Rosenbergs was to deflect attention from the grotesque and venomous campaign of anti-Semitism by the Stalinists in their purge trials of CP leaders in Czechoslovakia. The CP had considerable problems explaining the execution of Slansky and the other mainly Jewish CPers who were being executed in Prague as "Trotskyites, Titoists and Jewish nationalists." Here the CP offered the Stalinist "confession" as proof of guilt in these frame-up trials. But Stalin's vicious trials and the CP's boundless hypocrisy does not mean that the CP wanted the Rosenbergs dead.

The betrayal of the Rosenbergs by the Communist Party was not particularly due to its defense policy. Even if they had moved sooner and with more energy it is not likely they could have saved the Rosenbergs from a government intent on killing them. The CP betrayed the working class with its program of class collaboration. The Stalinists then as now maintained a policy of tailing the progressive, "democratic" bourgeoisie only to find themselves without allies when it was time to break up the popular front forged during the "Great Patriotic War Against Fascism." If there is one lesson the CP should have learned, it is how unreliable are its "progressive" bourgeois friends. Years of class collaboration behind Roosevelt—the no-strike pledge, the betrayal of black rights during WWII—took the CP into the McCarthy period completely disarmed and unprepared for the witchhunt.

Leopold Trepper, the heroic Soviet spy who headed the anti-Nazi "Red Orchestra" network in Europe during World War II, noted from his own standpoint that political courage is more a product of political line than of individual personal qualities. Acknowledging that in Russia it was uniquely the Trotskyists who held fast to their convictions during the purge trials and in Stalin's prison camps, he wrote:

> "...they had the enormous advantage over us of having a coherent political system capable of replacing Stalinism. They had something to cling to in the midst of their profound distress at seeing the revolution betrayed. They did not 'confess,' for they knew that their confession would serve neither the party nor socialism."

Old Witchhunt, New Cold War

When Radosh/Milton find Julius Rosenberg and a host of other CPers "guilty" of espionage, they reveal their impulse and appetite for a new witchhunt on the left. It is in the name of the "loyal" American "left" that Radosh/Milton point the finger at the "disloyal" types likely to commit espionage. It's politics that makes 'em do it, say Radosh/Milton:

> "Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and their accomplices were so captive to their blind adulation of Stalinist Russia that they failed to perceive the true implications of their espionage, much less to comprehend how their actions would discredit the Left in the eyes of their fellow Americans." (p. 453)

It is this blemish, this "discredit" on the patriotism of the American left which is the target of this campaign.

From the murder of Rosa Luxemburg to the present, the social democrats have a standing offer to be the bloodhounds in the service of imperialism. In the U.S., the social dems have been among the most rabid Cold Warriors. During Cold War I they clamored for the deaths of the Rosenbergs. And even the "left face" of American social democracy, Max Shachtman's International Socialist League (ISL, successor to the Workers Party, which had split from the Trotskyist SWP over Shachtman's refusal to defend the Soviet Union in World War II) refused to come out for commutation of the death penalty until 1953. This weathervane of Stalinophobia on the American left used the excuse that "Socialists have traditionally refrained from involving themselves in controversies in which espionage is involved" (*Labor Action*, 19 January 1953).

The question deeply split the ISL. In the Bay Area branch, the vote to support commutation of the death

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Run Union-Buster Kiley Out of Town!

CIA Heavy Becomes NYC Subway Czar

When introducing his nominee for ehairman of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, New York governor Mario Cuomo boasted that "Bob Kiley will come to this position with all of the eredentials that we were seeking." Kiley has plenty of eredentials, all right: cop, union-buster and top-level CIA spymaster during the Vietnam War. His latest assignment is simply a eontinuation of a life-long war on working people. New York City transit workers, beware—you are Kiley's next target.

When Kiley's nomination was announeed, NYC transit workers from 239th Street to Coney Island reacted: "He's a union-buster!" They're dead right. As transit boss in Boston, Kiley slashed the workforce by 10 percent and tried unsueeessfully to introduce part-timers. "They have no right to strike," Kiley arrogantly pronounced. Well, the transit workers in Boston didn't think so. In July 1978 they took off work en masse and mobilized against a Kiley-backed bill intended to strip them of cost-of-living protection.

So Kiley is mouthing off now about how he's going to tighten work rules, contract out repair work, hire part-timers, restriet seniority and assert "management rights." New York transit workers, already fed up with being seapegoated for a transit system that's gone to hell because the city's bankers and Democratie Party bosses have starved it of maintenance, had better be prepared. What's needed is some hard elass struggle to send this big time Beakie and union-buster packing!

Kiley began his career as president of the National Student Association (NSA), later revealed as a reeipient of covert CIA funds. After his cover was blown as a seeret CIA operative, Kiley was sent upstairs to beeome manager of intelligence operations and then executive assistant to Richard Helms, director of Central Intelligence. Later this CIA bigwig claimed he knew little about the spy ageney's clandestine work! Who does he think he's kidding! Kiley's got blood on his hands—from the Phoenix Program, a eounterinsurgency assassination operation that killed 20,000 Vietnamese, to the massive seeret carpetbombing of Cambodia in 1969. Not to mention thc CIA's murderous "destabilization" in Chile.

During Kiley's tenure, "the eompany" was even at work in the NYC transit system. An 18-year, super-seeret CIA project to develop poisons and bioehemieal weapons ineluded flooding the eity's subway system with a "harmless" version of poison gas (*New York Times*, 17 September 1975).

For a while Kiley worked for the Poliee Foundation in Washington. He was then recruited to Boston, first working with the police and then, from 1972 to 1975, as deputy mayor under Kevin White. During the Boston busing erisis of 1974, Kiley was in eharge of "public safety." This liberal now says he prevented violence, but in faet racist mobs got away scot free with stoning buses of blaek schoolehildren—and it was on the streets of South Boston that school integration suffered a massive defeat.

After his four-year stint as Boston transit ezar, Kiley set up a management eonsultant firm and reeently mounted a loser campaign for mayor of Boston. According to thc *Village Voice*, "A surprising number of Kiley's contrihutors seem to have come from his CIA-NSA network, including Richard Helms."

And New York's liberals are greeting Kiley with open arms. The *Village Voice*'s Joc Conason wrote that Kiley "knows how to run trains." Like Mussolini, maybe? The liberal Cuomo needed a proven labor hater whom even Mayor Koeh couldn't objeet to. "What the governor's done is splendid," said Koeh, who has for years led a union-busting assault on city workers.

No doubt the notoriously raeist Koch can only smile upon Kilcy's intentions to unleash the NYC transit eops. For New York's black and Hispanie subway riders, this means raeist murder. On September 28, hlaek, 25-year-old Michael Stewart, the son of a retired transit maintenanee man, died from a beating two weeks earlier by white transit eops for allegedly serawling graffiti in a subway station. Despite injuries all over his body, the eause of death was listed as cardiae arrest. Family attorneys maintain that Stewart was strangled and doctors present at his autopsy cited the massive hemorrhages in his eyes as evidenee. Subsequently, Stewart's eyes were ghoulishly, and seeretly, removed from his body.

They ean't rebuild New York City transit by squeezing the wages of already low-paid workers, jacking up the fares and stomping poor black turnstile jumpers. The bosses have heen trying to scapegoat transit workers for the deeaying subways. Two years ago then Transit Authority president John Simpson even ealled a press conference to blame hlaek motorman Jesse Cole for an accident eaused by a defeetive signal system while the driver was literally bleeding to death in his cab. And this summer the TA hired a "consultant" from San Franeisco to blame the record-breaking derailments on "eowboy" motormen. In response, angry motormen staged a slowdown aetion.

Now, even the bosses have begun to admit the massive struetural deterioration that underlies the subway failures. The TA admits that only 30 percent of the trains run on time. Small wonder. "Deferred maintenance" came in when Big MAC was shoved down the throats of NYC's working people ten years ago, and since then track maintenanee has been exactly halved. And that's nothing compared to the catastrophes that lie ahead. "Today, it may be track, [TA] officials say, but tomorrow it could he broken signals, crumhling tunnels or faulty motors" (*New York Times*, 7 October). With transit ridership at its lowest point since 1917, the bosses themselves are worried. How can Wall Street rake in its profits if you can't get to work in New York!

But the billions of dollars and thousands of additional workers needed to transform erumbling NYC transit into a safe, clean, efficient system with deeent working conditions is *not* what the union-hating, fare-hiking bankers and liberal CIA teehnocrat Kiley have in mind. You ean't begin to fight for what's needed without a massive mobilization of the unions and oppressed in this city. The money's there, all right, but it's going to the parasitic bankers and the bosses' anti-Soviet war drive.

Charles/New York Times

Vietnam war criminal and labor-hater Robert Kiley (right).

The elean, efficient and beautiful Moseow subways, by the way, are a 1,000 pereent improvement over the rolling death traps in New York. The fare has been eight cents there for 50 years and there are no Guardian Angels to terrorize the passengers. But that's not eapitalism's way. A transportation "expert" from Pennsylvania reeently suggested that Kiley institute a first-class farc system for those passengers willing and able to pay for better serviee. The rest of us can swelter, freeze and go deaf.

What this eity needs is a fighting, anti-capitalist lahor movement, eentered in thc Transport Workers Union (TWU). The TWU has the raw soeial power to lead New York's oppressed to victory. But instead of using it, TWU Loeal 100 president John Lawe busies himself, come hell or high water—and there's been plenty of hoth in the subways lately—negotiating sellouts whieh he calls victories. "I've known him [Kiley] for some time," Lawe said (*Chief-Leader*, 14 October). "From everything I hear about him I think he's good material."

Lawe damn sure does know Kiley. As a consultant for the Metro-North Commuter Rail division of the MTA, Kiley was part of the Koch/management mugging of the United Transportation Union (UTU) railroad workers when they struek last Mareh. Jobs, overtime and "swing time" pay were slashed: that's how MTA workers know Kiley! That's what you get when you kowtow to the "friends of labor" Demoerats. Lawe baeks Cuomo for governor and the transit workers get a $150,000-a-year war criminal for their boss.

The TWU has eome a long way down since it was built as part of the CIO labor upsurge in the '30s. For three decades the eity bosses never dared to mess with the union. When they tried in 1966, then-president Mike Quill told a strike-breaking judge to "drop dead in his long blaek robes." The TWU shut the city down tight until Mayor Lindsay eame erawling. In the '60s Loeal 100's wages and benefits ranked first in the country among transit workers. That was because of its willingness to struggle and utilize the strike weapon.

This year the membership has an alternative to Lawe & Co. In the upeoming Loeal 100 eleetion a three-man slate has come forward with a eall for class-struggle leadership. Ed Kartsen, David Brewer and Jim Smith, leaders of a militant protest over the aequittal of the racist murderers of TWU member Willie Turks, are running on a program to smash management attaeks through strike action, labor/blaek mobilizations to stop raeist terror and a labor offensive to reverse the givebacks. They are demanding that the union break with the Demoerats, and call for a workers party to fight for a workers government. The TWU militants say: Douhle the wages! Free, safe mass transit! Caneel the debt, expropriate the banks! What's needed is solid strike aetion—America can't run without the New York subways! ■

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CORRECTIONS

In our artiele "Reagan's Story Stinks!" (*WV* No. 337, 9 September 1983) we erroneously stated that U.S. pilot Gary Powers was brought down in 1959. In faet, his U-2 spy plane was shot down by the USSR on 1 May 1960. We also gave the wrong date for a 2 Septemher *Washington Post* story that reported that there was no indication anyone had tried to warn Flight 007 it was off course. In "Reagan's 007 War Fever" (*WV* No. 338, 23 Septemher 1983), Jim Wright was wrongly identified as the "Democratic Senate majority leader"—he is the Democratic *House* majority leader.

We must apologize for impermissibly sloppy editing of "KKK-Style 'Justice' in Georgia" (*WV* No. 339, 7 October 1983) whieh resulted in several errors being added to the article sent us from Atlanta. Black civil rights activist Tom Shaw is *not* an "Atlanta Civil Rights Worker" as our kicker wrongly said—he is a resident of Dooly County, loeated in Georgia's coastal plain. Our Atlanta correspondent noted:

> "Dooly is a place that the civil rights movement never got to. Social relations have not changed fundamentally since the post-Reconstruction era. It is brutally race segregated. There are not public bars or restaurants in Dooly. Just white only country clubs, Elks and Lions Clubs. The modest gains of the civil rights movement are not apparent in Dooly or in most of the rural and semi-rural South. Dooly is run by the white landowners for the white landowners."

Nor was Shaw arrested driving home "from the hospital" as we said, whieh would imply that he had gone there to support deputy sheriff Wright, after Wright's provocative aetions against a blaek social gathering had led to the white deputy's injury. Shaw was seized driving home with a friend several hours later. Finally, arch-segregationist Lester Maddox served as lieutenant governor of Georgia under Governor Jimmy Carter, not the reverse as we had stated.

Better better editorial touchup, but less!

Australian SWP Defends Ustashi Fascists

We reprint below an article from *Australasian Spartacist* No. 103 (August-September 1983) exposing the Australian Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as a defender of Ustashi fascism. The SWP's association with the Croatian Movement for Statehood (HDP) has rightly made it notorious on the Australian left and not only on the left. The 16 August issue of the Australian news magazine *Bulletin* writes that: "The shock waves from the SWP's embrace of the Croatian Movement for Statehood (HDP) have even reached the Labor Party, not to mention the Palestine Liberation Movement and the Irish Republican Movement."

Many readers will naturally ask: How is it possible for a group calling itself "revolutionary socialist" to defend the most sadistic and bloodthirsty of the East European fascist regimes which operated under the protection of Hitler's Third Reich? The SWP's relations with the Croatian rightists cannot be dismissed as some strange, inexplicable aberration. Rather the Australian SWP has taken to the logical conclusion—admittedly, a rare thing in politics—the position of Ernest Mandel's fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec), of which the SWP is a member, toward Soviet-bloc "dissidents."

The USec has long had a positive orientation toward *all* oppositional groupings, even the most openly pro-imperialist and anti-Communist, in the East European bureaucratically ruled workers states. Mandel has long maintained that any and all oppositional movements in the Soviet bloc are progressive forces for political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy: "The political conflict in the USSR and the People's Democracies pits the bureaucracy against the toiling masses and not against the imperialist bourgeoisie" (*From Stalinism to Eurocommunism* [1978]). In response to this whitewash, we replied at the time:

> "Is the reactionary religious fanatic Aleksander Solzhenitsyn, who denounces the American people for not destroying North Vietnam, then a legitimate spokesman for 'the toiling masses against the bureaucracy'? What about the liberal cold warrior Andrei Sakharov, who calls for U.S. economic blackmail against the Soviet Union? Or the Zionist Vladimir Slepak, who sought to organize the large-scale emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel?"
>
> —"Euro-Revisionists Tail Stalinist Breakaways," *Spartacist* No. 26, Winter 1979

Cheering on clerical-led Solidarność in Poland, whose hero is the fascistic anti-Soviet dictator Pilsudski; now embracing the heirs of Croatian fascism, who apologize for the genocidal terror of the Ustashi Black Legion—for the USec (along with Ronald Reagan) the representatives of the toiling masses of East Europe are the "captive nations" crowd of pro-Nazi reactionaries who were swept away nearly four decades ago by the victorious Red Army. For the genuine Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency, our fight for workers political revolution in the Soviet bloc is the struggle to ensure that these counterrevolutionary scum will *never return.*

SWP Defends Ustasha

Jim Percy's Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has gone off the deep end. This kinky social-democratic operation has been thrown into crisis thanks to the notoriety it so rightly deserves as a defender of Ustasha fascism. For over a year now the SWP has pursued relations with the Croatian Movement for Statehood (HDP), which in terms of organisational continuity and political identification acts and talks like a Ustasha front, openly proclaiming as its goal the dismemberment of the Yugoslav workers state and hailing in its press, *Hrvatski Tjednik*, some of the most bloodthirsty of the Ustasha's butchers. These are the remnants of Ante Pavelic's "Independent State of Croatia," brought to power in 1941 on the bayonets of the invading German and Italian armies. Under the watchful eye of the Axis occupiers, Pavelic turned the satellite state of Croatia into a vast slaughter-yard for Serbs, Jews, Gypsies and many Croats. It took social revolution by Tito's all-Yugoslav Partisans, encompassing Communist fighters of all nationalities, to defeat the Ustasha fascists and their Nazi overlords. It is this social revolution that the losers of the Yugoslav civil war long to overturn through bloody counterrevolution.

The SWP's alliance with the HDP has exploded into a first-rate public scandal, first ignited by the Spartacist League's forceful intervention outside the SWP's "Karl Marx Centenary Conference" in Melbourne last April where Jacob Bilander, a Jewish survivor of the Nazi holocaust, was thrown out after denouncing the Ustasha's monstrous crimes at a special HDP workshop. The SWP/HDP affair has been splashed across the pages of the Communist Party of Australia's (CPA) *Tribune* and even made the big bourgeois press with an article in Murdoch's *Australian* (12 July). Headed "How the ultra-Right may have finally suckered the ultra-Left," *Australian* journalist David Hirst notes that "egg seems to be sticking on the faces of the SWP-*Direct Action*" and reports rumours of "an anti-Croat faction emerging within the SWP." On 19 June the issue was aired on ABC radio in Sydney on its *Background Briefing* program presented by Mark Aarons, the son of former CPA leader Laurie Aarons. Then on 11 July a Sydney campus station, 2SER-FM, ran a debate between *Tribune*'s Denis Freney and SWP leader Dave Holmes. Given the history of Ustasha terror in Australia, the SWP should hardly be surprised that Labor Party doors across the political spectrum have been slamming in their face, like ex-Senator Mulvihill who adorned the SWP's "solidarity with Solidarity" platform in December 1981, but who now writes to *Direct Action* (19 July) defending Yugoslav anti-Soviet "nonalignment," or Victorian Labor MP Lewis Kent who telegrammed a 16 July SWP/CISCAC conference: "I feel the fascist HDP's association with CISCAC prevents me from addressing you."

Australian HDP paper (above) glorifies Ustashi butcher Jure Francetic. Croatian Ustashi (left) were the most sadistic and bloodthirsty of the East European fascists who operated under the protection of Nazi Third Reich.

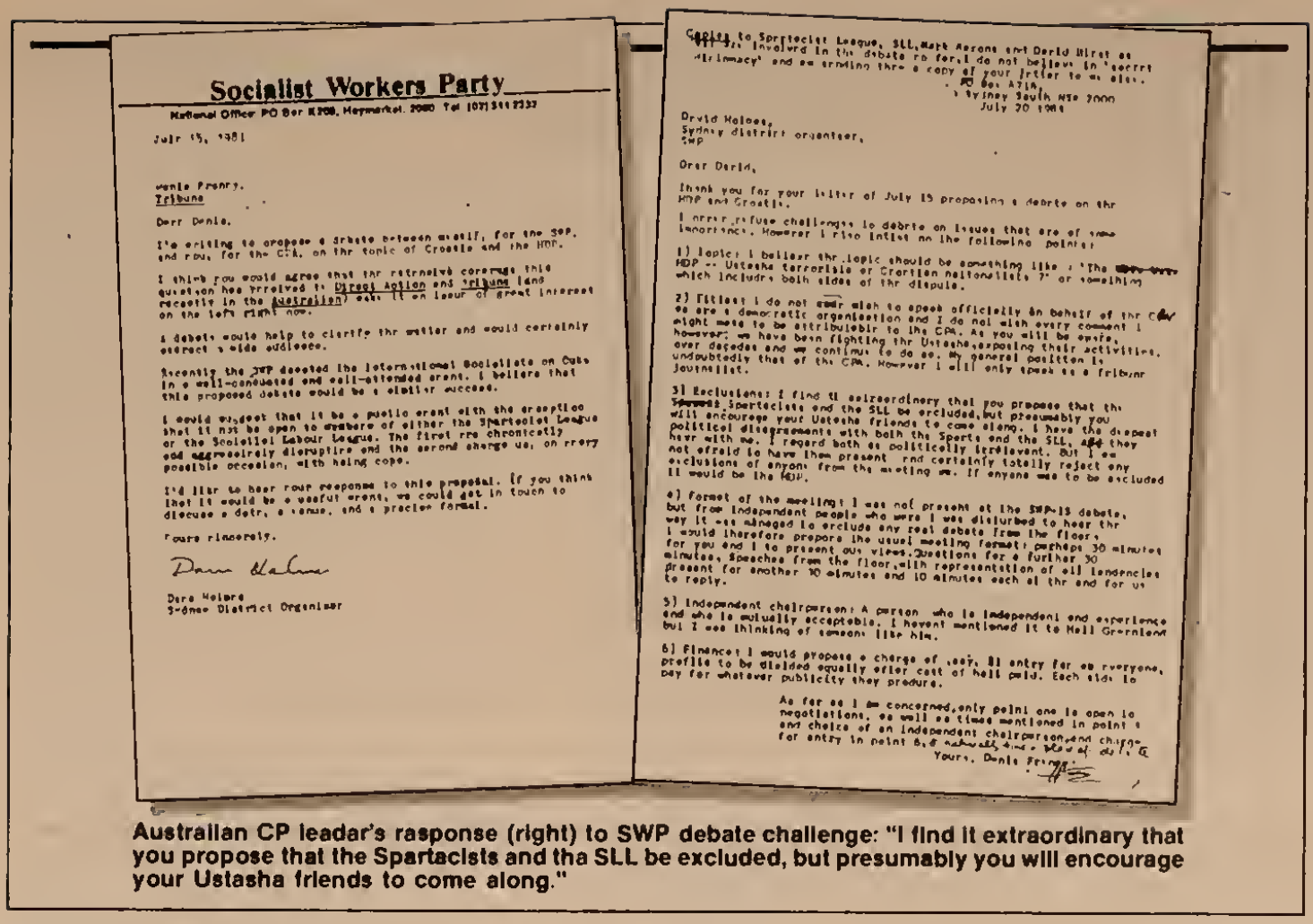
In response the SWP devoted a special issue of *Socialist Worker* (August 1983) to "Croatian nationalism and the fight for socialism" and in July produced a 4-page *Direct Action* supplement about "the Croatian national struggle" which announces: "The SWP and the HDP are going on a campaign to get out the truth." And what is the "truth"? This is what the supplement says: (1) "the Ustasha was *not* a fascist movement"; (2) "Pavelic's real betrayal of the Croatian national cause was his *subordination* of that struggle to the interests of German and Italian imperialism"; (3) "Even the scale of the Ustasha crimes, real and horrifying as they were, has been deliberately and massively exaggerated"; (4) "it is the Belgrade regime that must answer to the charge of 'terrorism'" (emphasis in original). This is the kind of trash that usually comes from the mouths of Nazi apologists who claim the holocaust never happened. From a supposed "socialist" grouping such statements are unprecedented, amazing, utterly degenerate.

The SWP has now reached the point of openly defending specific acts of Ustasha terror against the Yugoslav workers state. For years these cowardly reformists have painstakingly sought to establish an image as peace-loving folk with a deep respect for all that is legal, but an exception is made for Miro Baresic, now in a Swedish prison for the 1971 assassination of Yugoslav ambassador Rolovic. On 2SER-FM SWP spokesman Holmes lauds this murder as an "act of struggle against national oppression." According to *Rooted in Secrecy* by Victorian Labor MP Joan Coxsedge et al., Rolovic visited Australia in 1970 to deliver a secret *aide memoire* documenting Ustasha activities in Australia. Coxsedge charges the McMahon Liberal government and ASIO with complicity in Rolovic's murder, pointing out that the *aide memoire* must have been revealed to the Ustasha because the killers claimed their bloody deed as an act of reprisal for Rolovic's exposure of the clandestine, terrorist HRB. The SWP's July supplement, however, repeats in print Holmes' statement, further defending this act of fascist terror with the claim that Rolovic was an agent of the Yugoslav secret police—so he deserved it.

Assassin Miro Baresic's photo is featured on the front-page of the 19 July *Hrvatski Tjednik*, which just happens to include a lengthy interview in Croatian with Jimom Percijem, a.k.a. Jim Percy. In the same issue is an interview with Danijel Crljen, described in an earlier edition as "a great son of the Croats" who "worshipped the Poglavnik Ante Pavelic." A Ustasha leader for 50 years, Crljen was in charge of propaganda under Pavelic, i.e., the Croatian Goebbels (*Background Briefing*). Then there is the 19 April *Hrvatski Tjednik* which ran an article by Dinko Dedic—the HDP speaker at the SWP's "Karl Marx Conference"—commemorating the 10 April anniversary of Pavelic's rise to power. Accompanying the article is a large photo of Jure Francetic, commander of the infamous Black Legion, with a caption extolling this butcher as a "symbol of the Croatian people's will for freedom liberated from all ideologies and collaboration." Francetic, we might add, was "liberated" from "collaboration" when the Nazis disarmed his Black Legion for fear that its bestial atrocities would fuel support for the Partisans. But then such company should please "Jimon Percijem" since the SWP's major complaint against Pavelic was his failure to "break" from German imperialism to "travel the Cuban road"! This rogues gallery of fascist butchers paid tribute in the HDP's "Croatian Weekly" is actually cited by the SWP as an example of how the HDP "is forced to confront the wartime experience of the regime of Pavelic and the Ustasha":

> "This may mean interviews with former Ustasha leaders who for many in the Croatian community represent a militant nationalist tradition *and who may be changing politically*" (our emphasis).
>
> —*Direct Action* supplement

All of which brings us to the HDP itself. As acknowledged by Dedic on *Background Briefing*, the major component of the HDP came from the Croatian National Resistance (HNO), which in turn was founded by the Ustasha chief of concentration camps, General Luburic, and for years led in Australia by Srecko Rover, who is wanted for war crimes in Yugoslavia. The HDP's current international president is Nikola Stedul, from 1974 the international secretary of the HNO;



Socialist Workers Party

National Office PO Box K708, Haymarket, 2000 Tel (02) 211 2532

July 15, 1983

Denis Freney,
Tribune

Dear Denis,

I'm writing to propose a debate between myself, for the SWP, and you, for the CPA, on the topic of Croatia and the HDP.

I think you would agree that the retrograde coverage this question has received in Direct Action and Tribune (and recently in the Australian) was of great interest on the left right now.

A debate would help to clarify the matter and would certainly attract a wide audience.

Recently the SWP devoted the International Socialists on Cuba in a well-conducted and well-attended event. I believe that this proposed debate would be a similar success.

I would suggest that it be a public event with the exception that it not be open to members of either the Spartacist League or the Socialist Labour League. The first are chronically and aggressively disruptive and the second charge us, on every possible occasion, with being cops.

I'd like to hear your response to this proposal. If you think that it could be a useful event, we could get in touch to discuss a date, a venue, and a precise format.

Yours sincerely,

Dave Holmes

Dave Holmes
Sydney District Organiser

Copies to Spartacist League, SLL, Mark Aarons and David Hirst as involved in the debate re form. I do not believe in 'secret arrangements' and am sending them a copy of your letter to me also.

PO Box A216,
Sydney South NSW 2000
July 20 1983

David Holmes,
Sydney district organiser,
SWP

Dear David,

Thank you for your letter of July 15 proposing a debate on the HDP and Croatia.

I never refuse challenges to debate on issues that are of some importance. However I rise initial on the following points:

1) Topic: I believe the topic should be something like : 'The HDP -- Ustasha terrorists or Croatian nationalists ?' or something which includes both sides of the dispute.

2) Titles: I do not seek wish to speak officially on behalf of the CPA as are a democratic organisation and I do not wish every comment I might make to be attributable to the CPA. As you will be aware, however, we have been fighting the Ustasha, exposing their activities, over decades and we continue to do so. My general position is undoubtedly that of the CPA. However I will only speak as a fribour journalist.

3) Exclusions: I find it extraordinary that you propose that the Spartacists and the SLL be excluded, but presumably you will encourage your Ustasha friends to come along. I have the deepest political disagreements with both the Sparts and the SLL, and they have with me. I regard both as politically irrelevant. But I am not afraid to have them present and certainly totally reject any exclusions of anyone from the meeting we. If anyone was to be excluded it would be the HDP.

4) Format of the meeting: I was not present at the SWP-IS debate, but from independent people who were I was disturbed to hear the way it was managed to exclude any real debate from the floor. I would therefore propose the usual meeting format: perhaps 30 minutes for you and I to present our views. Questions for a further 30 minutes. Speeches from the floor, with representation of all tendencies present for another 30 minutes and 10 minutes each of the end for us to reply.

5) Independent chairperson: A person who is independent and experienced and who is mutually acceptable. I haven't mentioned it to Neil Greenland but I was thinking of someone like him.

6) Finance: I would propose a charge of $x.xx, $1 entry for us everyone, profits to be divided equally after cost of hall paid. Each side to pay for whatever publicity they produce.

As far as I am concerned, only point one is open to negotiations, as well as times mentioned in point 4 and choice of an independent chairperson and charge for entry in point 6. If necessary, time + place of date 7 C

Yours, Denis Freney

Australian CP leader's response (right) to SWP debate challenge: "I find it extraordinary that you propose that the Spartacists and the SLL be excluded, but presumably you will encourage your Ustasha friends to come along."

earlier Stedul was a member of Pavelic's rival HOP. The West German leader of the HDP, Stipe Bilandzic was jailed for an armed attack on the Yugoslav consulate in Bad Godesberg while a leader of the HNO. According to anti-Ustasha fighter Marijan Jurjevic in his book *Ustasha under the Southern Cross*, HNO branches in Australia were named after notorious war criminals. Thus the Geelong branch bore Francetic's name, the Sydney branch that of Ante Vrban. The commander of the Stara Gradiska concentration camp, Vrban was accused at a War Crimes trial of massacring 3,000 children, some by bashing their brains against a wall. His defence was that he killed only 63. Such are the roots of the HDP which, says *Direct Action* (21 June), "cannot be held responsible for the crimes of the Ustasha" committed "almost 40 years ago"!

Why is the SWP doing what it is doing, you might ask? Several possibilities come to mind: (1) for money; (2) someone who hates the SWP gave Percy a prefrontal lobotomy; (3) the SWP is so factionally polarised over their links with the HDP that their present leadership has no option of backing down; (4) all of the above. Certainly there is no lack of SWP/Resistance members who intimate on the sly their discomfort with the whole squalid business to supporters of the Spartacist League. And one knows that things inside have got to be bad when second-rate hacks like Sol Salby and Roger Miles (who?) are left to write *Direct Action*, while long-time cadre like Nita Kieg or Jamie Doughney and so many others have disappeared from its turgid pages, save an occasional article on the housing crisis—though those two in particular probably got axed over Poland (see "SWP 'Third Campists' Fall Out Over Poland," *Australasian Spartacist*, June/July 1983). Of course, no one in the SWP uttered a word of complaint until the CPA and associated Labor Party milieus started to turn the heat on.

An important factor that must be kept in mind is the enormous instability generated in the SWP by its break from Jack Barnes' American SWP, which for years did all the thinking for its Australian namesake. Which is not to suggest that the vindictive, eccentric Barnes, now caught between State Department socialism and his own brand of sycophantic Castroism, has any special claims to sanity. Following this traumatic breach the SWP engaged in some heavy petting sessions with Barnes' arch enemy Ernest Mandel, even bringing the leader of international fake-Trotskyism (the "United" Secretariat) to Melbourne for the "Karl Marx Centenary Conference" where Mandel maintained a stony (public) silence on the company the SWP has been keeping.

The basis for this tentative convergence is/was Poland, over which Mandel has definitively passed from centrism to the camp of social-democratic reformism as an outspoken fan of François Mitterrand's ruling Socialist Party. This must have seemed like a pretty good bet for a factional bloc, all the more so since the SWP is itself internally torn over "tactics" on "solidarity with Solidarity," but we wouldn't be at all surprised if the HDP got in the way. To be sure, Mandel's opportunism is boundless, but (a) it was in part to capitulate to Tito's brand of "objectively revolutionary" Stalinism that Mandel first broke from Trotskyism towards Pabloist liquidation, and (b) why would *any* ostensible socialist want to rub shoulders with fascist butchers like the Ustasha? But then, who knows; maybe *International Viewpoint* will start running articles on "exciting new developments" in the Australian "Croatian Community."

The SWP pretends thay can't figure out why everyone is making such a fuss over screwing around with some "leftward moving" Ustasha supporters:

> "For 'Tribune,' the Spartacist League, the Socialist Labor League [which having long ago sold its soul to Qaddafi has jumped in to peddle its old FBI slanders—*ASp*], and the ALP 'lefts,' the HDP question provides them with an opportunity to attack the Socialist Workers Party.
>
> "They are worried by the gains made by the SWP in the past year or so, in size and political influence, and a drive against a 'Ustasha front' supported by the SWP seems a convenient opportunity to get at the SWP."
>
> —*Direct Action* supplement

Sure.

Basically the SWP wishes the whole thing would just go away. Repeatedly they "apologise to readers for having to take up this issue at such length," adding that "it is not the central issue facing workers in Australia right now." What the SWP really means is: look, we support the Hawke government; we support Solidarność; we're for "No More Vietnams"—can't you just forgive us this one little indulgence? But alas, for Percy that is, the HDP affair signals a bizarre form of political suicide. Seeing that the SWP appears so intent on politically self-destructing, it is the duty of revolutionists and all decent opponents of fascist barbarism to do what they can to help it on its way. ■

KOR...

(continued from page 3)

on foundations inherited from the October Revolution. In contrast, Kuron maintained that the Stalinist bureaucracy is a *new exploitative class* no better than the capitalists. And now his refusal to recognize the collectivized, planned economies of East Europe, despite their bureaucratic deformations, as a progressive conquest of the international proletariat has led him into the camp of "democratic" imperialism.

The Workers Defense Committee was formed in 1976, its original purpose being to agitate for amnesty for those workers imprisoned or otherwise victimized for their role in the mass strikes and protests against food price increases decreed in July of that year. By this time Kuron had moved decisively to the right, becoming essentially a social democrat. Instead of workers democracy, he now called for a Western-style parliamentary regime:

> "We must strive for a status similar to Finland's: a parliamentary democracy with a limited independence in the field of foreign policy where it directly touches the interests of the USSR."
>
> —"Thoughts on the Action Program," in Jiří Pelikán and Manfred Wilke, eds., *Menschenrechte: Ein Jahrbuch zu Osteuropa* (1977)

With this program, KOR applied for and was granted observer status in the Second International of Helmut Schmidt, François Mitterrand and Sir Harold Wilson.

While the Polish Stalinist regime persecuted leftist oppositionists, it allowed the Catholic church hierarchy to become, as it were, the official opposition. Thus one of KOR's first acts was an appeal for support from Cardinal Wyszynski for the imprisoned workers. The close collaboration between KOR and the church was publicly announced in Adam Michnik's 1977 tract, "Church, Left, Dialogue," which repudiated and denounced the historic anti-clericalism of the Polish left, including Polish social democracy. Abraham Brumberg, a former editor of the CIA's house organ, *Problems of Communism*, observed that:

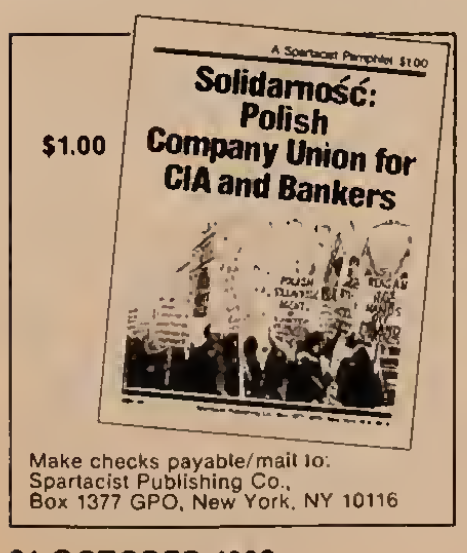
> "[Michnik's] polemic is to persuade his friends on the left that the Church is defending values compatible with the traditions of secular liberalism, and to urge the Church to realize that if it pursues and deepens its struggle for human rights, it can have no better ally than the secular left."
>
> —"The Open Political Struggle in Poland," *New York Review of Books*, 8 February 1979

By the time of the explosion which produced Solidarność, KOR had become a social-democratic component in a clerical-nationalist movement dominated and directed by Karol Wojtyla's Vatican.

Kuron's political trajectory from some kind of revolutionary syndicalist to an agent of the Vatican and NATO imperialism anticipated and influenced the parallel course of many Western New Left radicals of the 1960s, who once denounced Khrushchev/Brezhnev's Russia for not being revolutionary but have today enlisted in Reagan's anti-Soviet "crusade for freedom." Kuron's fate demonstrates with exceptional clarity that those leftists, whatever their subjective motivations, who deny that the Soviet Union is a proletarian state power (albeit bureaucratically degenerated) will inexorably be drawn into the camp of capitalist imperialism.

We do not underestimate the strength of anti-Communist nationalism in General Jaruzelski's Poland. Yet there are undoubtedly militants, in the factories and the universities, inspired by socialist ideals rather like the Jacek Kuron of 20 years ago. They are attracted to the liberating goals of Marxism even though these have been endlessly dragged through the mud by the Stalinist bureaucracy. They are repelled by the medieval mumbo-jumbo of Wojtyla, who would abolish the right to abortion in Poland and introduce mass unemployment in the name of "freedom"; they are repulsed by the insane nuclear warmongering of Reagan, who would turn Poland into a vast field of irradiated rubble in his drive for war on the Soviet Union. For Polish workers and youth who want to see a socialist world, the Trotskyist program is the only way forward.

Let the despicable fate of Kuron serve as a lesson. It is urgently necessary to build educational and propaganda cells of a Trotskyist vanguard to restore the great Marxist tradition of the Party Proletariat, Rosa Luxemburg, Leo Jogiches, the "Three W's" (Warski, Walecki and Wera Kostrzewa), all inspirers or leaders of the early Polish Communist Party. ■



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Nicaragua...

(continued from page 1)

militias, straggling back to the Honduran border, often barefoot, for another infusion of CIA aid, the *yanquis* decided to go from harassment to beginning full-scale war on Nicaragua. Given the Sandinista regime's massive popular support, the economic devastation unleashed by U.S. imperialism alone cannot topple the nationalist government. The entire thrust of Reagan's actions point to the direct introduction of U.S. combat troops. Right now thousands of U.S. troops deployed just across the border are poised for invasion. It is the elementary internationalist duty of socialists everywhere, and especially in the United States, to defend the Nicaraguan revolution against imperialist/counterrevolutionary attack.

Faced with the CIA war against its strategic industrial facilities, Nicaragua's military arsenal to defend its airspace and coastlines is pitifully inadequate. The Sandinistas are now asking foreign governments for antiaircraft defenses as well as combat airplanes. The chance of Washington's allies, like "socialist" Mitterrand's France, providing this aid is nil. The Soviet Union is the only real possibility. We say: send advanced weaponry to Nicaragua! When the Spartacist tendency first raised the slogan, "Nicaragua needs Soviet MIGs," the rad-libs and reformist "left" scoffed at this as bizarre. But who today will deny that the Sandinistas desperately need these weapons to defend the revolution against the CIA and *contras*? Smash U.S. imperialism!

From Contra Terror to CIA Bombing

Striking from sanctuaries in neighboring Honduras, the Somozaist mercenaries have conducted hit-and-run terror raids into Nicaragua, assassinating and torturing community leaders and teachers, kidnapping peasants, ambushing buses, shelling schools and hospitals. Altogether they have killed more that 600 Nicaraguans since the beginning of the year. But the *contra* terrorists were getting chewed up by the Sandinista militia (the regular army has not even been thrown into the battle yet). Hence, according to the *New York Times* (16 October), "...a decision, reached by the C.I.A. over the summer, that attacks directly against industrial and transportation targets inside Nicaragua would be a quicker and more effective way of hurting the Sandinistas than previous efforts." The results were not long in coming.

• September 8—A *contra* attack destroyed 400,000 gallons of fuel at the Atlantic port of Benjamin Zeledón. The same day the Democratic Revolutionary Alliance (ARDE), led by ex-Sandinista turncoat Edén Pastora, took credit for an air attack on Sandino International Airport in Managua.

• September 9—An attack damaged unloading facilities at Corinto, the country's major port. The same day an oil terminal at Puerto Sandino was sabotaged.

• October 10—Attackers from light planes and speedboats blew up five storage tanks, causing at least 3.2 million gallons of gasoline and other fuel to go up in flames. Major fires swept the city, forcing 25,000 residents to evacuate their homes, though reportedly some have since returned. The main *contra* group, the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), took credit for the attack.

• October 13—Puerto Sandino was again attacked, this time damaging the main oil pipeline. Three-quarters of Nicaragua's oil passes through this port. Significantly, the *contra* groups did not take credit for this attack, suggesting that it was carried out directly by CIA operatives.

Meanwhile, equally or more ominously, Exxon, which owns the country's only oil refinery, has said it will not transport oil to Nicaraguan ports due to "safety considerations." The state-owned Mexican oil company, PEMEX, has for now agreed to continue supplying Nicaragua with crude oil but only if the Sandinista government arranges transport. And the *contras* have publicly threatened to blow up tankers delivering Mexican oil to Nicaragua. Mexican workers must demand that the De la Madrid regime continue deliveries of oil to Managua. And Soviet/Cuban naval forces must convoy the urgently needed fuel to Nicaragua.

Even in an impoverished country like Nicaragua, oil is the lifeblood of the economy. Attempts to cut off a nation's oil have been a major cause of the wars and revolutions of our time. Japan was impelled to attack Pearl Harbor a few months after Roosevelt and Churchill embargoed its oil supplies. And recall that it was the U.S. oil companies' refusal to refine Soviet crude petroleum which finally forced the early Castro regime (similar in many respects to the FSLN today) to expropriate both American and domestic capital in Cuba in the summer/fall of 1960. Today Nicaragua stands at such a decisive crossroads.

However, U.S. imperialism is out to destroy the Nicaraguan revolution before it becomes "another Cuba." Five thousand American troops are in Honduras, poised for invasion. Radar stations, airfields, naval bases, military hospitals are being built to handle a U.S. expeditionary force. Marines are "exercising" with amphibious landings. They are all preparing to KO the Sandinista regime. But meanwhile it is the petty-bourgeois FSLN's attempts to maintain a middle road of "mixed economy, political pluralism and nonalignment" which have been blown up along with the oil storage tanks at Corinto and Puerto Sandino.

Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

The Reagan administration has put Central America on the front line of its anti-Soviet war drive. The leftist insurgency in El Salvador is to be drowned in blood. Sandinista Nicaragua is labeled a "Soviet puppet" whose very existence threatens Reagan's local allies, that assortment of bloody colonels, corrupt politicos, parasitic oligarchs and their death squads. The only "negotiated solution" acceptable to the Reaganites would be the dissolution of the Sandinista government and installation of a *contra* dictatorship ("moderately authoritarian," of course). Reagan's undersecretary of defense Fred Iklé made this clear in a recent address to the Baltimore Council on Foreign Affairs:

> "...we must prevent consolidation of a Sandinista regime in Nicaragua that would become an arsenal for insurgency.... If we cannot prevent that, we have anticipated the partition of Central America. Such a development would then force us to man a new military front line of the East-West conflict right here on our continent."
>
> —*Baltimore Sun*, 14 September

While the Democrats may differ over tactics, they share the strategic goal of overturning the gains of social revolutions from Cuba to the Soviet Union. Both hawks and so-called "doves" alike oppose the petty-bourgeois nationalist Sandinista government. What motivates the doves is not opposition to overt/covert aid to the Somozaist mercenaries, but the fear of "another Vietnam"—that is, another rout for U.S. imperialism. Thus the November 12 rad-lib Central America march in Washington includes among its demands: "No more Vietnam Wars!" In contrast, the Trotskyists proclaim: "Vietnam was a victory! Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism!" As Vietnamese foreign minister Nguyen Co Thach recently declared in Managua, "North American intervention in Nicaragua could lead to many Vietnams" (*New York Times*, 7 September). The new CIA tactics are intended not only to strangle the Nicaraguan economy, but to show Congress that the war is winnable. And in the wake of Reagan's 007 war provocation, the Democrats' vaunted opposition vanished into thin air; continued funding for the *contras* passed a Senate committee by a vote of 13-2.

The efforts of the soft cops of the Contadora group (Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela and Panama) to mediate a negotiated settlement in Central America is an attempt to avoid the domestic repercussions of either direct Yankee intervention or social revolution. The Contadora call, which Castro endorses and the Sandinistas have accepted, for a halt to *all* arms deliveries in the region (including aid to Salvadoran leftist insurgents), the withdrawal of military advisers (including Cubans) and early elections, is a formula for the prostration of Sandinista Nicaragua before the U.S. war machine and the strengthening of the internal fifth column. Even a "compromise" settlement such as a government of "national unity," no doubt involving reactionaries like Archbishop Obando y Bravo, would only be a brief transition to bloody counterrevolution.

On October 14 Daniel Ortega, coordinator of the Sandinista junta, announced the adoption of an emergency plan to confront the present crisis: austerity, strengthening civil defense, rationing fuel, etc. Missing from this ten-point plan are the decisive actions that would inspire the masses to revolutionary defense of their own state: expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the creation of a workers and peasants government.

Mobilization of the Nicaraguan working masses to struggle in their revolutionary class interests would create a social force that would sweep away the *contra* scum and stand up to any and all of the American puppet juntas in the region. This spark would have to ignite the workers throughout the isthmus to relentless class war, spreading north to Mexico with its many-millioned proletariat now facing savage austerity dictated by the Yankee bankers and International Monetary Fund. That is the perspective of permament revolution, the program for Trotskyist parties in Central America.

The stakes in the battle for Nicaragua are high and not only for the masses of that besieged country. In 1936 the popular-front Spanish Loyalists, faced with Franco's military uprising, sabotaged the heroic struggle of the proletariat: the social-democratic and Stalinist reformists were more fearful of social revolution than of military defeat. When Franco's allies, Germany and Italy, bombed and blockaded the country, the Republic did nothing but issue appeals to the League of Nations while the "democratic" imperialists claimed their "hands were tied" by the non-intervention pact. Meanwhile, the internal bourgeois fifth-column opposition was allowed to flourish. As a result the Spanish working class suffered a historic defeat, which helped set the stage for World War II.

Will the Sandinistas follow the suicidal course of the Spanish Loyalists? Or will they have enough sense of self-preservation to mobilize the masses against the CIA's war as did the Castroites at the Bay of Pigs, thus saving the Cuban Revolution?

Today we urgently demand that Cuba and the Soviet Union must send all necessary military aid to Nicaragua, especially modern jet aircraft. Smash the Somozaist/CIA counterrevolution! Kill the *contras*—Workers to power! Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs—Nicaragua needs MIGs...now! ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Ann Arbor
c/o SYL
P.O. Box 8364
Ann Arbor, MI 48107
(313) 662-2339

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P.O. Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 636-3537

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

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We want to make it very clear that these endorsers do not necessarily agree in any particular with the call by the initiators of this mobilization printed below

Lauren & Ray...

(continued from page 16)

disreputable woman is not actually in the Klan, she might as well be.

The railroading of Lauren and Ray is hangman's justice in Reagan's America. Reagan and his millionaire cronies hate black America. They hate unions. Since Reagan destroyed PATCO, the bosses and the government are on the warpath against working people and blacks in particular. When the Klan endorsed Ronald Reagan, they knew what they were doing! Now Reagan, solidly backed by Democratic votes in Congress, threatens to ignite the entire earth in a thermonuclear war against Russia.

The "respectable authorities" use the laws and courts, backed up by racist D.A.'s and cops, to "legally" kill, frame up and jail black people and union members. All the while, the trigger-happy cops terrorize the black neighborhoods, enforcing with clubs and guns the old saying, "If you're black, get back." The brutal cop murder of five-year-old Patrick Mason, and the $35,000 bounty awarded his murderer by the California Worker's Comp. Board for "psychological stress" says it all about being black in Reagan's America!

No black person in Oakland or California knows for sure when they leave their homes whether they'll make it home that night. Over the years the list of wanton police killings seems endless: Bobby Hutton, Tyrone Guyton, Charles Briscoe, little Patrick Mason, Willie Lee Drumgoole, Johnny Roman, Michael Guillory, Eulia Love, and many, many more. All too often the terrible racist atrocities are done and protests come too late to save the victims.

We say "enough!" Labor and blacks have the power! Five thousand blacks and unionists mobilized in a Spartacist League-initiated demonstration that was endorsed and supported by the International Longshoremen's Association among many others, and stopped the KKK race-terrorists from marching in Washington, D.C. last November 27. Now is the time for black and working people of Oakland to say this racist anti-labor frame-up will not be tolerated.

What we need on October 29, two days before Lauren and Ray go to court, is a massive militant, disciplined display of defiant power by all the enemies and victims of racism, be it at the hands of the racists dressed in the white robes of the KKK, the blue uniforms of the cops or the black robes of the bosses' courts.

ALL OUT FOR OCTOBER 29! Get your union, your church, your community organization, your neighbors, your school moving! Come to Oakland City Hall (14th and Washington Sts.) at 11 a.m.! March to the D.A.'s office at the Alameda County Courthouse (12th and Fallon Sts.)!

WE SAY: NO WAY! SMASH THIS RACIST ANTI-LABOR FRAME-UP! DOWN WITH SOUTH AFRICA-STYLE JUSTICE! FREEDOM AND JOBS BACK FOR MOZEE AND PALMIERO!!! PICKET LINES MEAN DON'T CROSS!!!

—Ad Hoc Committee Against Racist Anti-Labor Frame-Up of Mozee and Palmiero

Rosenbergs...

(continued from page 10)

penalty lost by a single vote. When Shachtman sent his wire to Eisenhower asking to commute the death sentence, it was done in the name of "an independent socialist organization which has been uncompromising in its struggle against Stalinism" (*Labor Action*, 22 June 1953). Still there was a hue and cry in the party against the decision, as letters poured into *Labor Action* bitterly complaining of Shachtman's "capitulation": "This *belated* jump into the 'super-liberal' bandwagon... that hangs on the Stalinist coattails."

The Shachtmanites wanted the bourgeoisie to know that their "concern" arises "only from the death penalty." Shachtman's cable to Eisenhower explained that the problem with the death penalty was "it gives worldwide Stalinism an effective weapon." This is the tradition and method of the present campaign to reprosecute the Rosenbergs. What Radosh/Milton and the rest of the Cold War rad-libs don't like about the McCarthyite handling of the Rosenberg case was that *it didn't work*. It didn't work in the narrowest sense because it did not force the Rosenbergs to make false accusations against their comrades. And it didn't work in the larger sense that it created Stalinist martyrs. So the social democrats and Cold War liberals offer themselves to run an efficient witchhunt.

We have here one of the prevailing liberal views of the McCarthy period, namely that it went too far. It convicted the "innocent" along with the "guilty." Who were "innocent"? The liberals, of course. The liberal and social democrat want their civil liberties and their witchhunt too. Thus the liberals' typical hero of the McCarthy period is the non-Communist (preferably anti-Communist) wrongly accused as an agent of the Soviet Union. The problem is that with primitives like McCarthy running the show, liberals can get hurt too. There is an old political joke about the man who is set upon by a frenzied right-wing mob. He shouts out: "I'm not a Communist, I'm an anti-Communist." But the mob leader responds: "We don't care what kind of Communist you are," as they continue to pummel him.

In the U.S., political life imitates political humor. Recently, SDS honcho-turned-Democratic Party-hack-assemblyman Tom Hayden spoke at an anti-Communist 007 rally/"pour-out" of excellent Stolichnaya vodka. "Anyone drinking Russian vodka after this atrocity," said Jane Fonda's husband, "is washing down the blood of innocent people." Pretty strong stuff. But the crowd for this sort of thing was mainly South Koreans and the anti-Soviet Baltic-American Freedom League. And they shouted Hayden down with jeers: "Once a commie, always a commie" (*Los Angeles Times*, 11 September). Unfortunately, the slogan of the Baltic League isn't the case. The world is full of ex-Communist god-that-failed types. For many New Leftists, particularly of the red-diaper Ronald Radosh variety, the road has led to social democracy.

The Cold War rad-libs like Radosh were in the New Left antiwar movement of the 1960s when anti-Sovietism was suppressed. Russia was seen as being either on the Vietnamese side or as one of the two "superpowers." Radosh, Weinstein & Co. always had a pronounced chauvinist pride in their "organic American radicalism." Their type came through NAM—the New American Movement—into mainstream American social democracy. In the spirit of American entrepreneurism they say: we can build a better witchhunt. It is not only Albert Shanker's S.D.U.S.A. wing of American social democracy which will produce the Cold War bloodhounds; the DSA will provide the rad-lib variety of social-patriotic Cold Warrior. Now they are proving useful in the preparations to witchhunt "disloyal" elements on the left perceived as "pro-Soviet" by the government. Perhaps this is what James Weinstein meant when he said *The Rosenberg File* was a "service for the left."

Cold War II will not be a simple repeat of McCarthyism. But the basic witchhunting method of criminalizing political opposition to the government, particularly with regard to opposition to the anti-Soviet war drive, will be similar. In the postwar period, the CP was recast as espionage agents. But the "Vietnam syndrome" and the "Rosenberg syndrome" make that kind of open ideological lynching more difficult today. So today the entire "disloyal" left is being characterized as "international terrorism." The secret police are already gearing up on this basis with witchhunting RICO laws. That is the purpose and great danger of the FBI's "new guidelines." Left organizations branded as terrorists are set up as outlaws, to be shot down like dogs. It is McCarthyism with a drawn gun. That is why the Spartacist League is fighting the basis for the new Red Hunt, with a lawsuit against the FBI (see article this issue).

Fighting this exhumed Rosenberg frame-up is part of the struggle against Cold War II. In 1953 the Trotskyists were fighting the Cold War liberals of their day. And what they had to say then at the time of the execution about the Cold War liberal Max Lerners holds true today for the new rad-lib Cold Warriors like Radosh/Milton. As the *Militant* (6 July 1953) wrote:

> "Lerner may think he is rid of the Rosenberg case and now that he has said his 'farewell to the whole topic,' the rest of us will do likewise. But there are tens of millions here and abroad who recognize this case for what it was—a bestial act of capitalist class terrorism intended to help intimidate into silence all who would criticize or oppose Wall Street's policies abroad or at home. These millions will yet say the last word on the Rosenbergs and the evil class system that committed their murder." ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

ALL OUT Saturday, October 29!

Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero Must Not Go to Jail!

Ray Palmiero, Lauren Mozee and her two children.

Stop the Racist Anti-Labor Frame-Up!

We reprint below a call for an October 29 protest march and rally in Oakland by the Ad Hoc Committee Against Racist Anti-Labor Frame-Up of Mozee and Palmiero.

On August 10, while on a picket line in the Klan-infested city of San Leandro, striking phone worker Lauren Mozee was called a "BLACK NIGGER BITCH" and hit in the face by a racist Pacific Telephone scab/manager, Michelle Rose Hansen. Lauren defended herself against this provocative and violent assault, and her companion and fellow unionist Ray Palmiero came to her assistance. Now they are fired from their jobs and face up to eight years each in state prison for doing their duty on the picket line. That means no more real picket lines. And if you've got no picket lines, you've got no union.

THIS IS AN OUTRAGE! Black and working people of Oakland—the phone company and the Reagan-loving D.A.'s office want to import Alabama-style justice to Oakland. They want to intimidate us. Their message is that blacks have no right to resist racist assault. They say unionists have no right to defend themselves from management violence. **WE SAY: NO WAY! THESE FRAME-UPS MUST BE STOPPED!!!**

ASSEMBLE AT 11 A.M. SATURDAY, OCTOBER 29 AT OAKLAND CITY HALL AND MARCH AT 12 NOON TO THE ALAMEDA COUNTY COURTHOUSE FOR A 1 P.M. RALLY TO STOP THE RACIST FRAME-UP OF LAUREN MOZEE AND RAY PALMIERO! WE MUST MOBILIZE THOUSANDS OF BLACKS AND UNIONISTS IN THE STREETS TO SEND A LOUD AND CLEAR MESSAGE TO THE UNION-HATING PHONE COMPANY AND ITS REAGANITE FLUNKIES IN THE D.A.'s OFFICE—STOP THE RACIST FRAME-UPS!!! DOWN WITH SOUTH AFRICA-STYLE JUSTICE!!! BE THERE ON OCTOBER 29!!!

This frame-up is an act of politicized racism being carried out by an unholy conspiracy of the powerful and vindictive Ma Bell, the racist strikebusting San Leandro police, the FBI and the Alameda County D.A.'s office, Reagan's prime recruiting ground for his Department of Injustice. Lauren and Ray were singled out for legal lynching because they are an interracial couple, because they are union militants, because they are fighters against KKK/cop terror and because Lauren was a ten-year member of the Black Panther Party, destroyed in large part by government murder and frame-up persecution.

FREEDOM FOR THIS COUPLE!!! Lauren Mozee, 36, is the mother of two children. Ray Palmiero, her companion, is the son of Italian immigrants. Both are active in their union, the Communications Workers of America. Three children depend on Lauren and Ray for support. What will become of them if Lauren and Ray go to prison?

The arrogant racist Michelle Rose Hansen who called Lauren a "BLACK NIGGER BITCH" is no ordinary scab. She went out of her way to provoke and ridicule strikers while daily crossing their picket lines. Obscene gestures and racial slurs were the ugly accompaniment to her gleeful strikebreaking. If this

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Assemble at 11 a.m. Oakland City Hall, March at 12 Noon to Alameda County Courthouse for a 1 p.m. Rally

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 341 4 November 1983

Rape of Grenada

Sherbell/Picture Group

Dougherty/Camera 6

Big Stick invasion of Grenada (left) can't hide Reagan's Beirut bombing disaster, which killed more than 230 (right).

Bloody Mess in Lebanon

NOVEMBER 1—Finally they thought they found a country small enough for Reagan's supercommandos to cream. Ronald Reagan had to divert attention quickly from the Beirut bombing that wiped out Marine headquarters in Lebanon, killing more than 230 U.S. troops. "We need a win," kept insisting election-minded White House advisers. Invading tiny Grenada, only twice the area of Washington, D.C. with a population no larger than a couple of Harlem housing projects, appealed to the Pentagon because it was "do-able." But five days after the leathernecks stormed the white sand beaches of this Caribbean island, the "can do" generals and admirals still couldn't seem to do it. With 1,900 Marines, several units of Rangers, more than 5,000 paratroopers of the 82nd Airborne and a war fleet of 20 ships, they managed to seize two airports and the town of St. George's. They said it could take weeks to clean out Cubans holed up in the hills. The Yankee shark will succeed in swallowing the Caribbean sardine, of course. But after all the flag waving has died down, not even the unprecedented press censorship can turn the Grenada invasion into a great U.S. victory in its anti-Soviet war drive.

Reagan is in big trouble over Lebanon—big enough to be the undoing of his administration. Those body bags being flown into Dover Air Force Base should be stacked up in the White House. Things got so bad last week that they stopped announcing the number of dead and began announcing the survivors. It was the largest number of U.S. troops killed on a single day since the height of the Tet offensive in Vietnam. And the immediate reaction of Marine families was to see their sons as victims rather than heroes: "It almost seems like Vietnam again.... Those poor boys dying, and I'm sure they don't know what they're dying for."

"Go in or get out" was a cry heard particularly from the military, which has been more than a little gun-shy over Central America—wary of another unwinnable war without public support. Even conservative hawks like Georgia senator Sam Nunn were for a phased withdrawal from "Mission Impossible." And Marines interviewed in Beirut wanted out, now, alive. We can support that.

In this particular deal America has been manipulated into becoming Israel's cat's paw. Pointing to Israel's withdrawal, Sam Nunn argued:

> "Lebanon is surely no more vital to our interests than to those of Israel, yet Israel has recognized that its soldiers' lives should not be risked further in the cauldron of Lebanon's factional strife."

Given the comparative populations, if the 230-plus dead in the October 23 blast had been Israelis, it would be the equivalent of 23 *thousand* American soldiers killed. And with the Zionist "master race" psychology which equates one dead Israeli with 100 Arabs, the country would have exploded. So Israel's terrorist generals and terrorist cabinet ministers are openly laughing themselves silly. They did it smart: swearing they wouldn't leave Lebanon, dragging in the Americans to cover them when they got trapped in Beirut and then precipitously withdrawing, leaving the U.S. holding the bag. (And at least the Israelis do know how to protect a military compound...or how to blow one up—witness the Zionists' 1946 attack on British HQ in Jerusalem's King David Hotel.)

As the shock hit America last Sunday,

continued on page 10

We Salute Heroic Cuban Fighters

We reprint below a communiqué by the Cuban government broadcast over Radio Havana at 4 p.m., Wednesday, October 26.

"The people were informed that at approximately 0700 hours communications between the Cuban embassy in Grenada and the Cuban defensive positions were cut off.

"It was not possible to receive any more information on the course of the latest fighting and the individual fate of each one of the comrades defending their positions.

"We can only tell you that at 0955 hours the Cuban embassy in Grenada reported that the latest enemy attack on our positions was carried out using all available means: fighter aircraft, helicopters, heavy and medium calibre artillery and mortars. But at the end, a group of six comrades, clutching our flag, continued fighting.

"At 1117 hours our ambassador communicated that there is no further Cuban resistance. The fighters in the final redoubt did not surrender and gave their lives for the homeland."

Marines Out of Lebanon, Now, Alive!
U.S. Out of Grenada, Dead or Alive!

Don't Extradite Chris Taylor!

Alabama Out to Lynch Taylor Family

Thc case of five members of the Taylor family who defended themselves from a Klan-style marauder attack by Alabama cops goes to trial in mid-November. Already evidence from recently concluded pre-trial hearings has revealed the monstrous police lies and cover-ups being strung together into a Southern lynch law noose. The Taylors face up to life imprisonment in the racist hellholes of Alabama prisons. They are battling for their lives. In particular, Chris Taylor is now fighting extradition from Michigan. Workers, blacks, all decent people must come to their defense!

On February 27 the Taylor family, including five members of the United Auto Workers from Pontiac, Michigan were gathered in Montgomery to mourn the death of Annie Bell Taylor. Shortly before midnight two unidentified white men screaming racial epithets broke down the door and burst in with guns drawn. Twenty-one-year-old Chris Taylor was shot. The Taylors, thinking they were under KKK attack, disarmed the racist thugs and called the cops. But the racist thugs *were* the cops. Eleven members of the Taylor family spent ten days in the Montgomery city jail, where they were subjected to beatings, torture and South Africa-style forced confession. Now they're on trial for their lives for the "crime" of defending themselves against racist terror.

The cover-ups, lies and destruction of vital evidence revealed by the pre-trial hearing are grotesque. Simply verifying that the Taylors themselves called for police assistance would in itself establish their innocence, so naturally the cops are claiming that the automatic tape recording of the call was "inadvertently" erased. A police clerk has been forced to quit because she testified that two policemen came back the night the Taylors were assaulted and listened to the supposedly nonexistent tapes. A black city councilman, Donald Watkins, did his own investigation. His sources told him that the official police version of the tapes was a lie, and indicated strongly that the cop wounded at the Taylor home was shot by a fellow policeman. The cops were covering up the beating of the black family: Watkins was told the Taylors were "bouncing off the walls" of the police station, "You could hear them screaming all the way down to Ed (Maj. E.B.) Alford's office" (*Detroit Free Press*, 7 October).

Watkins didn't want to divulge his contacts until they testified publicly but whcn he was cited for contempt and fined $2,000, he named Captein T.J. McLain, head of the Montgomery cops' internal affairs division. McLain suddenly requested early medical retirement while denying that he had given information to Watkins. But he was contradicted by another cop, retired police captain Robert Lynch, who testified that he had warned McLain to change his earlier testimony and admit that he had knowledge of the Taylors' station house beating! Two other cops have refused to testify at all, and four cops, including McLain, who are involved in the case have been put out to pasture since the hearings began—each on paid administrative leave by order of notoriously racist mayor Emory "Führer" Folmar.

Despite the blatant lies and cover-ups, not a single one of 27 motions by the Taylors' attorneys to dismiss indictments was granted! The courts also refused their lawyers the right to examine the recorder and police tapes. In Montgomery, where the Confederate stars and bars still waves over George "Segregation Forever" Wallace's capitol, it is clear that the Taylors will receive no justice. When they come to trial, it will be presided over by H. Randall Thomas, known as a "hanging judge." And in Alabama a jail term for blacks sent up for shooting white cops can easily become a death sentence. Small wonder that Chris Taylor is fighting extradition!

The Taylors can be saved not by relying on "justice" from the racist Southern courts, but by a mass outpouring of labor and blacks. When the Taylors were first arrested, their defense won immediate support from workers in Warren, Ohio, in Pontiac and Detroit. If the Taylors are convicted, any black who journeys down South for a vacation, or to mourn a relative in dignity, is taking his life in his hands. The defense of the Taylors must become a focus for mass labor-centered demonstrations, North and South. Nothing less can win the fight.

No extradition of Chris Teylor! Drop the charges against the Taylors! Jail the racist cops! A million dollars compensation to the Taylors! ■

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive Success

Congratuletions to all the comrades on the successful completion of the 1983 *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive. The six-week drive reached 126 percent of the national quota, bringing *WV* subs (in the U.S. and overseas) to nearly 3,100. We also sold 855 *Young Spartacus* and 461 *Women and Revolution* subs. This year's individual winner was comrade Paule of SF with 107½ points; runners-up were Debbie H. of New York with 96 and Gordy of Detroit/Ann Arbor with 91. Honorable mantion to Xandra (SF), Peter A. (Oakland), Kathie S. (Boston) and Tom D. (Boston), with more then 60 points apiece.

This year's drive started off early with the sale of 400 sub points at the M.L. King Day marches in Washington and San Francisco and 293 more et Labor Day marches nationwide, mainly to black and Latino workers who rejected the Democratic Party vote-hustling theme of these events and wera intrigued by *WV*'s heedline, "Black Liberetion Through Socialist Revolution—Labor, Blacks: Don't Crawl for the Democrets!"

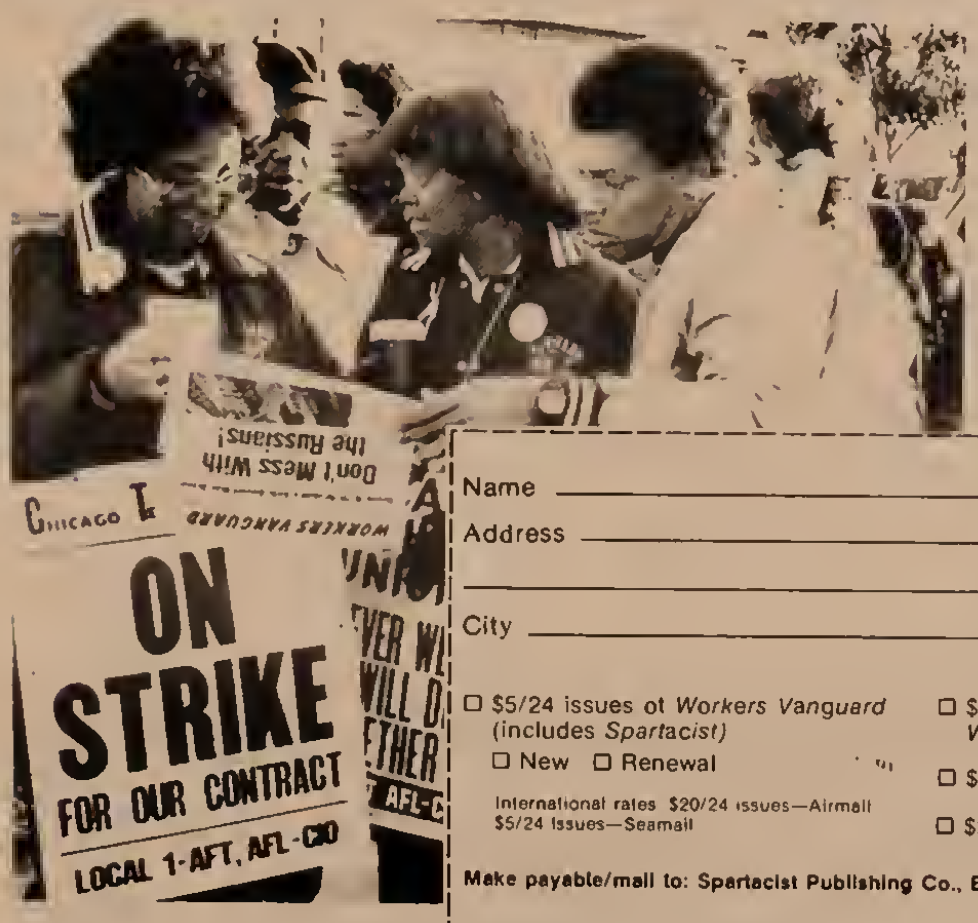
Key to winning new readers among blacks and other working people has been the success of the Spertacist League's strategy of labor/black mass mobilizatlon against KKK/Nazi racist terrorism and cop brutelity. The SL-initietied mobilization ot 5,000 that stopped the Klan from marching on the streets ot Washington on 27 November 1982 hes gained us e haaring among blacks end other anti-racist militants, particularly in the South. We note with pride the sub drive success ot our two new Southern branches—Washington and Atlanta—which grew directly out ot the November 27 victory. The Atlanta comrades sold 31 introductory subs at Atlanta's first Lebor Dey march in more than 30 years.

Sub drive work on campus, always important in introducing the Spartacus Youth League to students et the beginning of the school year, brought mixed results this year. As wa have observed betore, under the impect of Reagan reaction and anti-Soviet war drive, the petty-bourgeois radicalizetion of the late 1960s has mainly avaporated, with Americen social relations reverting to the historically more normal pattern where the workers are more class-conscious than the students are radical. In Boston, e branch that does mainly student work, comrades estimated it took twice as many hours' work as in past years to sell a roughly equal number of campus subs. This year we targeted colleges with large concentrations of minority and working-class students. Atlanta sold 65 points at the Atlanta University complex ot colleges while Washington sold 35 points at Howard University—two historically important centers of bleck student radicalism and Southern black cultural/intellectual life. The Weshington comrades elso sold 11 points at Morgan State in Baltimore.

Though campus sales still accounted for a lot of points, most locals spent a good proportion ot their time in bleck and integrated working-class neighborhoods where *WV* is regularly sold at street sales and where door-to-door work has been done in the past. Boston sold 60 points door-to-door in Cambridgeport, Mettapan and Dorchester; Weshington sold 22 points on regional trips to the Tidewater, Virginia area; L.A. neighborhoods yielded 30 points. But the most systematic efforts were made by the comrades in Chicago. Last year the Chicago local sold an impressive 178 points door-to-door to tollow up the success ot the SL-organized labor/black protest of 3,000 that contronted a Nazi provocation against gay rights marchers in Chicago on 27 June 1982. This year the Chicago comrades revisited these readers in their homes to talk about *WV* and urge them to resubscribe—nearly half did (84 points). The Chicago comredes also sold 102 points in new subs door-to-door on the South and West Sides and in the industrial cities of Gary and Hammond, Indiana, and Milwaukee.

The Bay Area locals' Northern sub tour to Oregon/Washington State netted 194 points, while New York comrades sold 93 points in Philadelphia in two trips. Also important were Cleveland's trips to Warren, Ohio, a depressed auto town and home ot one branch of the victimized Taylor temily.

We welcome our new readers. And we hope that many ot them will become our active supporters in the struggles ot the working people and oppressed for freedom and socialism. Let us hear trom you with comments and criticisms about our articles end views. And we urge you to help introduce *WV* to new readers by bringing our paper to the attention ot coworkers and friands. ■



FINAL TOTALS

Local	Quota (In points)	Total	%
Atlanta	120	140	117
Berkeley/Oakland	450	498	111
Boston	350	424	121
Chicago	300	395	132
Cleveland	170	234	138
Oetroit	300	351	117
Los Angeles	280	322	115
New York	900	1,074	119
San Francisco	350	423	121
Washinglon, D C	120	130	108
At Large	-	229	-
National Total	3,340	4,220	126

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Yankee Big Stick Hits Grenada

"Eternal glory to the Cubans who have fallen and to those who have fought and are still fighting to defend their honor, their principles, their internationalist work, their homeland, and their own personal lives threatened by the unjustified, treacherous and criminal imperialist attack."
—Statement of the Communist Party and Government of Cuba, Havana, 26 October 1983

It took 6,000 U.S. troops to subdue tiny Grenada, and they're still "mopping up." M. Norcia

Armed only with light infantry weapons, facing Cobra helicopter gunships, jet fighters and heavy artillery, 700 Cuban construction workers in Grenada heroically resisted the onslaught by thousands of U.S. Marines, Rangers and paratroopers. Though they could not win, they defended their positions until they ran out of ammunition. When Cuban foreign minister Ricardo Alarcón denied on ABC-TV's "Nightline" (27 October) that Cuba had soldiers in Grenada, interviewer Ted Koppel responded:

> Koppel: "Well, I must compliment you because apparently your laborers make an extraordinary army. I shudder to think what the Cuban army is like if your laborers fight that well."
> Alarcón: "I can tell you that our people as a whole is prepared and has the political will, the consciousness and also the preparation to fight and to defend themselves. If such an invasion like the one in Grenada occurred in Cuba, for sure the world will see a bigger demonstration of how our people—workers, students, intellectuals, normal persons, not professional soldiers—know how to fight...."

In contrast, according to all accounts, the Grenadian "People's Revolutionary Army" more or less dissolved. The PRA was good at shooting down unarmed civilian demonstrators and executing cabinet ministers. Two weeks ago when Grenada's radical nationalist prime minister Maurice Bishop was freed from house arrest by a crowd of supporters, troops in an armored car fired on the population. Bishop and a half dozen other Grenadian leaders were murdered in cold blood. Then the "Revolutionary Military Council" imposed a 24-hour, shoot-to-kill curfew to consolidate its hold. But when the Yankee imperialists took advantage of this bloodbath to launch an invasion, the PRA just melted away. This is attested to not only by the capitalist media but also by supporters of Bishop's New Jewel Movement (NJM). Amina Hassan, a reporter for Pacifica News who spent the last year in Grenada, said in an October 28 radio interview:

> "There was a lot of support for Bishop and then when the coup came there was a lot of division now. But the PRA, the army...had given up fighting. They were just taking off the uniforms and asking people for regular clothes just to sort of fade back into the background."

The Cubans were allied with the NJM and many on the left equated Castro's Cuba with Bishop's Grenada. For the Reaganites they were all "Communist terrorists." Why, then, such a striking difference between the internationalist Cubans who stood their ground and fought, and Grenadian "revolutionaries" who wouldn't even defend their own revolution?

Palace Coup

One of the most macabre aspects of the U.S. invasion of Grenada was Reagan's new-found concern for the assassinated Bishop, now described as "a Marxist-Leninist, but one which his Caribbean neighbors could live with." This is garbage. Maurice Bishop and his populist-nationalist New Jewel Movement have been targeted by the U.S. as a "Soviet/Cuban proxy" ever since the NJM came to power in 1979. As soon as Bishop established relations with Castro, Washington rehabilitated his predecessor Sir Eric Gairy, a neocolonial dictator fascinated by UFOs and whose infamous "Mongoose Gang" of thugs terrorized the island's black population, as a "constitutional" government.

When the new regime refused to knuckle under to State Department warnings, the Pentagon began planning its overthrow. Two years ago it staged operation "Ocean Venture 81," a mock invasion of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques which is remarkably similar to Grenada. Last week TV showed film clips of Bishop declaring: "They [the Americans] are right now, right now this very minute, sitting down and planning the final stages of their armed attack against our revolution." At the time these charges were dismissed as "paranoia" and "Communist propaganda." But last month they just dusted off their plans and staged "Ocean Venture 83."

The U.S. has tried to pin the blame for Bishop's ouster on Cuba. But while many of the particulars are murky, one thing is clear: Castro was horrified by the brutal murder of Bishop. A press release by the Cuban mission to the UN issued on October 20 stated:

> "In fact, in our view, more than a conflict of substance, there was a conflict of personalities and in the conception of ruling methods, where subjective factors were not absent....
> "No doctrine, principle or proclaimed revolutionary position nor any internal division can justify procedures as atrocious as Bishop's physical elimination and the death of the group of outstanding, honest and honourable leaders who were killed yesterday.
> "The death of Bishop and his comrades must be clarified. Should they have been executed in cold blood, those guilty must be exemplarily sanctioned."

The Pacifica Radio reporter noted that Grenada's new rulers had asked the Cuban embassy to leave the country even *prior* to Bishop's murder. This suggests that the country was going the way of Suriname, where in the wake of the U.S. invasion of Grenada, the local military strongman, a Colonel Bouterse, broke with his erstwhile Cuban allies and expelled the embassy, thus transforming himself into one more "free world" dictator.

Even though Cuba sharply condemned the execution of Bishop and a whole section of the NJM leadership, it warned that "imperialism will now try to use this tragedy and the grave errors committed by the Grenadian revolutionaries to sweep away Grenada's revolutionary process." When on October 23, faced with the imminent U.S. attack, Grenada's junta requested Cuban troops to defend it, Castro replied forthrightly:

Steber/Jullien

Maurice Bishop (left) with Fidel Castro

> "...the unfortunate developments in Grenada render the useless sacrifice entailed by the dispatching of such reinforcements in a struggle against the United States morally impossible before our people and the world.
> "That, as a matter of our country's honor, morality and dignity we will keep the Cuban personnel there at a time when powerful Yankee naval forces are approaching Grenada.
> "That, if Grenada is invaded by the United States, the Cuban personnel will defend their positions in their camps and working areas with all their energy and courage."

And they did. The Grenadian PRA, in contrast, dissolved, and the people could not fight because the army had *disarmed the militias* after October 12.

The difference between the regimes in Cuba and Grenada was a fundamental *class* difference. The Cubans had something to fight for: a social revolution which had sent the Cuban bourgeoisie swimming to Miami. Even though that revolution was bureaucratically deformed from the outset, with political power solely in the hands of the all-powerful Comandante Castro, Cuban workers have resolutely defended it arms in hand, from the CIA's 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion to the present day. In contrast, Grenada has experienced only a series of palace coups, not revolutions, in which the core of the government apparatus was preserved. It is inconceivable that one of Batista's mercenary killers could have become a leader of the Cuban CP. But Grenada's short-lived strongman, General Hudson Austin did just that—rising from prison guard and corporal in Gairy's army to become the NJM leader who overthrew Bishop.

SWP's Fantasy Island

For the anti-Trotskyist U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the Grenadian coup must have come as quite a shock. Bishop's NJM, which is affiliated with the social-democratic Second International of Mitterrand and Schmidt, had been one of the shining stars in the SWP's firmament of "revolutionary proletarian leaderships." The SWP's Mary-Alice Waters incredibly claimed of these petty-bourgeois nationalists in power:

> "Nicaragua, Grenada, Cuba—the 'three giants rising up on the doorstep of imperialism'—have altered the course of world history in the last eighteen months....
> "Their literacy drives give the Nicaraguan and Grenadian revolutions a qualitative advantage over the Russian—even if, like the Bolsheviks, they suffer from the lack of cadre to fulfill all the tasks."
> —SWP *International Internal Information Bulletin*, September 1980

Grenada was hailed as having a "workers and farmers government"—the catchword for the Barnesites' discovery of embryo Cubas throughout the Third World. For Barnes' predecessors 20 years ago, it was Ben Bella's nationalist regime in Algeria that was so honored

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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CIRCULATION MANAGER: Darlene Kamiura

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No. 341 4 November 1983

Vote Kartsen, Brewer and Smith in NYC Transit

For a Fighting TWU!

The newly formed Committee for a Fighting TWU is running in the current elections in Transport Workers Union Local 100 as the sole opposition to the incumbent John Lawe leadership. With the collapse of the out-bureaucratic lash-up around "dissident" Arnold Cherry, the Committee offers a clear choice to New York transit workers who want to struggle against the Transit Authority bosses and racist, strike-breaking mayor Koch.

Local 100's enormous fighting capacity has been shackled by leaderships that have surrendered to the dictates of the bankers' Big MAC austerity program and the Democratic Party city bosses. The real wages and benefits of transit workers have been halved over the past decade; an elaborate system of management spies, or Beakies, operates to harass and victimize workers; the union's "no contract, no work" provision has been discontinued in favor of binding arbitration. Transit workers are literally being murdered both on the job and off the job. Two years ago a black motorman, Jesse Cole, bled to death in his cab while TA president John Simpson organized a press conference to scapegoat him for a faulty signal system. And black union brother Willie Turks was bludgeoned to death by a racist lynch mob only a few hundred feet from his shop in Gravesend, Brooklyn.

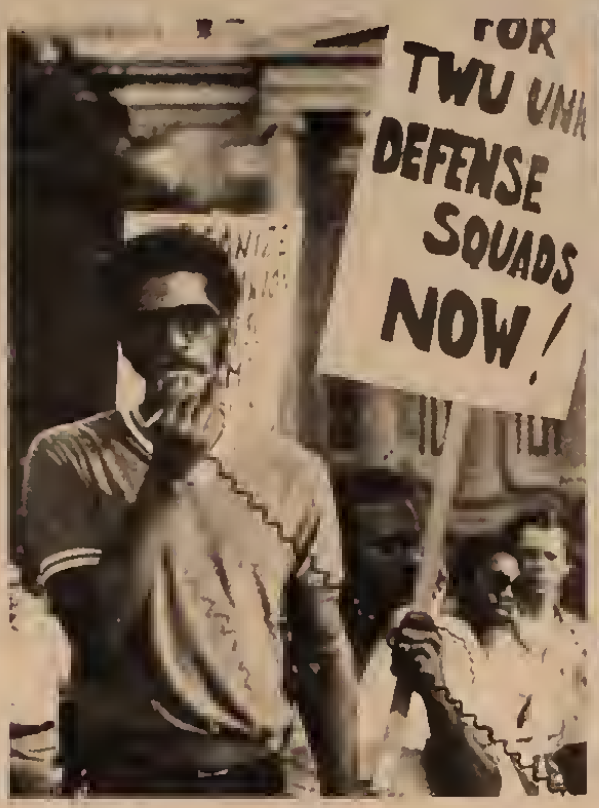
The candidates of the Committee for a Fighting TWU are Ed Kartsen, for Local 100 president; David Brewer, for exec board of car maintenance; and Jim Smith, for exec board of the motormen's division. Kartsen, Brewer and Smith are militants who have actively fought to mobilize Local 100 against the TA, Koch and the race-terrorists. As a leaflet announcing their candidacy explained:

> "The TWU needs a class struggle leadership to stop the attacks against the unions, minorities and foreign workers. When the T.A. let Jesse Cole bleed to death, Kartsen, Brewer and Smith fought to close down the whole subway system for his funeral. We fought for labor solidarity with PATCO by demanding the shutting down of the train to the plane! We fought to mobilize union forces in flatbed trucks to establish safety and order against lynch mob killers in Gravesend. We helped organize and lead the only union protest of the acquittal of the murderers of Brother Turks. We helped organize the November 27th Labor/Black victory in Washington against the planned KKK march. If you want to turn this union around, vote Kartsen, Brewer and Smith!"

More recently, Ed Kartsen spoke at an Oakland, California rally in defense of fired phone workers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, and the Committee has mobilized transit workers to support these victims of a racist, anti-labor frame-up.

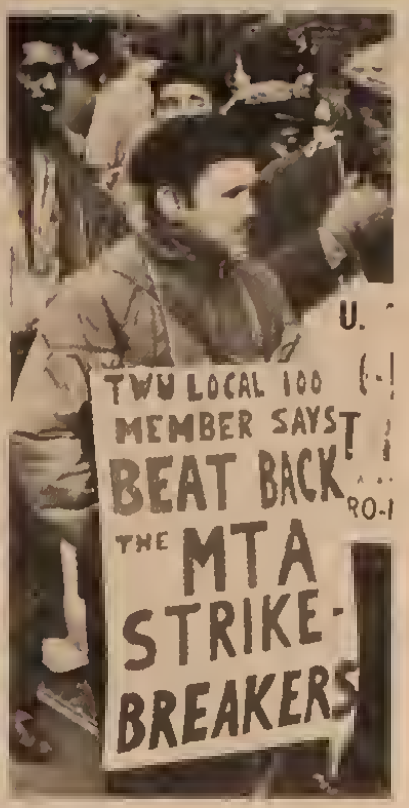
Meanwhile, Arnold Cherry's reformist opposition has completely disintegrated. Cherry announced he would refuse to oppose Lawe, then launched an attack on Kartsen's candidacy—thereby giving Lawe implicit support. Cherry engaged in gross red-baiting to underscore his loyalty to the capitalist system and ingratiate himself with Lawe. In his "Where I Stand" leaflet, Cherry attacks Kartsen and his fellow militants:

> "Transit workers must denounce this group of ultra-left elitists, and *all 'outside'* political groups, whether on the left or far right. For attempting to use transit workers for their political or ideological causes. A rank and file movement for union democracy, better working conditions and wages, must be a movement without interference from all outside groups."



Ed Kartsen

David Brewer



Jim Smith

Pretty foul stuff coming from a man who in the past has run on a common slate with supporters of the reformist Communist Party (CP).

"Rather Be Called a Red by a Rat Than a Rat by a Red"

The Commitee answered Cherry in a leaflet, "Cherry: Where He Falls":

> "Arnold Cherry has decided not to run against Lawe in the elections and now he's put out a leaflet which says vote for Lawe or vote for nobody! Cherry has left the field open to Lawe and now says nobody else has the right to oppose Lawe! Cherry has become the spoiler for Lawe in this election. He criticizes some of Lawe's sellout policies but the proof is in the pudding. Is Cherry voting for Lawe or for nobody?
>
> "It's no secret that Kartsen and Brewer sought to make a no-contest agreement with Cherry: without hiding our differences, we offered not to run for president if Cherry ran against Lawe. Cherry was given every opportunity to respond to our offer. He indicated, however, that he would not run against Lawe! It would be a defeat for all transit workers if Lawe were to run unopposed....
>
> "Were we as insignificant as Cherry claims we are, we doubt he would spend so much time bad-mouthing us. In fact, many supporters and ex-supporters of Cherry have worked with us to build labor solidarity against union busting, to close down the system to smash deathtrap job conditions and to stop racist lynch mob terror. And we know many workers who've backed Cherry in the past can't stomach the kind of red-baiting you'd expect from an Albert Shanker or Lane Kirkland. If Cherry calls us 'ultra-left' for fighting to unite our union across race lines and stop the lynch mob killers who seek to divide us, all we can do is quote Mike Quill: 'I'd rather be called a red by a rat than a rat by a red.' Maybe Cherry thinks if he does enough red-baiting he can ingratiate himself with John Lawe.
>
> "It's no accident that Cherry doesn't mention the need for strike action or say anything about fighting racism. He believes in relying on the racist government, its courts and cops. Cherry, like Lawe, hustles votes for the Democratic Party—the party of racist Koch and liberals like Cuomo who appoint union-busting CIA spymasters to run N.Y. transit.
>
> "We believe and fight for the independent mobilization of labor and blacks to fight for our needs. The labor movement can and must be rebuilt! Over the past decade or so, our wages and benefits have been virtually cut in half in real terms. It doesn't have to be so. By restoring the tradition of labor solidarity with LIRR and PATH unions and extending solidarity to the big city unions like sanitation workers and by drawing in blacks and Hispanics in our fight for jobs and safe, clean, rapid and free subways, we can turn the tide and win big against the city and T.A. czars and the big bankers! This means a political fight by labor and the oppressed against the Democrats and Republicans....
>
> "We need a class struggle leadership to win. We do not pretend that such a leadership will be built by elections and paper ballots. Leadership is built in the course of waging strikes and struggles against our oppressors. We are running in this election because we have a program that can show the way to victory in these much needed battles. If you want to fight the T.A., smash racist terror and build a workers party to fight for a workers government run in our interest—then join us."

Committee members told *WV* that there was widespread disgust among transit workers at Cherry's cowardly and shameful action. This ex-oppositionist blames the *membership* for failing to pay dues when it was the TWU tops' capitulation which allowed the courts and the TA to take away the dues check-off. Cherry accuses the *ranks* of demoralization, but last summer when the motormen pulled a slowdown against the slanderous "cowboy" smear of the union—management's attempt to blame transit workers for the dangerous state of NYC subways—as usual he was nowhere to be seen. In Cars and Shops, where Cherry works, the Committee for a Fighting TWU obtained more signatures than this do-nothing "dissident" who is running only for a "safe" E-Board slot. Meanwhile, Cherry's former bloc partners haven't uttered a word of public condemnation against his red-baiting. Mike Scott, chairman of the motormen's division and prominently quoted in the CP's *Daily World*, reportedly refused to sign the nomination petition for Kartsen, thereby asserting that there should be no opposition to Lawe!

Cherry is part of a now vanishing breed of union "dissidents" that arose in the middle and late '70s in an attempt to exploit widespread anger at the sharp decline in living standards and worsening job conditions in the TA. Their stock in trade was unprincipled maneuvers like suing the TWU leadership and bringing the capitalist courts into union affairs. But their bluff was called during the 1980 transit strike. Although the

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SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Ann Arbor
c/o SYL
P.O. Box 8364
Ann Arbor, MI 48107
(313) 662-2339

Atlanta
Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

Berkeley/Oakland
P.O. Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 835-1535

Boston
Box 840, Central Station
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Chicago
Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 427-0003

Cleveland
Box 91954
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 621-5138

Detroit
Box 32717
Detroit, MI 48232
(313) 961-1680

Houston
Box 26474
Houston, TX 77207

Los Angeles
Box 29574
Los Feliz Station
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 663-1216

Madison
c/o SYL, Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701

New York
Box 444
Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk
P.O. Box 1972
Main P.O
Norfolk, VA 23501

San Francisco
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.
P.O. Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 636-3537

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Ex-Dashiki Democrat No Answer to Born-Again Bigot

Populism and Racism in Boston Elections

BOSTON—For the first time in Boston's 350-year history a black candidate has made it to the run-off election for mayor and stands a chance to win this city's top post. Mel King, a black liberal and former dashiki-wearing state representative will be pitted against Boston city council member Ray Flynn from the racist enclave of South Boston. In this city—known as the Birmingham of the North, where racist mobs rampaged through the streets in the 1970s attacking blacks and busing and where only a year ago the Ku Klux Klan tried to stage a racist provocation by marching through City Hall Plaza—many blacks see King's election as a symbol of black power and a "dream come true." But like Chicago's Harold Washington and all the other black elected officials from the two capitalist parties upon whom blacks have placed their hopes, if elected Mel King will betray those aspirations. As head of a capitalist city government he will have the job of administering the same racist austerity, union-busting and cop terror that has always been inflicted on the black, poor and working people of Boston.

In the 1970s King put himself forward as one of the foremost proponents of busing while Flynn was one of its most active opponents. In the present elections both candidates are hiding issues of race and class as King runs for mayor on a campaign platform that is virtually indistinguishable from Flynn. They are both running as representatives of the alienated "neighborhoods" against the gentrification and downtown office tower development of 16-year incumbent mayor Kevin White. Even though the purported big business candidate, David Finnegan, lost, the chairman of the Chamber of Commerce hailed the election outcome as "an extremely healthy one" because "all that racial divisiveness is over and done with."

Not hardly. Mel King's primary victory, like that of other black elected officials, represents the spoils of *defeated* black struggle, which in Boston centered on busing. Segregated education, like the rest of black oppression, is a legacy of slavery, when it was a "seditious" capital offense to teach blacks reading and writing. The Spartacist League (SL) supports busing as a partial step towards school integration and therefore part of the struggle for genuine racial equality. But the court-enforced plans, especially in Boston, restricted to the impoverished inner city, by hauling black and white students to each other's run-down schools generated resentment and racist backlash out of which racist demagogues like Flynn and Louise Day Hicks of ROAR made their political careers. Anti-busing slogans like "neighborhood schools" became

UPI

Black liberal Mel King debates Ray Flynn.

code words for Jim Crow and racist terror. While defending the existing plans against racist attack, the SL insisted that busing had to be extended to the more affluent suburbs to be meaningful. The Boston busing struggles of the mid-'70s were of decisive importance for blacks not only in that city but throughout the nation. The Spartacist League was the only organization to agitate for a united front of Boston's trade unions, black and socialist organizations to defend black schoolchildren against racist terror.

Mel King along with other liberals and the reformist left demanded federal troops to defend black schoolchildren from the racist mobs of the 1970s. But federal troops no less than the National Guard and cops are all armed defenders of the racist imperialist status quo. Instead the SL demanded integrated defense guards recruited from organized labor and black organizations. The Mel King and NAACP legalist strategy of reliance on the bourgeois state allowed busing to be defeated on the streets by Flynn and his allies in ROAR and the racist vigilante South Boston Marshals.

The Klan smelled fertile ground in those streets, and eight years later when the KKK sought to "go North" in the present climate of Reagan reaction they chose Boston as a testing ground, calling a race-hate rally at City Hall Plaza in October 1982. When 1,000 angry demonstrators ran the KKK out of town, King and the rest of the city's black establishment were nowhere to be seen, boycotting the only solid anti-racist stand seen in Boston in years. And that victory over race-terror in which the SL and its youth organization, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) played an important part, paved the road for the bigger victory of the SL/SYL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the Klan in Washington the following month.

By running a campaign of "neighborhood" populism, King has allowed Flynn and the bourgeois media to dress up this arch-conservative bigot and racist demagogue as a "genuine liberal," "born-again populist" and "Boston's own Lech Walesa" (the one characterization he richly deserves). Flynn has received endorsements of tenant organizations and most trade unions, including the Boston Teachers Union and Boston Central Labor Council. His campaign manager was an activist in the Revolutionary Student Union and SDS. But Flynn has maintained his base in Irish Catholic South Boston by catering to the most backward sentiments of his constituency: he is a notorious opponent of integrated education through busing, and as a state representative in 1975 even filed legislation to end compulsory education so that Southie parents could pull their children out of integrated schools. He opposed abortion (the Flynn/Doyle amendment denying women on Medicaid the right to abortion), opposed no-fault divorce, opposed an anti-sex-discrimination law for the state civil service, opposed repeal of Boston anti-communist laws, opposed birth control for minors, and is for the mandatory death penalty.

King and Flynn run mirror image campaigns exploiting "neighborhood power" and "community control" rhetoric, one in the service of black nationalism and the other in the service of Jim Crow racism. King's latest gimmick is Jesse Jackson's "rainbow coalition." His strategy of "community control" through tax-the-rich schemes is utopian at best, but his "Boston Jobs for Boston People" affirmative action program is downright dangerous, inviting the labor-hating capitalist government to rip up contracts, demolish hard-won seniority and union hiring hall rights and bust unions in the name of "racial equality." In his book *Chain of Change* (South End Press, 1981), King opposes "existing white unions," equating the entire union movement with the job-trusting labor aristocracy. King's answer is to form "a parallel institution designed to meet the specific needs of Black workers." He has applied this strategy in creating the United Community Construction Workers—a scab labor contracting outfit which serves to reinforce racial divisions and the racist policies of the labor bureaucracy, as demonstrated by its support for Flynn. As against these government-sponsored union-busting "affirmative action" schemes, an integrated class-struggle union movement can only be forged by conducting aggressive campaigns of *preferential recruitment and training* through their own union hiring halls.

A key component of both candidates' campaign has been the call for bringing more police into the "community." Flynn even advocates "sensitivity training" for the cops! These are the same cops who last year, after protecting the KKK, turned around and launched an obviously planned attack on the anti-Klan protesters, injuring scores and sending 12 demonstrators to the hospital. These are the same cops who have killed over a dozen people in the past three years, including black teenagers Levi Hart and Braxton Mitchell, and 27-year-old Gary Lee, who was gunned down because the cops said he "looked suspicious" as he sat on his own front porch.

The choice between King and Flynn has posed a dilemma for the city's liberals and "progressives," as well as for the fake-leftist organizations. Workers World Party, the Communist Party (CP) and the Communist Workers Party have all, of course, gone whole-hog for King—after all, he's a black "independent." But he is an independent largely because the Democratic Party in Massachusetts has never seen any need to woo black politicians into its fold. Unlike cities in the Midwest, there was no mass migration from the South to Boston, and major industry was restricted to outlying areas. Consequently, power brokers for the Italians and Irish who made up the majority of the city's population were brought into the machine, but blacks were usually seen as insignificant. Former senator Edward Brooke and liberal state representative Bill Owens both switched from the Democrats to the Republican Party after realizing they weren't being brought into the power structure. Owens' decision to switch parties in 1981 was influenced by the remark by the house speaker to the Black Caucus that "I don't need you guys" (*Boston Globe*, 20 February 1981). So King's "breaking" with the Democratic Party in 1981 has nothing to do with a repudiation of the twin parties of capital; he just couldn't reap the spoils of electoral politics within the Democratic Party.

The King/Flynn contest hasn't been so easy for the anti-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the stars-and-stripes "socialists" of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA). The DSA in particular has been thrown into a tizzy over its endorsement of Flynn. DSA national vice chairman Manning Marable publicly disagreed with the

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UPI WV Photo

1974 Boston busing crisis: white racists attack Haitian passer-by (left); Spartacist contingent in pro-busing demonstration.

WV Photos

Demonstrators march through downtown Oakland to Alameda County Courthouse to defend phone workers Mozee and Palmiero, who face prison sentences for defending the picket line (left). Black workers and youth respond to call to defend framed-up phone workers (right).

"Freedom and Jobs Back for Lauren and Ray!"

(continued from page 12)

> learned from our experiences and we've been taught that we must unite in order to survive. That is why I say I'm glad that you have cast aside your prejudices against one another and stand united against this overt act of suppression directed towards poor, working people and minorities. We will not tolerate this damnable act to deny us our right to defend ourselves on the picket line."

The demonstators greeted with cheers the announcement by Ray Palmiero that the phone company, under pressure, had distanced itself from the racist scab Hansen. Ray also told the protesters: "I want you to know that your efforts have already paid off to some degree. Now the fight isn't over, but yesterday at our court appearance the District Attorney with a very sad expression on his face made a motion to drop one of the charges." Defense motions for discovery and for dismissal of charges are scheduled to be heard December 1.

Another rally speaker was Tom Sullivan, president of striking USWA Local 1304 in Emeryville. Members of that Steelworkers local have been out for five months, fighting a concerted union-busting campaign by Grove Valve. One black member is currently facing charges for picket duty; he served as a leader of the monitors at Saturday's demonstration. These unionists know that the attack on Ray and Lauren is an attack on the right to have *real* picket lines. And if you've got no picket lines, you've got no union. The building trades too are being hit by a union-busting campaign. And AFT Local 771 was just evicted from its headquarters in the Piedmont township—traditional home of the local bourgeoisie—and told that unions were not tolerated there. On the day of the rally, the local was moving its office, but was able to send a spokesman.

Many of those who came out to defend Lauren and Ray had strong personal political reasons. One of the interracial couples that participated told us of their firsthand experience with the racist cops in nearby Richmond: the husband, a black man and member of Local 1, public employees, was the victim of the notorious "choke hold"; he still has the marks on his neck. A black student told *WV*, "My mother's a nurse and goes out on strike... that could have been my mother out there." Just about everyone had a story to tell about living under Reagan reaction. As one young man put it, "Young, gifted and black—I don't stand a chance." Many protesters were veteran unionists and former civil rights activists; for others, the protest was their first political act. A young CWA member told us that the recent strike was his first and the October 29 demonstration the first he'd ever attended.

A victory for Ray and Lauren can punch a hole in the racist, anti-labor offensive of the Oakland bosses and their cops. The October 29 march and rally points the way forward to fight back against Reagan reaction and racist attack: integrated, labor-centered mobilizations in the streets to fight for our rights.

Determined and disciplined, the demonstrators were not cowed by the Oakland cops' attempts to harass and provoke them. As the march proceeded down 14th Street to the courthouse, motorcycle cops deliberately grazed three marchers with their bike mirrors. Midway through the march another protester was hit in the back by a cop's handlebar. Upon arriving at the Fallon Street entrance to the courthouse, some six motorcycle cops zoomed through

WV Photo

Motorcycle cops barrel through demonstration, breaking earlier agreement granting this rally site.

crowds of demonstrators on the street. This attempt to "clear" the street contravened a prior agreement between the march organizers and police department officials.

Whatever the Oakland cops' motivation for their harassment of the demonstration, we must assume that they view in particular the memory of Charles Briscoe with a mixture of hatred and fear. After a series of racist cop killings, the murder of IAM member Briscoe represented something of a turning point. Hundreds of angry Machinists crowded into the Oakland City Council demanding justice and forcing certain public exposures of the murderous cop rampage against black Oakland.

Despite the efforts at provocation by the police, the protesters maintained their discipline and the rally proceeded without incident. Music was provided by Houston Person's excellent jazz band. Speakers included Tim Ligosky, Exec Board, IAM Local 284; Victor Pamiroyan, Business Agent, ILWU Local 6; Tom Sullivan, President, USWA Local 1304; Ann Fagan Ginger, President, Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute; Father William O'Donnell; John George, Chairman, Alameda County Board of Supervisors; Wilson C. Riles, Jr., Oakland City Councilmember; Ed Kartsen, Transport Workers Union Local 100, New York. Endorsers of the march included S. Deacon Alexander and Angela Davis of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, and the Communist Party's *People's World* publicized the rally. Other endorsers included the Freedom Socialist Party and Nelson Johnson of the Communist Workers Party.

That most of the petty-bourgeois "left" milieu neither endorsed nor participated in the October 29 march and rally is a measure of their demoralization and disinterest in militant proletarian struggle. Groups like the Socialist Workers Party and Workers World Party instead chose to turn up in San Francisco to protest in liberal fashion the U.S. invasion of Grenada.

Supervisor John George in his speech termed the scab assault on Lauren Mozee "an insult to all black women." That some black Democratic politicians felt compelled to speak out in support of the militant phone workers reflects the outrageous character of the racist attack and the broad labor backing mobilized to defend Lauren and Ray.

Most warmly received by the demonstrators was the speech by Diana Coleman of the Spartacist League.

Funds Urgently Needed

The hard work of defending Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero against the racist vendetta of the phone company and the Alameda District Attorney costs *money!* Ma Bell and the D.A. have millions at their disposal—Lauren and Ray have you: the workers movement, black community and student organizations, concerned individuals who want to see justice done.

The racist anti-labor frame-up of Ray and Lauren has cost them their jobs. The two phone workers have been denied unemployment and must somehow support three children until final victory of our defense campaign wins their reinstatement, back pay and gets the charges dropped. It costs thousands of dollars to fight in the courts and on the streets.

Over a hundred thousand leaflets and some 2,000 posters were distributed to get the word out about the October 29 march and rally to defend Lauren and Ray—all this takes bucks. And the fight is far from over.

The defense effort desperately needs your contribution *now*. The next time someone is framed for defending a picket line, for defending themselves against racist attack—it could be you. Please make checks payable and send to: Phone Strikers Defense Committee, P.O. Box 24152, Oakland, CA 94623.

SPECIAL BLUES BENEFIT

To Stop the Racist, Anti-Labor Frame-Up of Mozee and Palmiero

PERFORMERS

SONNY RHODES
MAXINE HOWARD
And Others

Monday, Nov. 14
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"Your Place"
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1942 University Ave., Berkeley
Or call/write Phone Strikers Defense Committee

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Diana's remarks drew applause and cheers at several points as she sketched the class-struggle strategy of the SL:

> "Reagan and his millionaire cronies, they hate black America and they hate the unions.... You cannot fight Reagan with Democrats. We need labor action to bring down Reagan. Does anyone here think that Walter "Mundane" Mondale is going to stand up for the minorities and the working people against Reagan reaction?...
> "We of the Spartacist League intend to build a mass, class-struggle workers party.... The working people produced everything in this country and that's what we want. We want everything! We want our own workers government, and you need a workers party to get it.... And right now Reagan—with a little shadowboxing in Congress from the Democrats—is trying to lead us into a thermonuclear war which will blow up the whole earth.... Yuri Andropov may not be the best friend that black people in this country ever had, but I will tell you he is not their worst enemy. Because the worst enemy is here at home."

October 29 was an important beginning in the fight to stop the racist, anti-labor frame-up of Ray and Lauren. Following the rally, demonstrators gathered for a social where seven new members of the Labor Black League for Social Defense were signed up on the spot; another 30 signed up to find out more about the Labor Black League: 29 subscriptions to *WV* were sold and some $480 in donations collected for the Phone Strikers Defense Committee.

Ma Bell and the D.A. may have thought the black and white working people of Oakland would quietly "stay in their place" while two left-wing activists in the union were picked off. But they are dead wrong. It is because the victimized militants are determined to fight the racist vendetta not just in court but through labor/black protest action that the D.A. has begun backing away from one of the phony charges. Ray and Lauren's fight is the fight of every worker—black, white, Asian, Hispanic. As phone workers observed, had the CWA mobilized its ranks and the rest of labor to shut Ma Bell down, had those picket lines been massive, militant displays of workers power, racists like Michelle "Scab" Hansen would not be crossing those lines let alone attacking the workers on them.

Nothing is fair or democratic about this sick, decaying system: that's why Anthony Sperl and Robert Fredericks and hundreds of other killer cops walk the streets and a five-year-old black child lies in the grave. That's why Hansen has her job today while Ray and Lauren, with three children to support, have virtually no income and are being dragged through the bosses' courts, forced to wage a staggeringly costly legal defense campaign to stay out of jail. The October 29 demonstration is an example in action of the Spartacist League perspective of forging a multiracial vanguard party to lead the working class not only in effective struggle to defend the rights of labor and the oppressed but to fight for what we really need—a workers government to put the bosses and their state apparatus of repression and racism out of business once and for all. Or, as Victor Pamiroyan of ILWU Local 6 said at the rally, "Maybe one day as workers we'll put companies on trial, and we'll be the jury and the judge!" ■

Labor contingents rally to defend the picket line (right). Houston Person's jazz band plays for rally (below right).

WV Photos

Endorsers of October 29 March and Rally to Stop the Racist Anti-Labor Frame-Up of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero

Partial List of Endorsers

AFSCME Local 444, Oakland, CA
AFSCME Local 2620
AFSCME Local 3235, Los Angeles, CA
Carolyn Dukes Alexander, President, Laney Chapter, Council of Black American Affairs,* Oakland, CA
S. Deacon Alexander, Director, NAARPR, Los Angeles Chapter
Robert L. Allen, Director of Ethnic Studies, Mills College, Former Editor, *Black Scholar*
N. Amara, Afro-American Studies Department,* UC Berkeley
American Postal Workers Union, Oakland, CA
Barbara E. Andrews, Legislative Chair, CWA Local 9410 and Chair, Finance Committee, Congressman Ronald V. Dellums, San Francisco, CA
Dr. M.H. Anwar, Author, *Memories of Afghanistan*
Batlina Apthekar, AFT UCSC Local* and Lecturer, UC Santa Cruz
Dr. Cecilia Arrington, Ethnic Studies Chairperson, Merritt College, Oakland, CA
Association of Graduate Student Employees, UC Berkeley
Beverly Axelrod, Civil Rights Lawyer, San Francisco, CA
Reuben Barr, Veteran, Abraham Lincoln Brigade,* San Francisco, CA
Bay Area Enforcers Van Club, Richmond, CA
Tom Beardsley, General President, APWU, Oakland Local
Jafiari Beaty, Black Student Union,* Laney College, Oakland, CA
Fred Beauford, Afro-American Studies Department,* UC Berkeley
Willie Lee Ball, Chairman, Civil Rights Committee, IAM Local 739, Oakland, CA
Black Student Alliance, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA
Black Student Union, Contra Costa College, Richmond, CA
Frederick Blum, Chapter Executive Committee, University Professional of Illinois AFT Local 4100,* Chicago State University, Chicago, IL
Domenic Bozzotto, President, Hotel and Restaurant Employees Local 26,* Boston, MA
Richard Bradley, Spartacist Candidate for San Francisco Board of Supervisors, 1982
Allan Brill, Director, San Francisco Interns and Residents Association,* San Francisco, CA
Bonnie Brodie, Editor, *Young Spartacus*
Cleophas T. Brown, Executive Board, NAACP,* Richmond, CA
Henry A. Bryant, Chairperson, Black Studies Department,* Laney College, Oakland, CA
Leonard Buford, Treasurer, American Muslim Mission Center,* Richmond, CA
John Carr, President, ILWU Local 10, San Francisco, CA
Reginald R. Carrington, President, ILA Local 1458,* Norfolk, VA
Patricia Carroll, Lecturer, San Francisco State University
Desmond Carson, President, Black Students in Health Association,* UC Berkeley
Rose Chamlin, Chairperson, NAARPR, Los Angeles Chapter
Sherri Chissa, Secretary-Treasurer, Hotel and Restaurant Workers Local 2,* San Francisco, CA
Robert Chin, Head of Asian Studies Program,* Merritt College, Oakland, CA
Jackie Clark, General Executive Board, ILWU Local 6,* San Francisco, CA
Clyde Cleveland, Councilman, Detroit City Council, Detroit, MI
Diane Coleman, Spartacist Candidate for San Francisco Board of Supervisors, 1980 and 1982
Colin Cooper, Senator, Associated Students,* UC Berkeley
David Crecque, Vice President, United Teachers of Oakland, AFT Local 771*
CWA Local 9410, San Francisco, CA
CWA Local 9415 Executive Board, Oakland, CA
Audrey Daniels, First Vice President, AFSCME Local 444, Oakland, CA
Betty L. Darow, President, Wisconsin State Employees Union Local 634,* Madison, WI
Margot Dashiell, Department of Sociology and Afro-American Studies,* Laney College, Oakland, CA
Angela Y. Davis, Co-Chair, National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression*
Danny Davis, Alderman, 29th Ward, Chicago, IL
Ignacio De La Fuente, Business Manager, Moldars Local 164,* Oakland, CA
Ronald V. Dellums, Member of Congress
Paul Dempster, President, Sailors Union of the Pacific,* San Francisco CA
Department Store Employees Local 1100, San Francisco, CA
Frank Donner, Attorney, New York, NY
Harry Edwards, Department of Sociology,* UC Berkeley
Jim Eggleston, Labor Attorney, Oakland, CA
Halford H. Fairchild, Chairman, Afro-American Studies,* UCLA, Los Angeles, CA
Robert Farrell, Councilmen, Eighth District, Los Angeles, CA
Tim Fernandez, Vice President, Painters Local 376,* Vallejo, CA
Marvin A. Foraman, Secretary-Treasurer, Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Local 23,* Norfolk, VA
Jesse Foster, Jazz Vocalist, San Francisco, CA
Richard Fraser, Historic American Trotskyist and Member, Democratic Socialists of America,* Los Angeles, CA
Freedom Socialist Party, San Francisco, CA
William F. Freeman, First Vice President, NAACP,* Oakland, CA
Veronika S. Fukson, Member, Berkeley City Council
Fred Gaboury, Editor, *Labor Today*,* Chicago, IL
William Gallas, First Vice Chairmen, Grievance Committee, USWA Local 1010,* East Chicago, IN
John F. Gardanhire, English Department,* Laney College, Oakland, CA
John George, Chairman, Alameda County Board of Supervisors
Kennaith Gibbons, Recording Secretary, IAM Local 284,* Oakland, CA
J. Lance Gilmar, Executive Editor, Reporter Publications*
Ann Fagan Ginger, Attorney, Berkeley, CA
Harvey Gomez, Treasurer, Associated Students,* Laney College, Oakland, CA
Francisco S. Gonzalez, Grievar, USWA Local 1010,* East Chicago, IN
Stan Gow, Executive Board, ILWU Local 10 and Editor, *Longshore Militant*, San Francisco, CA
Saundra Graham, Massachusetts State Representative and Cambridge City Councillor, Cambridge, MA
Willie Gray, Professor, Social Work Department,* San Francisco State University
Frank Grinnon, District Representative, ORTT/IBEW Local 1011,* Oakland, CA
Brian Grosectosa, President, Associated Students,* Laney College, Oakland, CA
Joe E. Gutierrez, Griever, USWA Local 1010,* East Chicago, IN
William D. Haasch, President, Graphic Arts International Union Local 507,* Madison, WI
Harvard-Radcliffe Black Students Association, Cambridge, MA
Harvard-Radcliffe Democratic Socialists of America, Cambridge, MA
James H. Heard, AFT Cook County Teachers Union,* Chicago, IL
Erma Henderson, Detroit City Council President
Reverend Will L. Herzfeld, Minister, Bethlehem Lutheran Church*
Percy Hintzen, Assistant Professor, Afro-American Studies Department,* UC Berkeley
Diane Hirshberg, Senator, Associated Students,* UC Berkeley
IAM Local 284 Executive Board, Oakland, CA
IAM Bay Area District Lodge 115, Oakland, CA
IAM Local Lodge 739, Oakland, CA
Kathy Ikegami, Executive Board, CWA Local 9410 and Head, Militant Action Caucus, San Francisco, CA
ILWU Local 10, San Francisco, CA
Jane Jackson, Human Rights Activist, Gray Panthers,* Oakland, CA
Phillipa Jackson, Cultural Activist, Washington, D.C.
Randy Johnson, Senior Field Representative, SEIU Local 535, Oakland, CA
Al Johnson, President, ATU Local 192,* Oakland, CA
Clyde Johnson, President, Black Employees Association,* Los Angeles, CA
Geraldine Johnson, President, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists,* San Francisco, CA
Nelson N. Johnson, Area Spokesperson, Communist Workers Party,* Greensboro, NC
Walter Johnson, President, Department Store Employees Union Local 1100, San Francisco, CA
Oliver A. Jones, Attorney, Oakland, CA
Ed Karteen, Candidate for President of TWU Local 100,* New York, NY
Florynce Kennedy, Co-founder, Black Women United for Political Action,* New York, NY
C.B. King, Civil Rights Lawyer, Albany, GA
Arthur Kinoy, Professor of Law, Rutgers University, Newark, NJ
Francesca Kuglar, President, Berkeley Feminist Alliance*
Labor Black League for Social Defense
James T. Lafferty, ACLU Founder and Former Chair, Oakland County, MI
El Laamad, President, IAM Local 824,* Richmond, CA
Kerry M. Lewis, President, African Students Association,* UC Berkeley
Richard Lewontin, Chaired Professor, Museum of Comparative Zoology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA
Timothy Ligosky, Executive Board, IAM Local 284,* Richmond, CA
Ronald J. Lind, Director of Organizing, United Food and Culinary Workers Local 428,* San Jose, CA
Paul Lillon, Assistant Griever, USWA Local 1010,* East Chicago, IN
Ed Logue, Jr., Union Representative, IAM Local 824,* Richmond, CA
Cassie Lopez, Community Activist, Oakland, CA
Conrad Lynn, Civil Rights Attorney, New York, NY
Mae J. Magdaluyo, Filipino-American Collegiate Endeavor,* Former CORE Member
Maryann Mahaffay, Detroit City Councilmember
Kunlima Makidi, Professor of Political Science, Atlanta University, Atlanta, GA
William Mandel, Author and Lecturer
Arvaughn Manning, Vice President, Associated Students,* Merritt College, Oakland, CA
Tom Meyer, National Lawyers Guild and Member, Racial Justice in Richmond*
Cliff Mezo, Vice President, USWA Local 1010,* East Chicago, IN
Michael Mezo, Griever, Outer Guard, USWA Local 1010,* East Chicago, IN
Archaus L. Mosley, Sr., President, Faculty Senate,* Laney College, Oakland, CA
Anilon Nadar, President, Black Student Union,* Merritt College, Oakland, CA
National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, Los Angeles Chapter
National Association of Letter Carriers, Branch 2200 Executive Board, Pasadena, CA
National Conference of Black Lawyers, Bay Area Chapter
National Lawyers Guild, Bay Area Chapter
J.B. Nellands, Past President, AFT Local 1474,* UC Berkeley
Gene Nelson, Member, Revolutionary Socialist League,* San Francisco, CA
Judd Newman, Steward, CWA Local 4309,* Cleveland, OH
Eugene "Gus" Newport, Mayor of Berkeley
Ann Noel, Regional Vice President, National Lawyers Guild*
Richard Oba, Recording Secretary-Treasurer, AFSCME Local 444, Oakland, CA
Father William O'Donnell, Pastor, St. Joseph the Workman Church,* Berkeley, CA
Mike Olszanski, Trustee, USWA Local 1010,* East Chicago, IN
Martin Omalas, Senator, Associated Students,* UC Berkeley
Lauro Pacheco, Senator, Associated Students,* UC Berkeley
Partisan Defense Committee
Joe Patrick, Instructor, Economics, Diablo Valley College
Peace & Freedom Party, SF Central Committee, San Francisco, CA
People for Justice, Richmond, CA
John L. Pettus, Extended Opportunity Programs & Services Counselor, Laney College, Oakland, CA
Martha Phillips, Spartacist Candidate for Oakland City Council, 1983
Phone Strikers Defense Committee
Andy Pollack, Steward, CWA Local 4309,* Cleveland, OH
Jim Quillin, Secretary-Treasurer, California Conference of Machinists,* Oakland, CA
J.W. Reid, Professor, Afro-American Studies,* Merritt College, Oakland, CA
Revolutionary Communist League (Internationalist), New Haven, CT
Al Richmond, Former Editor, daily *People's World*,* San Francisco, CA
Wilson C. Riles, Jr., Member, Oakland City Council
Georgia L. Roberts, Executive Board, Norfolk NAACP,* Norfolk, VA
Jim Robertson, National Chairman, Spartacist League
Alma Robinson, Executive Director, Bay Area Lawyers for the Arts*
Ana Maria Robles, Vice President, Pre-Health Club,* Laney College, Oakland, CA
Darling D. Rockett, Steward, CWA Local 4309,* Cleveland, OH
Ronald J. Rose, Alameda County Central Labor Council Delegate, IAM Local 284*
Al Rossi, President, United Teachers of Oakland, AFT Local 771,* Oakland, CA
Norm Rolfe, Past President, UAW Local 6,* Chicago, IL
Michael Rolkin, AFT UCSC Local member and Santa Cruz City Councilmember
Bobby Rush, Aldarman, 2nd Ward, Chicago, IL
SEIU Local 535, Alameda County Chapter
SEIU Local 616, Oakland, CA
Dennis L. Serratte, Steward and Former Vice President, CWA Local 1101 and Former President, NY Coalition of Black Trade Unionists*
Charles Shain, President, Berkeley campus AFT Local 1795,* Berkeley, CA
Dennis Shattuck, Grievar, USWA Local 1010,* East Chicago, IN
Barbara Sheldon, Chief Steward, WFT-SWEP Local 3271,* Madison, WI
Carl Shier, Retired UAW International Rep. and Chair of UAW Local 6 Retired Workers Chapter*
Jim Shoch, Western Regional Coordinator, Democratic Socialists of America*
Dan Siegel, Attorney, Oakland, CA
Sarah Slaughter, Guide, USWA Local 1010,* East Chicago, IN
Bernard Smallwood, Executive Board, IAM Local 1518,* Oakland, CA
Bernadette Smith, Business Manager, Northern California C.B. Club*
Michael J. Smith, Business Rep., Hospital Workers Local 250,* Oakland, CA
Rusty Smith, Steward, SEIU Local 715,* Redwood City, CA
M. Spencer, Secretary-Treasurer, AFSCME Local 3235, Los Angeles, CA
Bruce M. St. Cyr, Vice President, AFSCME Local 2620 and Executive Board, AFSCME Council 57*
Thomas Sullivan, President, USWA Local 1304,* Emeryville, CA
Jan Sunoo, Business Agent, Teamsters Local 278,* San Francisco, CA
James W. Sweeney, Member, Berkeley City Council
Reverend Ron Swisher, Cedar Hill United Methodist Church,* Richmond, CA
Ronald Takaki, AFT Local 1474,* Professor of Ethnic Studies, UC Berkeley
Ray Talavera, Executive Officer, Teamsters Local 85,* San Francisco, CA
Ron Tanimy, Business Agent, Teamsters Local 315,* Richmond, CA
Cliff Lee Tillman, Peralta Student Trustee, Oakland, CA
Robert Trauhaft, Attorney, Oakland, CA
Ronald Tyssky, President, National Association of Letter Carriers, Golden Gate Branch, Local 214*
United Tenant Action Council, Inc., Los Angeles, CA
Lloyd K. Vandavar, President, UE Local 1412,* Oakland, CA
Howard Wallace, Co-Chair, Lesbian/Gay Labor Alliance,* San Francisco, CA
Sylvia Weinstein, Member, National Organization for Women,* San Francisco, CA
Jack Weintraub, Past President, Teamsters Local 85,* San Francisco, CA
Bobbie J. Williams, President, CWA Local 9415,* Oakland, CA
J.A. Williams, Instructor, Laney College, Oakland, CA
John Williams, Staff Reporter, *California Voice**
Peter Woohlon, General Executive Board, ILWU Local 6* and Member, Militant Caucus, Oakland, CA
Elaine Yoneda, President, ILWU Auxiliary No. 16,* San Francisco, CA
Michael Zaharakis, Region Organizer, Socialist Party, USA*

*Organization listed for identification purposes only

Excerpts From Speeches at October 29 Rally

"No South Africa-Style Justice in Oakland!"

WV Photo

Lauren Mozee

Fired telephone worker facing years in prison for defending her union picket line and herself from racist management/scab attack

As everyone knows, I'm a victim of a racist, anti-labor frame-up. Why? One, I'm a black woman. Two, Ray and I are an interracial couple. Three, I'm a militant—I said *militant*—trade unionist. [Voice from the crowd: "Right on, sister!" Applause.] A former member of the Black Panther Party for many years. And I'm a firm believer—I said firm believer—in socialism. I've always been a fighter against racism and cop terror, and a fighter for unity of the working class against the bosses. Now, for these things and for doing my duty on the picket lines by defending myself against this racist attack, and for defending my picket line and our jobs against those who want to break the unions and take our jobs, I've been victimized.

Ray and I aren't the only ones who face this kind of situation. On Wednesday, October 26th, in Oklahoma City (I have a brother-in-law and a sister that were deported there from General Motors Fremont), the Klan marched into the plant in full dress—hood, robes and all—and worked on the assembly lines! Until my brother-in-law, my brother and my sister stopped the line. [Applause. Chants from the crowd: "Stop the Klan! Stop the Klan!"] So these people are all over. They're all over, I mean they follow them all the way to Oklahoma. This is their second encounter with the Klan in only five months that they've been there. I mean, two hours after my brother-in-law was in the city they tried to arrest him for armed robbery.

I am a member of the Militant Action Caucus, which is a real, living part of our union. As with Jane Margolis, an elected delegate to the National Convention of CWA in 1979: she was dragged off the convention floor bodily by Jimmy Carter's Secret Service men. Later, in 1980, they sent her a letter of apology and a $3,500 check which she signed over to the CWA Defense Fund.

So as you see, we can win with this kind of support. We need to win not only for ourselves, believe me. That's a real important point, important in the long run for all blacks and working people. An injury to one is an injury to all. It's not Ray and myself who are the criminals here. The criminals are Ma Bell, the San Leandro Police Department and the District Attorney.

I thank all of you.

Ed Kartsen

NYC transit worker, candidate for president of TWU Local 100

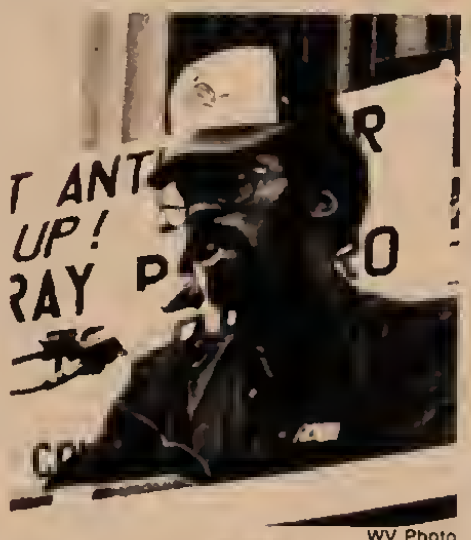
The first thing I'd like to say, I'd like to read a telegram which was signed by over 156 transit workers, a telegram to the president of the Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Company:

> "We, the undersigned members of Local 100 of the Transport Workers Union in New York City, demand that Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero not go to jail. Drop all charges! Stop the racist anti-labor frame-up! Down with South African-style justice! Freedom, jobs back for Mozee and Palmiero! Picket lines mean don't cross!"

I'd also like to say we have collected over $100 so far in collecting money in helping in this defense.

The bottom line is the picket line. The picket line must be respected, it must be backed up by the force necessary to galvanize the thousands of trade-union militants that can ensure that when Reagan mobilizes the kind of force that he used against PATCO or the type of force he used against Grenada, that he can be repulsed effectively. We cannot let Ray and Lauren go to jail! Labor solidarity, militancy and the picket line mean nothing if these people go to jail.

What we need to do is build a class-struggle workers party to beat back the political offensive by management, by the bosses, against every right the workers have won. And let nobody forget that anti-communism is a dirty word! Anti-communism means that union militants who stand up and fight against the politics of the rich man's class and the rich man's government go to jail. Anti-communism means blacklisting.



WV Photo

Ed Kartsen

Anti-communism means frame-ups. Anti-communism means witchhunts.

And picket lines mean you *better not* cross! The phone company's trying to erode that tradition. They're trying to say that management can dance across picket lines because they're management. Well, let it be known that a management scab is no different from any other kind of scab. And let it be known that a management scab is just as fragile as any other kind of scab. [Voice in the crowd: "Scabs must go!"]

SCABS MUST GO! SCABS MUST GO! SCABS MUST GO!

And this was a racist scab at that. So picket lines mean don't cross. We will not let these people go to jail. Labor must continue to fight from here. Freedom and jobs for Mozee and Palmiero! Smash the South African-style justice! Smash this anti-labor frame-up!

Willie Lee Bell

Chairman, Civil Rights Committee of IAM Local 739

Brothers and Sisters, it was told to us that the '80s would undoubtedly be a decade of serious challenges to our determination for continued progress. Now more than ever we must maintain vigorous and dedicated leadership to guarantee a secure and prosperous future for our membership and the peoples of the world. We have learned from our experiences and we've been taught that we must unite in order to survive. That is why I say I'm glad that you have cast aside your prejudices against one another and stand united against this overt act of suppression

WV Photo

Willie Lee Bell

directed toward poor, working people and minorities. We will not tolerate this damnable act to deny us our right to defend ourselves on the picket line. And I say we must see and stop the racist anti-labor frame-up against Ray and against Lauren!

John George

Chairman, Alameda County Board of Supervisors

You know, I heard that we had a labor dispute on the picket line and, my friend, they called her a "black bitch." Now that's fighting words. The telephone company ought to apologize. The District Attorney has got to know that there is community support and if this community support continues on a day-to-day basis, this is the way that we win the freedom of our friends Mozee and Palmiero. We need to tell the doggone telephone company to dismiss this case and withdraw.

This is a labor dispute because all workers are being threatened, health benefits are being eroded, plant closures are taking place. We've got a corporate community which includes the telephone company that will not talk about affirmative action—because affirmative action is not losing any jobs. This case is a manifestation of this war on the workers of America. I am joining with the people, Ray and Mozee, until we can win this case.

Ben Visnick

United Teachers of Oakland Local 771

I'm here today representing United Teachers of Oakland. The teachers strike of 1983 showed that Oakland is still a labor town. The integrated teaching force in Oakland was able to obtain the support of thousands of Oakland working and middle-class families who did not send their children to scab-run schools. They knew from the last strike in 1977 that scabs are immoral mercenaries who need an education themselves and are not fit to teach the students of this fine city.

It's obvious that union-busting has arrived in both the private sector, Pacific Telephone, and the public sector, public schools. Our response must be strong and militant unionism and labor solidarity between unions to take the offensive to win strikes and to organize the unorganized. We can't accomplish this if our best militants are rotting in Reagan's and Deukmejian's jails. Therefore we repeat again: "Free Lauren and Ray—Give them back pay! Stop Reagan from San Leandro to Grenada!"

Tom Sullivan

President, United Steelworkers Local 1304

I want you to know that the Steelworkers are with you, Lauren and Ray. United Steelworkers have been on strike where I work for five months, that's 150 days. The Steelworkers have been on

WV Photo

Spartacist spokesman Diana Coleman with rally chairman Don Andrews.

strike down in Arizona for four months, since the 1st of July. They're fighting Phelps Dodge—the copper barons. The Steelworkers are on strike at Judson Steel, they've been on strike here in Emeryville for two months. They all send you their greetings, Lauren and Ray, and we're going to stand behind you.

Diana Coleman

Former Spartacist Party candidate for San Francisco Board of Supervisors

We came out here today to say that Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero must not go to jail. Not for one hour, and not for one minute! The government and the phone company, in their usual alliance, are trying to turn the victims into the criminals. But our campaign has already had some successes, and Ray outlined that. The phone company is backing away from Michelle "Scab" Hansen, and the District Attorney is taking a step backwards from all his charges which he cannot prove, which he knows are lies.

So the frame-up of Lauren and Ray is one more in a long, long list of racist atrocities and union-busting. And that's right, there's a broader picture to this. Reagan and his millionnaire cronies, they hate black America and they hate the unions. But I will tell you, you cannot fight Reagan with Democrats. We need labor action to bring down Reagan. Does anyone here think that Walter "Mundane" Mondale is going to stand up for the minorities and the working people against Reagan reaction? [Cries from the crowd: "No!"] Walter Mondale, the weepy, warmongering clone protegé of professional anti-communist Hubert Humphrey. I'll tell you, brothers and sisters, you gotta be kidding. There has to be a better alternative in this country for us. [From the crowd: "There is. A workers party!"]

We of the Spartacist League intend to build a mass, class-struggle workers party. Not the kind that simply participates in elections but a fighting workers party, a multiracial working-class party that can lead the workers and the oppressed, and take power. We're not talking about cutting up a piece of the pie. The working people produced everything in this country, and that's what we want. We want everything! We want our own workers government, and you need a workers party to get it.

When the Klan endorsed Reagan, let me tell you something, they knew what they were doing. They knew! And right now Reagan—with a little shadowboxing in Congress from the Democrats (he's backed up by the Democrats)—is trying to lead us into a thermonuclear war which will blow up the whole earth. Let me tell you something, brothers and sisters: Yuri Andropov may not be the best friend that black people in this country ever had, but I will tell you he is not the worst enemy. Because the worst enemy is here at home. [Applause.]

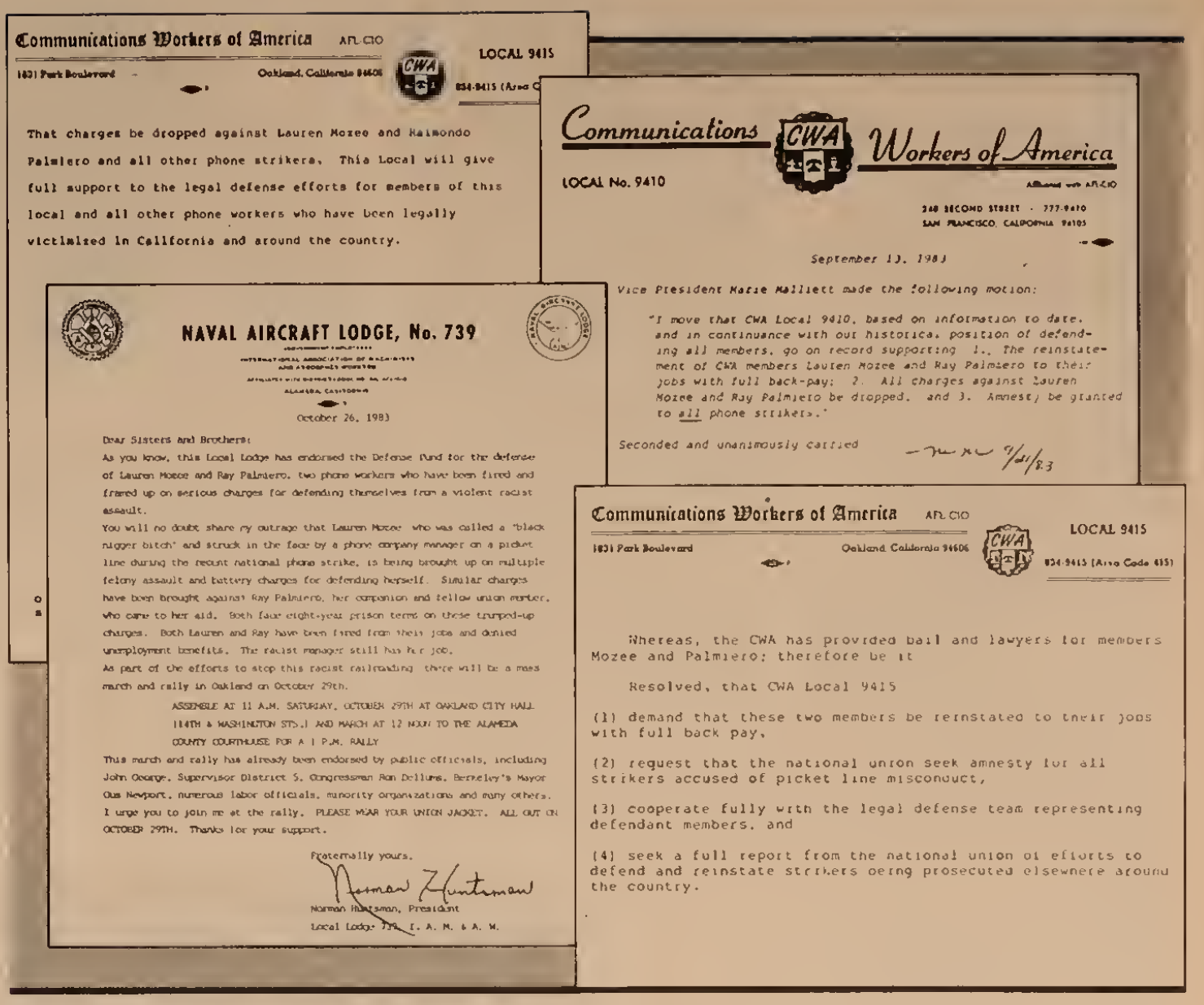
So Ronald Reagan was willing to sacrifice a lot of people in that 007 flight, and he was willing to sacrifice a lot of Marines in Lebanon for an imperialist adventure. And now, to cover it up, he is willing to go into tiny black Grenada with 6,000 troops. We say this is an outrage! And we say this is an attempt to cover up the disaster in Lebanon. Believe me, in Grenada our sympathies are with the Cubans who are there fighting. *These* are *our* brothers and sisters out there.

So the same reactionary forces that are trying to railroad Lauren and Ray are pursuing armed aggression around the world. And I will tell you something: U.S. imperialism's difficulties are our opportunities, and we welcome them and we will take advantage of them. In El Salvador we say, "Military victory to the leftist rebels in El Salvador! No negotiated sellout!" In Nicaragua we say, "Kill the invaders!" The capitalist fifth column must be smashed and the workers mobilized against the CIA's war. And we call for defense of the Soviet Union, the first workers state, against imperialism. We have our criticisms of the Soviet bureaucracy, but one of them is that they don't send guns to El Salvador and MIGs to Nicaragua. Why are our brothers and sisters in Central America fighting with battered rifles and old machetes? They need modern jet aircraft, and as far as I'm concerned the Soviet Union ought to be providing it. [Cheers. Applause.]

Defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in El Salvador! And defense of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero begins right here with labor/black mobilizations against racist terror, be it at the hands of the racists dressed in the white robes of the KKK, the blue uniforms of the cops or the black robes of the bosses' courts. And, as black people in this country know, a goodly number of those who wear the white hoods at night are wearing blue uniforms during the day. [Applause. Shouts: "Yeah!" "Right."]

Over the years there have been far too many victims. We have the pictures up here of Patrick Mason, Charles Briscoe. There have been so many, so many, going back to Bobby Hutton. So many victims. But this time we have a chance to defend these two before they go to jail, before they get sent away by this government. [Voice in the crowd: "No more victims!"] Lauren and Ray are fighters. They went up to Richmond with the Labor Black League for Social Defense to fight against police brutality. They went over to San Francisco to demonstrate against South Africa's murder of the ANC black militants. And they've fought for militant, class-struggle policies in the union. These are the kind of fighters we need more of! And you have to fight for them now, brothers and sisters, because they fought for all of us.

So we say: "No way! Smash the racist anti-labor frame-up! No South Africa-style justice in Oakland! Freedom and jobs back for Lauren and Ray! And for a workers government that will avenge all our martyrs!"■



Communications Workers of America AFL-CIO
1831 Park Boulevard — Oakland, California 94606
LOCAL 9415
834-9415 (Area C

That charges be dropped against Lauren Mozee and Raimondo Palmiero and all other phone strikers. This Local will give full support to the legal defense efforts for members of this local and all other phone workers who have been legally victimized in California and around the country.

Communications CWA Workers of America
LOCAL No. 9410
240 SECOND STREET · 777-9410
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94105

September 13, 1983

Vice President Marie Mallett made the following motion:

"I move that CWA Local 9410, based on information to date, and in continuance with our historical position of defending all members, go on record supporting 1. The reinstatement of CWA members Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero to their jobs with full back-pay; 2. All charges against Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero be dropped, and 3. Amnesty be granted to all phone strikers."

Seconded and unanimously carried — 9/21/83

NAVAL AIRCRAFT LODGE, No. 739
INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS AND AEROSPACE WORKERS
ALAMEDA, CALIFORNIA

October 26, 1983

Dear Sisters and Brothers:
As you know, this Local Lodge has endorsed the Defense Fund for the defense of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, two phone workers who have been fired and framed up on serious charges for defending themselves from a violent racist assault.
You will no doubt share my outrage that Lauren Mozee, who was called a "black nigger bitch" and struck in the face by a phone company manager on a picket line during the recent national phone strike, is being brought up on multiple felony assault and battery charges for defending herself. Similar charges have been brought against Ray Palmiero, her companion and fellow union worker, who came to her aid. Both face eight-year prison terms on these trumped-up charges. Both Lauren and Ray have been fired from their jobs and denied unemployment benefits. The racist manager still has her job.
As part of the efforts to stop this racist railroading there will be a mass march and rally in Oakland on October 29th.

ASSEMBLE AT 11 A.M. SATURDAY, OCTOBER 29TH AT OAKLAND CITY HALL (14TH & WASHINGTON STS.) AND MARCH AT 12 NOON TO THE ALAMEDA COUNTY COURTHOUSE FOR A 1 P.M. RALLY

This march and rally has already been endorsed by public officials, including John George, Supervisor District 5, Congressman Ron Dellums, Berkeley's Mayor Gus Newport, numerous labor officials, minority organizations and many others. I urge you to join me at the rally. PLEASE WEAR YOUR UNION JACKET. ALL OUT ON OCTOBER 29TH. Thanks for your support.

Fraternally yours,
Norman Huntsman
Norman Huntsman, President
Local Lodge 739, I. A. M. & A. W.

Communications Workers of America AFL-CIO
1831 Park Boulevard — Oakland, California 94606
LOCAL 9415
834-9415 (Area Code 415)

Whereas, the CWA has provided bail and lawyers for members Mozee and Palmiero; therefore be it

Resolved, that CWA Local 9415

(1) demand that these two members be reinstated to their jobs with full back pay,

(2) request that the national union seek amnesty for all strikers accused of picket line misconduct,

(3) cooperate fully with the legal defense team representing defendant members, and

(4) seek a full report from the national union of efforts to defend and reinstate strikers being prosecuted elsewhere around the country.

Los Angeles NAARPR Backs Lauren and Ray

Statement by Rose Chernin and S. Deacon Alexander

The entire executive board of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, L.A. Branch, is in full support of the Phone Strikers in general and specifically Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero. We demand that all charges be dropped and Ray and Lauren are returned to work with full back pay as labor is our first line of defense and the racist attack on this fine couple is but a part of a pattern to break the back of organized labor.

We congratulate the Defense Committee, the union and all involved for their heroic effort in this matter. Our endorsement will mean that a fund-raiser is just around the corner. We are sorry that we could not be here today. Our spirit of fight back is with you.

Freedom is a constant struggle. Unity is the key.

We can fight back and will.

How Much Insult Can Be Endured?

Statement by Flo Kennedy, Co-Founder, Black Women United for Political Action

I support this demonstration against the phone company's outrageous attempt to frame up Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero.

It is taken for granted that "we" strike out in Lebanon, in Central America, anywhere anybody does anything to displease the Great White Father. It is taken for granted that "we" send cops into black neighborhoods to murder children and barbecue people in Los Angeles.

But anybody trying to strike back, to organize against the phone company, oh no! How much insult can be endured before black women are entitled to strike back in rage and anger? How many times do we have to be verbally and physically abused before we fight back?

When we do fight back, they try to frame us up and put *us* in jail or worse. And they pay the cops bounty money for murdering innocent children like Patrick Mason!

Beat the phone company! Ray and Lauren must not go to jail!

ILWU Local 10: Injury to One Is Injury to All

Statement by William Bancroft, Secretary-Treasurer, ILWU Local 10, on behalf of Local 10

The officers and membership of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Local 10 stand in solidarity with fellow trade unionists Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero in their struggle against the racists and anti-union actions of Pacific Telephone Company.

The struggle against racism and for equality, the struggle against anti-unionism and for workers solidarity are not new to us in the ILWU. Threats of violence and judicial lynchings have been part of the arsenal used against us. These weapons did not deter us then... they shall not deter us now. The attack on Lauren Mozee by Michelle Rose Hansen, a scab/manager of Ma Bell, and the subsequent bringing of criminal charges against her and Ray Palmiero should come as no surprise to most of us. The San Leandro police department and the Alameda County D.A.'s office are tools for the racist, anti-union, anti-life policies of the Reagan administration. The same forces that now seek to jail Mozee and Palmiero, are also responsible for the invasion of Grenada and the attempt to curtail progressive people's movements throughout this world. *The ILWU says yes to Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero. No to racist, anti-union Reaganite frame-ups.* We the members of the ILWU Local 10 stand with Mozee and Palmiero in their fight for justice. *An injury to one is an injury to all.*

Grenada/ Lebanon...

(continued from page 1)

many commented: if Israel is so hot to conquer the Middle East, then let *their* blood flow. The U.S. should get out and let the dominos fall where they may. Reagan, however, was itching to retaliate by blowing up anything too puny to defend itself. And thus the empire struck back at its "target of opportunity," tiny Grenada.

Reagan's Grenada Diversion

Grenada turned out to be the all-time walkover that wasn't. Acutely embarrassed by their slow progress, the military blamed "faulty intelligence," even though U.S. spy planes regularly overfly the island. Each day the operation dragged on they would discover more Cubans, at one point claiming another 1,000 mythical guerrillas lurking in the Grenadian "jungle." But after Havana gave a detailed list of every Cuban man, woman and child in Grenada, totaling 784, the U.S. backed down and "didn't challenge" the Cuban figures. Similarly on Reagan's accusation that Grenada was "a Soviet-Cuban colony being readied as a major military bastion to export terror and undermine democracy." The admirals could only come up with "secret arsenals" with enough weapons to arm "8,000 guerrillas," and by the time you got down to the corporal on the scene, this turned out to be a couple of quonset huts with an assortment of AK-47s, World War II British Bren guns and some 1870 U.S. carbines, the latter "guns we used to fight Indians with, but they can still kill you," said the corporal.

All the talk of Cuban troops was also a lie: the U.S. just couldn't accept that older Cuban volunteer militarily-trained construction workers would fight like hell. As Fidel Castro pointed out in a press conference in the early morning hours of October 26, "Proof of the fact that they are construction workers is the excellent airport they built in such a short time, where dozens of U.S. planes landed, even though it is not finished yet." Told by their leaders to defend their camps with energy and courage if fired upon, they did so. A communiqué read over Radio Havana later that day reported: "The fighters in the final redoubt did not surrender and gave their lives for the homeland." Today the U.S. announced that it had killed 50-60 Cubans and wounded another 40. But in the process the Americans lost six to eight helicopters (*Aviation Week*, 31 October). Now the reported 638 Cubans being held by the U.S. forces are hostages, to be subjected to who-knows-what kind of "interrogation" by the CIA. We demand that all Cuban prisoners in Grenada be returned at once!

The actual timing of the Grenada invasion had more to do with the Lebanon debacle—it certainly made better press for Reagan to see "rescued" medical students kissing U.S. soil than the woeful spectacle of mangled Marines in Beirut. But above all it was political, an assertion of the "Reagan Doctrine" of the anti-Soviet war drive, which Grenadian UN representative Ian Jacobs described as "might is right" and *New York Times* columnist Tad Szulc called "making the world safe for hypocrisy." An administration spokesman explained the Yankees' use of the Big Stick: "What good are maneuvers and shows of force if you never use it?" Or as the *Times* summarized: "No More 'Paper Tiger'." As for the "democracy" being exported by the U.S., the commander of the occupation forces ominously announced that "hard-core" Grenadians would be hunted down, identified and "neutralized." This could turn Grenada into "terror island" for real, although it may take a little while to organize Latin American-style death squads.

In response, the liberals, Stalinists and Third World nationalists turned to the hot air chamber of the United Nations. Cuba eloquently compared the Caribbean countries who joined Reagan's phony "multinational" invasion as thieving jackals leaping onto the prey of the tiger. Grenada's representative noted that his was among the smallest of countries while the U.S. was one of the largest; but other countries should take heed that "though bigger than Grenada, [they] are much smaller than the United States." In the end, the UN Security Council "deplored" the American action by an 11-1 vote (vetoed by the U.S.). To what effect? Even the "desertion" by Reagan's European allies will change little.

AP

Mass rally in support of Maurice Bishop a few days before he wes murdered in a palace coup.

Reagan fighting four wars ecross the globe. Pentagon internetionel terrorists worry about over-extension.

In his October 26 press conference, Castro described the U.S. invasion of Grenada as "a Pyrrhic victory and a disastrous moral defeat." Certainly Reagan's pirate adventure has heightened worldwide fears of unrestrained American militarism. Third World governments can easily see themselves suffering Grenada's fate. But this most powerful and deadly imperialist power in history will not be stopped or even restrained by moral protest and UN resolutions. As the great German chancellor Otto von Bismarck said a century ago, "The great questions of our time will not be settled by resolutions and majority votes...but by blood and iron." Reagan's invasion of Grenada only underscores the fundamental truth of that statement.

Anti-Soviet War Drive Caught in Lebanon Quagmire

In chess there is a gambit known as the "poisoned pawn." Take it and you will land in trouble. For the U.S., Lebanon is a poisoned pawn. In the summer of 1982, while the Israeli blitzkrieg spread terror aross the country, Zionist leaders claimed they were conquering Lebanon for the "free world." A senior Jerusalem official bragged, "We've given the West the gift of Lebanon on a silver platter. We've created a vacuum, and all we ask is for them tn step into it" (*New York Times*, 16 June 1982). Surc cnough, the Reaganites grasped the "historic opportunity," took the silver platter and stepped into the Lebanese vacuum. The Marines were sent into Beirut to be the visihle sign of a new U.S.-Israeli protectorate in Lebanon. The Israeli army and its local allies, the Phalange gangsters, were supposed to provide the killing power on the ground while the U.S. forces played the "soft cops." Thus Washington hypocritically condemned the massacre of defenseless Palestinian families in the Sabra and Shatila camps after having set it up by disarming and deporting the PLO commandos.

Today the Americans' puppet president of Lebanon, Gemayel, is not even mayor of Beirut. The Israelis, caught in the crossfire between the fascistic Christian Maronite Phalangists and Druze communal militias, unilaterally withdrew from the Shuf Mountains outside Beirut in order to consolidate a buffer zone in southern Lebanon. This left the U.S. alone to prop up the Gemayel "government," exposed to attack by any of the two dozcn armies floating through Lebanon. Reagan is now acting as if the Marines in Beirut were innocent tourists wantonly attacked by terrorists. But just last month terrorist American warships bombarded the Shuf, wantonly killing Muslim villagers. Thc U.S. Congress backed up the president by applying the War Powers Resolution, authorizing American troops to stay up tn 18 months. They have Lebanese blood on their hands. And now they are paying the price.

As in Grenada and everywhere else, the Reagan administration secs Lebanon through the prism of its global war on Communism. But the American claim that Walid Jumblatt's Druze militia, or the Shi'ites, or the Sunnis, are Soviet "surrogates" is absurd. If they were anywhere near Afghanistan they would be making lampshadcs out of Soviet soldiers instead of shooting Yankees. Touted as a "leftist" (he is a vice president of the Second International), Jumblatt looks to French imperialism, Lebanon's former colonial master, as his would-be patron, and *opposes* withdrawal of the Foreign Legion.

So the Russians want to dump a lot of military hardwarc on the Syrians? Mnscow can no more control the Near Easi through Syria than Washington can through Israel. Besides it's not "the Syrians," just 10 percent of them—the Alawites—or rather Ba'athist dictator Assad and his security chief hrother, lording it over the remaining 90 percent. Last year, in response to an uprising instigated hy the Muslim Brotherhood, the Damascus regime leveled Syria's fourth largest city, Hama. Assad first intervened in Lebanon, during the 1975-76 civil war, on behalf of the Christian Maronite forces and with the encouragement of the U.S. Even now, Republican right-wingers like Utah senator Orrin Hatch have contested the view that Syria is an "intransigent Soviet puppet." They well remember how Sadat ditched Egypt's Soviet alliance a decade ago. And for all its verbal rejection of peace with Israel, Ba'athist Syria has been reluctant to attack the Zionists. With the Arafat leadership of the PLO pushed to the sidelines, Reagan could even play the Syria card.

At bottom the present fighting in Lebanon is a continuation of the centuries-old communal/sectarian conflicts between Muslims and Christians, Sunnis and Shi'ites, Druze and others. A victory of the "other side" (whoever that is at any given moment) against the U.S. and the Phalange would simply lead to new conflicts and deals among the myriad feudalist warlords of Lebanon, restoring conditions more or less as they existed before the Israeli invasion of June 1982.

"Marines out of Lebanon, now, alive!" evokes the widespread anti-government outrage felt by the American masses at Reagan's squandering of life in the Lebanon "quagmire," reviving memories of Vietnam. We recognize a fundamental difference between American intervention in Lebanon and in Vietnam. In Vietnam, U.S. imperialism intervened to suppress a social revolution. In that war, the *defeat* of the U.S. expeditionary force and the Saigon puppet army was key to *victory* of the social revolution. The slogan of the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), "Bring Our Boys Home Now!" was deeply social-patriotic and anti-revolutionary. In the Vietnam War "our boys" were the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese soldiers. Not so in Lebanon. When the PLO fought the U.S.-backed Israeli invasion in the summer of 1982, we gave Palestinian commandos unconditional military support. But now no side is fighting imperialism. On the contrary, from the PLO and Jumblatt to Gemayel, all sides are jockeying for sponsorship from one imperialist power or another. However, if U.S. military intervention escalates to a war with Syria drawing in the Soviet Union, then for all class-conscious proletarians, the duty of unconditional military defense of the USSR against imperialism would be posed.

Smash Imperialist War Drive!

It has been clearly established that Reagan's rush to invade Grenada was designed to divert attention from his disaster in Lebanon. To a degree even protests centered on Grenada served this purpose. It is striking that the American "left" went along with this ploy, for various reasons. First, there is the fact that many of them, including the SWP and Workers World Party, supported the introduction of imperialist troops into Lebanon last fall in the guise of "peacekeepers." Secnndly, the radlibs and reformists want to harp on Reagan's violations of "international law" and democratic rights. But the new Cold Warriors in power in Washington

SL/SYL Forum

Grenada Invasion Can't Hide Reagan's Lebanon Disaster!

- **U.S. Marines Out of Lebanon, Now, Alive!**
- **U.S. Out of Grenada!**
- **Defend Cuba and the USSR!**
- **Smash Anti-Soviet War Drive Through Workers Revolution!**

Speaker: George Crawford, SL Central Committee

Guest Speaker: Charles DuBois, Rouge Militant Caucus, UAW Local 600

Sunday, November 6, 7:30 p.m.
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DETROIT

make no bones about the fact that for them the *class* interests of American imperialism are paramount. Reagan glories in upholding "covert" action, such as the U.S.' undeclared war on Sandinista Nicaragua, so long as it is *successful*. These anti-Communist ideologues understand well that the basis for bourgeois defeatism and mass pacifist sentiment in the U.S. during recent years, the so-called "Vietnam syndrome," is the fact that the U.S. *lost*. For them the key aspect of the Grenada invasion is that they can *win* somewhere, *anywhere*, to restore the U.S.' role as global imperialist policeman. According to Reagan's criteria anyone can do anything to the U.S., as long as they can get away with it.

True, the odds are rather uneven. If it has taken 6,000 American troops to "secure" this tiny island, what will it take to conquer a *really big* place like Nicaragua, the size of Michigan, which is *450 times* larger than Grenada? In Fidel Castro's October 26 press conference, he claimed that, as in Grenada, Cuba lacked the naval and air means to send direct assistance to Nicaragua in the case of a full-scale U.S. invasion. While he was right to emphasize the importance of an armed people which has already fought to achieve a revolution, he was wrong about Cuba's own duty. Today the Sandinista radical-nationalist regime desperately needs effective weapons, particularly antiaircraft missiles, which can be supplied by the Soviet bloc. And to be successful, the answer to the CIA and the *contras* is to wage a revolutionary war—for workers revolution throughout Central America and extending north to Mexico with its several millions of proletarians. And meanwhile there must be sharp class struggle in the United States to bring Reagan down. This is the program of the Trotskyists, of permanent revolution requiring the construction of authentic Leninist-Bolshevik internationalist parties.

Following its humiliation in Vietnam, under Ford and Carter U.S. imperialism was committed to a "1-1/2 wars" posture, maintaining sufficient military power to fight a major war in Europe and one "brushfire" war somewhere in the Third World. Under Reagan, the U.S. is currently engaged in at least four wars (El Salvador, Nicaragua, Lebanon and Grenada) and threatening a fifth at the Straits of Hormuz, and bogged down in all of them. The Pentagon is stretched so thin that they're trying to use the same forces in two places: the Marines who "took" Grenada are now supposed to be on their way to Lebanon. *Now* is the time for the Salvadoran leftist guerrillas to strike, for the Nicaraguans to land a powerful blow against the *contra* mercenaries. And we should rub Reagan's nose in the bloody Lebanon mess. While the liberals fear—rightly or wrongly—"another Vietnam" in the Near East and Central America, for revolutionaries, "Vietnam was a victory—Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism!"

In the Transitional Program written in 1938, the great Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky wrote that, "it is necessary to differentiate strictly between the pacifism of the diplomat, professor, journalist, and the pacifism of the carpenter, agricultural worker, the charwoman. In one case, pacifism is a screen for imperialism; in the other, it is the confused expression of distrust in imperialism." Thus, he concluded, "the Fourth International supports every, even if insufficient demand, if it can draw the masses to a certain extent into active politics, awaken their criticism and strengthen their control over the machinations of the bourgeoisie." The American masses do not want to die in Beirut. We say: U.S. Marines out of Lebanon, now, alive! U.S. out of Grenada! Defend Cuba/USSR against the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive! Otherwise Reagan is liable to blow us all up.■

Big Stick Hits Grenada...

(continued from page 3)

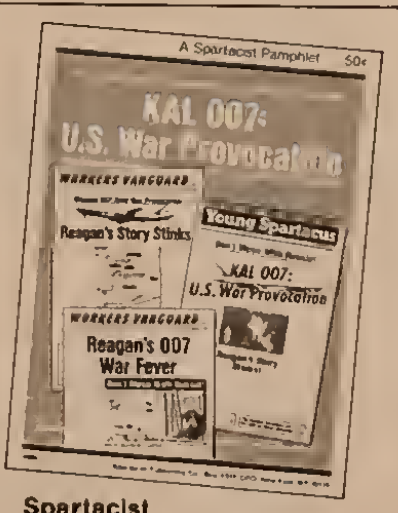
(until it was overthrown by a palace coup led by army commander Houri Boumediene). The Algerian FLN, however, came to power through a long and incredibly bloody war of national liberation against French colonialism. The elevation of Grenada's New Jewel Movement to the status of "workers and farmers government" is Barnesite wishful thinking, *reductio ad absurdum*.

After the Austin coup, a special issue of the SWP's *Intercontinental Press* (7 November) declared that the NJM had "mobilized the toiling masses for four and a half years"—and with "democratic councils," no less. If this is true, then how could Bishop be so easily displaced? And where were those "democratic councils" mobilizing the masses when Grenada was attacked by the U.S. Marines? The SWP acts surprised and shocked at the anti-Bishop coup: "Devastating blow to Grenada revolution," headlined the *Militant* (28 October). But bloody palace coups are the usual method of governmental debate in such petty-bourgeois nationalist regimes which Castro looks to as allies. For example, in 1977 a meeting of the Ethiopian Derg to discuss policy differences ended with eight of its members dead, while Lt. Colonel Mengistu stepped over the corpses to become unchallenged head of this nationalist regime. A closer parallel to the murder of Bishop is the assassination in 1979 of Noor Mohammed Taraki in Afghanistan. Taraki, a venerable figure of the Afghan left, was killed in a palace coup by the ruthless upstart Hafizullah Amin, who postured as a "hard-line revolutionary." Later ties between Amin and the CIA came to light.

The fact is that the Grenadian working people were never mobilized in their class interests. For example, 60 percent of the economy remained in private hands, and not by oversight. As radical journalist Fred Halliday noted, the NJM leaders "have sought an alliance with local merchants, and three non-party representatives of business sit in the cabinet" (*In These Times*, 27 July). Bishop's 1979 coup never overthrew bourgeois rule, even to the extent of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, where a radical petty-bourgeois nationalist leadership, as yet not definitively committed to bourgeois or proletarian property forms, militarily destroyed Somoza's state apparatus. And Grenada is a far cry from the deformed workers state which has existed in Cuba since the mid-late 1960 expropriation of both imperialist and native capitalists.

The legacy of the Caribbean "black power" upsurge over a decade ago was a series of nationalist movements like the NJM, all preaching "self-reliance" in ever smaller pieces of real estate. Despite left verbiage, they offered no solution to the ruinous impoverishment and despair of the West Indian masses. In fact, by focusing on race rather than class, black nationalism served to obstruct the formation of a revolutionary working-class movement that could unite the mixture of races in the Caribbean. In Guyana, "black power" rhetoric was even picked up by the counterrevolution when the CIA installed Forbes Burnham as a means to divide the workers along ethnic lines. Within the confines of tiny islands like Grenada it is absurd to envision an isolated proletarian revolution—they barely possess a fragment of a proletariat and lack the economic basis to coalesce even the rudiments of a viable national economy. Moreover, given their minuscule size and exposed position in the "American lake," the struggle for a soviet federation of the Caribbean must be waged in intimate connection with the fight for socialist revolution in the United States.

"Socialism on one tropical island," even if it is the Pearl of the Antilles, is a Stalinist illusion. Cuba today is almost as isolated as it was 20 years ago. When the Sandinistas and NJM took power in 1979, Castro hopefully proclaimed: "Now we are three." Today right-wing imperialist ideologues gleefully proclaim, "now they are two," and talk of "inverse falling dominos." Not nationalist "New Jewels" but revolutionary communist, Trotskyist parties armed with the program of permanent revolution are needed to liberate the Caribbean masses from their hideous oppression. U.S. troops out of Grenada—Independence for Puerto Rico—Defend Cuba! For a soviet federation of the Caribbean in a Socialist United States of Latin America!■



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NYC Transit...

(continued from page 4)

"dissidents" initially had a slight majority on Local 100's executive board, they did *nothing* to stop John Lawe's disastrous sellout. Since that time, these trade-union hustlers have either made their peace with Lawe, dropped out of sight, or else parroted Lawe's defeatist line that strikes and other militant actions can't win. Cherry has mainly occupied himself with attempts to sabotage the fighting policies proposed by class-struggle militants like Kartsen, Brewer and Smith. Thus, Cherry opposed their call to organize union defense squads to send to Gravesend, issuing a leaflet entitled "Turks Killing Not Just a Racial Issue," which equated racist lynchings with everyday muggings!

For a Fighting TWU!

Conservative business unionists like Lawe and their reformist tails like Cherry subordinate the needs of workers to what the bosses can "afford" and pit one section of the working class against another. With American capitalism on a sharp decline, that means pay cuts and givebacks and unions picked off one at a time like PATCO. What distinguishes the Committee for a Fighting TWU is its anti-capitalist program, pointing to the need for a workers government to put an end to wage slavery once and for all. The Committee calls for linking up transit workers with the rest of New York City labor to fight for the interests of workers and all the oppressed. As Kartsen, Brewer and Smith outlined their program in the statement announcing their candidacy:

> "FOR A LABOR OFFENSIVE TO REVERSE THE GIVEBACKS! Just to turn this deathtrap into a safe, clean, efficient transit system requires billions of dollars and thousands more workers. The money is there to rebuild transit, our schools and hospitals. But it's going to the banks that have run this city into the ground and to the bosses' war drive that pours trillions into a fanatical campaign to wage nuclear war against the Soviet Union. We need TWU leaders with an anti-capitalist program who will mobilize black and white in this city to smash the Reagan/Koch cuts. Tear out the token machines—for free, safe, rapid transit for the people of New York! Cancel the debt—expropriate the banks! Jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no cut in pay!
>
> "FOR LABOR ACTION TO BRING DOWN REAGAN/KOCH! Reagan is after everybody—the Russians, the blacks, the poor, the old and the unions. He's trying to provoke World War III, from El Salvador to Poland to the Middle East to Korea. But you can't fight Reagan with the Democrats. 'Ethnic Purity' Carter paved the way for Reagan, while Koch does his racist dirty work in N.Y.C. The liberal Democrats are no better: Cuomo appointed a CIA strikebreaker to run the T.A.; District Attorney Holtzman ran the trial that gave Willie Turks' killers a slap on the wrist. Democrats or Republicans—no difference! Same game! *We need a workers party to fight for a workers government!*"■

Boston Elections...

(continued from page 5)

decision and has been campaigning for King. Letters protesting the Flynn endorsement have poured into *In These Times*, and the CP's *Daily World* (13 October) reports that "several" black DSAers quit the organization in protest.

The SWP ran its own candidate, Eloise Linger, in the primary and focused on its absurd—and patently segregationist—call for "a Black Party and for a Workers Party." Even with considerable media coverage, Linger only received a measly 200 votes (less than newly appointed New York City transit czar Robert Kiley, who withdrew from the race, and less even than the right-wing crazy of Lyndon LaRouche's U.S. Labor Party). The SWP has gone out of its way to point to its similarities with King, especially over union-busting affirmative action.

Neither King, Flynn, nor any of their reformist tails have anything to offer the working class and poor of Boston but more defeats. Relying on the racist bosses and their government, cops and courts is not going to result in jobs, education and decent housing for all and is not going to end cop killings of blacks and other racist attacks. As we summarized in our supplement to *Workers Vanguard* (22 October 1982) after the Klan was run out of Boston:

> "While 'dashiki Democrats' and reformist hustlers lead the black masses down to defeat with illusions of 'community control,' the Spartacist League fights for a program of revolutionary integrationism and a multi-racial vanguard socialist party. We seek to harness the power of labor in the struggle for black equality, fighting within the unions against the poisonous racism which cripples united class struggle, and for a class-conscious leadership to oust the pro-capitalist bureaucrats. This is a road of long, hard struggle, to mobilize the workers movement as the vanguard of all the oppressed. But it is the only one which can liberate us all."■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

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WORKERS VANGUARD

400 March in Oakland Against Racist, Anti-Union Frame-Up

"Freedom and Jobs Back for Lauren and Ray!"

OAKLAND—*"Hey, D.A.! Workers say: Hands Off Lauren and Ray!"* A determined and militant protest of some 400 put the Alameda County District Attorney and Pacific Telephone on notice Saturday: Stop the racist, anti-labor frame-up of phone workers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero! The demonstrators assembled at Oakland City Hall and marched to the Alameda County Courthouse, chanting with raised fists: "Picket lines mean don't cross!" and "Eight years, no way—Freedom and jobs back for Lauren and Ray!" Union contingents formed the front of the march with banners from Communications Workers of America Locals 9410 and 9415, American Federation of Teachers Local 771 and International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 1011. Drizzling rain held down the turnout but did not dampen the angry spirit of the mainly black protesters who came out to say no to the D.A.'s Alahama-style "justice."

Lauren and Ray were facing up to seven and a half years in state prison, having been fired from their jobs and denied unemployment benefits, for doing picket line duty during the recent national phone strike. While on the picket line in Klan-infested San Leandro, Lauren was called a "black nigger bitch" and hit in the face by a racist scab/manager, one Michelle Rose Hansen. Because Lauren defended herself against this violent company ass[illegible] because her companion Ray came to her assistance, the two are facing multiple felony assault charges. Pacific Telephone, the cops and the D.A. are using this gross frame-up to send a message to the population: black people don't have the right to defend themselves against racist attack, workers don't have the right to defend their picket lines.

WV Photo

Oakland, October 29—From left: Rally chairman Don Andrews, Ray Palmiero and Lauren Mozee lead chants: "Hey, D.A.! Workers say: Hands Off Lauren and Ray!"

WV Photo

Marchers carry photos of black victims of police terror, five-year-old Patrick Mason and Machinist Charles Briscoe.

The vicious frame-up of Lauren and Ray is a blatant act of politicized racism and union-busting, and was recognized as such by many thousands of working people in the unions and black neighborhoods where volunteers went to get out the word on the case. Saturday's demonstration was endorsed by 12 unions, 49 union officials and 24 black student and civil rights organizations. Some 50 phone workers turned out for the march; unionists from the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, the International Association of Machinists, Teamsters and United Steelworkers provided monitors to help ensure an orderly march and rally.

From the steps of the Alameda County Courthouse, Lauren Mozee explained:

> "As everyone knows, I'm a victim of a racist, anti-labor frame-up. Why? One, I'm a black woman. Two, Ray and I are an interracial couple. Three, I'm a militant—I said *militant*—trade unionist. A former member of the Black Panther Party for many years. And I'm a firm believer—I said firm believer—in socialism. I've always been a fighter against racism and cop terror, and a fighter for unity of the working class against the bosses. Now for these things and for doing my duty on the picket lines... I've been victimized.... It's not Ray and myself who are the criminals here. The criminals are Ma Bell, the San Leandro Police Department and the District Attorney."

The demonstration brought out a serious hard core of black, Latin and white union activists who know who the real criminals in this country are. Prominently displayed from the podium in front of the courthouse were large portraits and flowers to honor the memory of two black victims of racist killer cops: Patrick Mason, the five-year-old shot to death by an Orange County cop last March, and Charles Briscoe, the 37-year-old Machinists union official brutally gunned down in 1979 by Oakland cops.

Patrick Mason's killer, cop Anthony Sperl, was recently awarded $35,000 in bounty by the California Worker's Comp Board for "psychological stress." Oakland cop Robert Fredericks pumped *10 rounds* of ammunition into Charles Briscoe; this was the same cop involved in the killing of 16-year-old Panther Bobby Hutton and in no less than four other shootings of blacks, two of them fatal. That Sperl and Fredericks walk the streets as free men today is an unspeakable crime that says it all about racist "justice" in America.

Among those who addressed the crowd was IAM Local 739 spokesman Willie Lee Bell, a close personal friend of Briscoe's:

> "Alone, we are powerless, and alone each one of you is powerless. We have

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 342 — 18 November 1983

Reagan Is War Crazy! Defend the Soviet Union!

Near East Flashpoint for WW III

NOVEMBER 15—If, as the ancient Greeks believed, those whom the gods would destroy they first drive mad, then the destruction of the United States has surely begun. First came the Americans' KAL 007 anti-Soviet war provocation, sending a civilian airliner directly over the Russians' most sensitive military installations. Now on a "Grenada high" after their "big win" in the Caribbean, the genuinely evil leaders of the Yankee empire have escalated from one anti-Soviet war provocation to another. Meanwhile a giant U.S. battle fleet is arrayed against supposed "Soviet surrogates" in the Near East. And they have begun deployment of new first-strike Euromissiles which will put them only eight minutes from Moscow...and World War III. Ronald Reagan & Co. are acting as if they really believe they can destroy the Soviet Union without harming a hair on the head of a single white middle-class American voter. But as they bring about their own ruin, the crazies in the White House and Pentagon could obliterate the planet. "Will the *world* survive until 1984?" is suddenly a question on everyone's lips.

In the Atlantic, some 500 miles off the coast of South Carolina, an American sub-hunting destroyer hit and disabled a Soviet nuclear submarine. In the Caribbean the U.S. is staging a "no-notice" naval war maneuver off Guantánamo to threaten the Cubans. And in the eastern Mediterranean Reagan's admirals have concentrated an armada of more than 40 ships, including three carrier battle groups (the *Eisenhower*, the *Kennedy* and the *Independence*, redeployed after its Grenadian "victory") and the battleship *New Jersey*, plus 300 attack planes.

Kennerly/Time

U S Navy

Aircraft carrier Ranger, sent from Nicaraguan coast to Arabian Sea, is now poised to strike at Iran and "secure" the Persian Gulf.

Their guns are trained on Soviet-backed Syria. Less noticed by the press is another carrier group in the Arabian Sea (the *Ranger*, previously engaged in gunboat diplomacy against Nicaragua) along with an entire invasion flotilla of the Rapid Deployment Force—totaling some 35 vessels—poised to strike at Iran and "secure" the Persian Gulf. From Grenada to the Strait of Hormuz, Washington's brinkmen of the nuclear apocalypse are doing their best to provoke a showdown with the Soviets. So far, Moscow has been laid back, but someone in the Kremlin is certainly adding it all up.

The Americans' high-seas attack on the Soviet submarine couldn't have been more provocative. First they cripple the boat, evidently ripping its props off by dragging the cable of a sonar sled across them, then they laugh about it being disabled. Next they accuse the Russians of being at fault under some antiquated British Admiralty rule declaring subs "burdened vessels," and brazenly declare that a Soviet/U.S. agreement to avoid incidents at sea—which bans simulated attacks—doesn't cover submarines. A Navy spokesman blandly announced that the U.S. destroyer was conducting "antisubmarine warfare" (in peacetime). Every American better thank their lucky stars for the cool temperament of that Soviet commander. World War I was started over less than this.

Meanwhile, on Grenada the Soviet embassy staff is subjected to flagrant violations of diplomatic immunity that make the seizure of the American embassy in Teheran look like an exercise in polished diplomatic protocol. And in the Near East, Lebanon is but a beachhead for U.S. imperialism. The real strategic prize is control of the

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Soviet Sub Attacked by U.S. on the High Seas

AP

Soviet nuclear-armed submarine crippled by U.S. destroyer. Don't mess with the Russians!

Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero Must Not Go to Jail!

Special Supplement Inside—See Pages 5-12

SL/SYL Protest "Social Democratic" Contra Terrorist

Edén Pastora: CIA's Nicaraguan Traitor

Once he was known as *Comandante Cero* (Commander Zero) in the bloody war against the Somoza tyranny, but now that he has gone over to the Somozaist mercenaries his name is reviled in Managua: Edén Pastora, *El Traidor* (Traitor). This counterrevolutionary turncoat has the blood of Nicaragua's peasants and workers on his hands and CIA dollars in his pocket. Last week Pastora arrived in the United States on a tour to promote himself as a "democratic alternative" to the Sandinista revolution. This *contra* terrorist is aiming at a repeat of Reagan's invasion of tiny Grenada, with himself as quisling for the Yankees. But it cost more than 50,000 lives to rid the country of the Somoza dictatorship, and the Nicaraguan people will fight to the death to prevent the return of this gang of cutthroat killers and torturers. The Trotskyists say the Nicaraguan masses are fully justified in demanding, "*¡Pastora al paredòn!*" (Pastora to the execution wall).

When he showed up in New York on November 9 for a kick-off press conference sponsored by "Freedom House," a front for the CIA's worldwide Terror Network, the pseudo-democratic *contra* got a hot reception from the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL). Several dozen demonstrators chanted, "Nicaraguan people say, smash Pastora and the CIA!" "Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs, Nicaragua needs MIGs!" and "*Pastora, contras, imperialistas—¡No pasarán!*" Spartacist signs included "Hail Heroic Cuban Fighters in Grenada!" and "Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!" A placard showed Pastora and U.S. war criminal Jeane Kirkpatrick crawling into a Roach Motel labeled Nicaragua as demonstrators proclaimed, "Roach Motels for the CIA—They check in and there they stay!" Eventually a black limousine swerved to the curb and goons from the Cuban *gusano* group Abdala leapt out to hustle *El Traidor* past the angry protesters shouting "Pastora *asesino*, puppet of the CIA!"

Inside, before the media, Pastora postured as a popular revolutionary, even feigning concern over an American invasion: "In Grenada you got in and out quickly. In Nicaragua you could get in, but getting out would be another matter." He claimed that he needs only "guns and boots" from the U.S. to overthrow the Sandinistas. An SL press release exposed Pastora for what he is:

> "The CIA is running a Murder, Inc. in Central America, and this 'social-democratic' *contra* is one of its prime operatives. He is responsible for the September 8 bombing of Managua airport, which could have led to a bloodbath of hundreds of civilians. The plane was provided by the CIA. Pastora's outfit, ARDE (Spanish for 'Burn'), also claims responsibility for blowing up oil tanks in order to cripple the Nicaraguan economy. In one such terror raid, 25,000 people had to be evacuated from the port of Corinto in order to avoid a fiery holocaust. We say: give this terrorist a one-way ticket to Managua to be tried by a revolutionary tribunal of his victims."

Outside "Freedom House," an SL spokesman told the *New York Times*:

> "We're here as a reminder that in Managua there are tens of thousands of people that are going to stop [Pastora], arms in hand. The only way he's even going to get close is with the 82nd Airborne, and they're going to have a fight on their hands."

Pastora and his Somozaist fellow *contras* are already receiving a lot more than "guns and boots" from Uncle Sam. According to the *Wall Street Journal* (27 July), "U.S. intelligence sources say ARDE has been receiving indirect American aid in the form of equipment and laundered cash totaling $200,000 a month, or more than half of ARDE's income." Pastora's sidekick Alfonso Robelo, Nicaragua's cooking oil king and a former member of the Sandinista-led junta reported anonymous "strange contributions" from "people who call up and say they want to help" (*Los Angeles Times*, 10 September). The Cessna 404 which was shot down while bombing Sandino Airport in Managua for ARDE has been traced to two U.S. dummy corporations which do "classified military work for the United States, including projects for the CIA" (*New York Times*, 8 November).

In an interview with the *Times*, Pastora repeated earlier reports that his aides have held talks with Cuban officials:

> "The [ARDE] officials said Cuba initiated the talks in June because it was worried that Nicaragua was becoming dangerously polarized and believed the risk of a United States invasion was growing.... [One official said] 'We believe the Cubans recognize the need for reconciliation in Nicaragua'."
>
> —*New York Times*, 10 November

This is an ominous development which could threaten the very survival of the Sandinista revolution. Hoping to appease warmonger Reagan, Castro is reportedly pressuring his Nicaraguan "compañeros" to negotiate a "compromise" with this wing of the CIA-backed *contras*. And Pastora does his bit by calling for a "political solution" in Nicaragua and supporting the so-called "Contadora initiative" (the proposal by Mexico, Panama, Colombia and Venezuela to negotiate an end to the civil war raging in Central America before it gets out of hand). But any deal with Pastora means blocking the road to social revolution in Nicaragua, seeking to replace the present petty-bourgeois radical-nationalist Sandinista regime with a refurbished capitalist state. This would only prepare the way for the return of the Somozaist butchers and a new bloodbath in Managua.

That Castro should now conspire with the enemies of the Nicaraguan working people reflects the treacherous nationalist logic of Stalinism. Cuba, which has consolidated a bureaucratically deformed workers state under the Yankees' guns, puts the squeeze on Nicaragua to cut a deal with the *contra* killers. Nicaragua, which has had a political revolution ousting the Somoza dynasty, puts the arm on Salvadoran guerrillas to negotiate a compromise with the local oligarchy and its death squads. And spokesmen for the Kremlin have indicated they regard Central America as part of the U.S. sphere of influence and the Sandinistas are on their own. Each is ready to sell out the next guy's revolution in order to appease rapacious imperialism. But the White House and its puppets aren't interested in compromise. As the SL press release stated:

> "Reagan wants to drown the Salvadoran leftist insurgents in blood, lay waste to Sandinista Nicaragua, reconquer Cuba for 'free enterprise' (the Havana mafia) and ultimately overthrow the remaining conquests of the Russian October Revolution."

All this talk of "political solutions" short of workers revolution represents a mortal threat to the workers and peasants of Latin America. How is a "negotiated settlement" to be reached? By cutting off attempts at profound social transformation (even land reform) and by *cutting off arms* to leftist rebels. This is precisely what the "Contadora initiative" calls for, and in draft treaties recently presented to the U.S. State Department, Nicaragua commits itself not to "support or assist any group seeking to attack, overthrow or destabilize another state," and not to "supply arms or military assistance to any of the contending forces" in El Salvador (*Barricada Internacional*, 31 October). Such agreements—representing an historic betrayal of the Salvadoran revolution—would only dig the graves of the Sandinistas themselves, allowing Washington to tighten the counterrevolutionary noose around Nicaragua. The imperialists and their lackeys cannot be appeased or reformed—they must be defeated on the field of battle.

Thus the Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency call for "Military victory to leftist insurgents in El Salvador!" "Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan revolution!" and "Defense of Cuba/USSR begins in Central America!" Simply in order to defend the democratic gains of the Sandinista revolution today it is urgently necessary to expropriate the capitalist "fifth column" inside Nicaragua, which is led by supporters of Pastora/Robelo. With the entire Central American isthmus seething, only a revolutionary mobilization of the working masses to take power in their own class interests can defeat the strutting Central American generals and their Pentagon masters. It is not a question of each tiny country standing alone against the Yankee goliath, with nationalist leaders stabbing each other in the back. Reagan thinks that after Grenada, he has wiped out the "Vietnam syndrome"—and

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SL/SYL confronts contra terrorist Pastora at CIA front Freedom House, November 9.

WV Photo

El Traidor Edén Pastora

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER Darlene Kamiura

EDITORIAL BOARD Jon Brule, Charles Burroughs, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Mary Jo McAllister, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Marjorie Stamberg

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No. 342 18 November 1983

Spartacist League/U.S. Holds Seventh National Conference

Black and Red in Reagan's America

The Seventh National Conference of the Spartacist League/U.S. was held in California in August 1983. The national conference, highest body of our democratic-centralist organization, is charged with critically assessing past work and establishing present perspectives of the party, and with electing the new Central Committee which will lead the organization until the next conference.

The situation confronting the conference was characterized by manifestly great opportunity for growth, possibly explosive growth, combined with great dangers and difficulties. The SL has shown in action that our program has the power to win exemplary victories amidst a general climate of bourgeois reaction, racist "rollbacks" and union retreats. Our leadership of the militant mobilization of 5,000 that stopped the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. last November 27 showed most clearly the SL's ability to play the role of a small mass party, the leadership of vanguard layers of the working people. Yet the SL has thus far been unable to consolidate in membership growth its powerful political successes. And such substitutionism as is involved in a small organization undertaking to spearhead the defense of the oppressed involves real risks. Against a general backdrop of rightist retreat by the rest of the "left," the SL stands out more than ever as the hard communist opposition, and powerful enemies have us in their sights. Following the November 27 mobilization, the party was forced to undertake almost simultaneously two defensive legal suits, against the Moonie newspaper and the FBI. The challenge is to make the leaps necessary to become in fact a small mass party of a few thousand members; otherwise, in the words of one comrade, "If we have many more actions like D.C., we will be a mass party with no members."

WV Photo

SL conference discusses the black question, the central question of the American revolution.

This national conference was the first in three years. It was prepared by a period of pre-conference written discussion (five party internal bulletins as well as three internal bulletins of the youth organization) and branch debate, leading to the election of informed and representative delegates to the conference. In a more general sense, the conference was part of an intense internal discussion in the party (focused around several expanded Central Committee plenums), as the party emerged from a decade of relative social stagnation in America and now finds itself in a sharply changed political configuration. The main document for this conference, "Struggle Against Reagan Reaction," sketched the domestic situation.

> "We are an organization of under 300 revolutionary Marxists in this country, under the particular conditions symbolized by Reagan's election, which represented the formalization of a considerable shift in this country to the right. And the reformists of the U.S. 'left,' which had gone very far to the right over the past decade, under the pressures mainly of the bourgeois anti-Soviet war drive, now see a chance for an 'anti-Reagan' popular front for the Democrats. And we are widely viewed as being in the way....
>
> "Our sharp isolation on the U.S. left has been reflected in our party by some elements who have picked up a sense that the Spartacist League is 'isolated' in society and all but irrelevant. This is flatly wrong. The instability of the 'Reagan consensus' has opened up, following a decade of relative stagnation, powerful prospects for fruitful work and recruitment. For the first time the party has shown by its leadership of mass labor/black actions to stop the fascists that its program has the power to win important symbolic victories....
>
> "There are in this country, concentrated in the black population but not only there, elements that want to fight if they can see a way forward.... If such elements that have some consciousness and some energy knew what the Spartacist League was, what it stood for, what it said and did, we could have a shot at winning them.... If we do not find the ways to grow under these circumstances, we can expect real trouble early on.... The targeting of us by the U.S. left is merely the 'radical' reflection of the wrath of U.S. imperialism toward those viewed as 'Soviet surrogates'....
>
> "We have a mounting accumulation of evidences that the social-democratic pressures were tending to pull the comrades toward a blunting and rounding of our program. This loss of angularity at moments of the most intense pressure is what is called centrism. As a program, centrism is self-defeating; if your program loses its angularity it loses its appeal."

The document defined the international political conjuncture as a prewar period marked by intensifying inter-imperialist rivalries and by U.S. imperialism's all-out drive toward war with the Soviet Union, as posed over particular "hot spots of the Cold War." The document summarized the international political line of the Spartacist tendency in terms familiar to regular readers of *WV*. At the conference, several main reports covered broad areas of party work and international concern (one report, centering on inter-imperialist economic rivalry and the Soviet economy, was edited for publication and appeared as an article, "The Worst World Depression Since the '30s," in *WV* No. 337, 9 September). But despite the breadth of material presented to the delegates, the conference discussion as expected focused around the black question, with considerable reference to particular fights in fractions and branches. It was therefore very appropriate that an unusual number of non-delegates and non-member invited guests requested speaking time. Black friends of the party involved in preliminary work of local leagues for labor/black defense had very valuable observations. Non-party youth members too, who normally would intervene mainly in the youth conference, spoke articulately from their own standpoints.

A certain role in the discussion was also played by a section of the party *ex*-membership, the self-styled "External Tendency," which the main conference document described as "actually a motley and amorphous crew transiently linked by shared hostile subjectivism toward the party (and the rightist character of quits in this period)." The ETs take their political coloration from a couple of would-be trade-union bureaucrats who claim to see in the SL's

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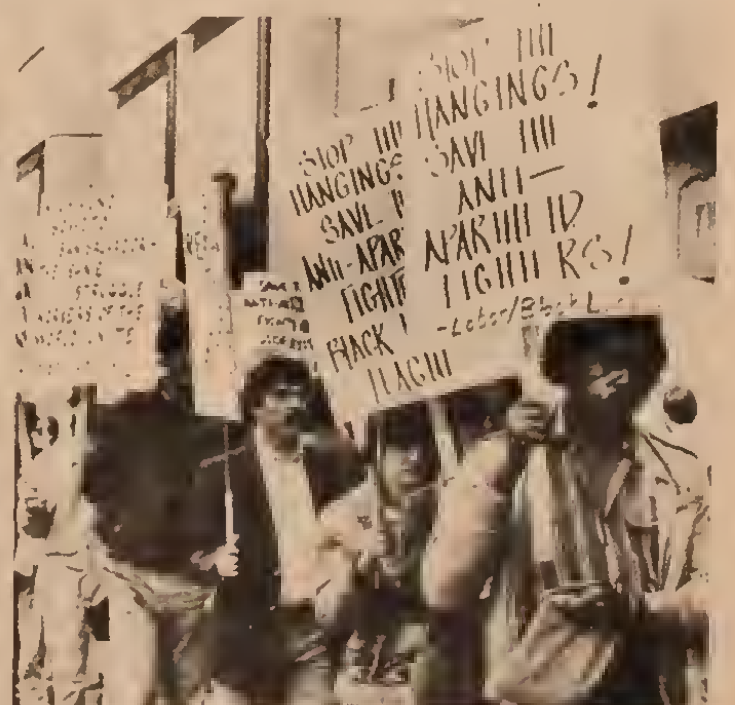
WV Photo



UPI

SL fights racist reaction: Organizing the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped KKK in Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982 (left). SL-initiated Labor Black League protests South Africa's execution of ANC anti-apartheid fighters, San Francisco, June 8 (right).

Conference...

(continued from page 3)

recent fights for militant unionism and our commitment to black-centered party growth an abandonment of "the working class." In these times when the risks of communist political activism have become so palpable, our members with political differences have tended to head for the door rather than "stay in and fight" for their views (the ETs were no exception). So since sharp debate is usually the best education for communists, we used our pre-conference internal bulletins to publish the most provocative materials we could find from ex-members—their resignations, letters, etc. It is a long-standing tradition in the SL (which is unprecedented so far as we know in any other organization) to circulate to our members the juiciest attacks on us penned by ex-members and other opponents, but the ETs have been of particular pedagogical utility, as they are a kind of crystallization of whatever is backward and wrong in the SL.

Unfortunately the ET presence at our conference was rather an anti-climax. They did turn up with several people and copies of a new ET bulletin, a neatly produced but surprisingly dull compendium of selections from their materials (probably edited by the ET to emphasize "loyal"-sounding and "political" attacks thereby downplaying the venomous subjectivism which our comrades have found most stimulating).

Washington, D.C., 27 March 1982—SL-organized Anti-Imperialist Contingent calls for military victory to Salvadoran leftists, not negotiated sellout. Smash Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive from Central America to Poland!

They made a perfunctory distribution of their bulletin and took off, ignoring the prize opportunity to seek discussion with the several hundred SL supporters gathered for the intense political process of a national conference.

The conference process was part of a significant "blackening" of the SL psychologically as well as numerically. Key were the conference debates over "a 70 percent black party." An offhand remark in an earlier discussion that the SL should strive for a 70 percent black party precipitated resistance from a small layer of the present organization, evidently based on a sectoralist vision of political life. One of the main conference reporters replied:

> "What's the percentage of blacks in the American ruling class—.01? Your gut feeling as communists ought to be that a communist party ought to have the reverse percentage. That's what you ought to feel. Then you also have to think, 'well, how are we going to do this and that?'.... But you must pay attention to what the fundamental structure, historically evolved, in this country is: one nation of two races, one sitting on top of the other.... So if [a comrade] worries about a 70 percent black party I want to ask: how are blacks supposed to feel about being in a 90 percent white party?... We're not dealing really with arithmetic here, we're dealing with gut feelings."

In general, black comrades played a very heavy role in conference debates, evidently properly conscious of the strong objective pressure on black cadres to place themselves in the forefront of party work and leadership responsibility in this period. A powerful black writer made two written contributions to the conference which were published in *WV* ("Jesse James Jackson and August 27" appeared in *WV* No. 336, 12 August, and "Concerning the Black Mayors of America—'House Negroes' in City Hall" in *WV* No. 339, 7 October).

An intense part of the conference's work was the deliberations of the Nominating Commission. The Commission is constituted to hear from all members wishing to offer arguments for or against comrades being considered for the incoming Central Committee. By weighing and debating the observations of the nominees' close local co-workers, the Commission is charged with measuring leadership candidates from different locals against one another and arriving at a balanced slate for the delegates to discuss, modify and vote on in the closing session.

The conference elected a rather large Central Committee. It is notable that the SL leadership, which has always had a gratifyingly high proportion of females, seems to have become yet more female than before. While the list of full CC members elected is a shade under half women (and the lowest CC category, candidates, a shade over half women), on the alternates list women comrades make up 64 percent.

The closing conference day heard two appeals against expulsion. One was from an individual expelled for systematic cheating on party dues and the associated physical abuse and attempted intimidation of party treasurers. Also involved was the individual's "male chauvinist pig" behavior toward women comrades. He appeared before the conference (with all the relevant documents on the case provided to delegates in their conference kits). His appeal was just a pitch for some of the strictures of the ET, the individual evidently having nothing to say about the grave charges of which he had been found guilty. The other case was more interesting—the elected delegates voting to uphold an expulsion while a majority of the fraternal delegates (outgoing CC, Control Commission and International Executive Committee members) wanted to convert the expulsion into a six-month suspension. So the comrade remains expelled but the case can hardly be said to be completely resolved, and the individual continues to affirm his desire to be a member.

The conference social witnessed the first appearance of the Susanna Martin Choir, surely one of the least ept musical groups since the Old Stone Age. Its performance was received with wild and overwhelming acclaim. This group was indicative of a number of informal interest associations which have grown up in and around the organization, comprised of members and supporters.

The conference picked up an additional social/political depth from the participation of comrade Richard Fraser, a former leader of the Socialist Workers Party. Comrade Fraser's years of study of and socialist involvement in black freedom struggles in this country led him in the late 1950s to criticize the SWP for underestimating the revolutionary challenge to capitalist rule posed by integrationist struggles for black equality. Fraser's 1955 SWP internal document, "For the Materialist Con-

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For Organizations of Labor/Black Struggle

We reprint below one of the interventions by comrade Dick Fraser to the 1983 SL national conference.

I want to say just a few words about the tentative proposal which I have made for the application of the Labor/Black Alliance in the South. That is, for the All-Workers Union. Now I did not dream this up. That is basically an IWW concept. The IWW was a revolutionary labor movement, the greatest labor movement ever in this country.

And I have seen it, in Spokane, Washington—1937, 1938. The Socialist Party of Spokane was led by an old Wobblie by the name of John McKay. And he couldn't get along with either the old guard of the Socialist Party or with Norman Thomas. And in 1937 they refused to accept his dues payment. So he bought himself a little platen press and printed his own dues stamp. And remained the Socialist Party of Spokane [laughter]. And built the All-Workers Union. Which was a miscellaneous, all-purpose organization. It was the days of great unemployment and they operated in the defense of the unemployed. And they operated as a tendency in the Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union. Any time there was a picket line they could be there. And that was before the days of peaceful picketing [laughter].

And I was much impressed by that organization. And John McKay wanted me to come there and be its organizer. I could not, because I was committed to the Socialist Workers Party as you know, and they took a dim view of such a proposition. I had other work that I was committed to. However I conceive that it may possibly be applicable to the work in the South.

I anticipate success in the labor/black project with which I am collaborating in an extremely limited capacity. And I want to tell you a little story that I told to Richard last night, that was told to me under very special circumstances many years ago. In the little town of East Texas, a black man is not allowed on the streets on Monday morning dressed up. If he's in his overalls it's all right, he's either working or looking for work. But not dressed up. But one Monday morning a young black fellow came to town all dressed up. And sure enough in a few minutes the ranger rode up and said: "Hey boy, what are you doing?" "Well I'm just looking around and I'm going to go visiting." "Well why ain't you working?" "Oh I work all right. I work in the domino factory outside of town." "What do you do there?" "I put the spots on the dominos." "Well why ain't you working today? That factory's going." He says, "Today they're making double-blank." And I conceive that our work may eventually make it so that any day in East Texas it will be double-blank day for the black worker.

I've had some discussions with many comrades, which have been very gratifying, and I am humbled by the knowledge that things that I wrote thirty years ago, which were so scorned by the old party, have had some important impact, finally. I am humbled by that thought and very grateful.

Workers Vanguard KO's Militant

This little chart, compiled from the statistics published by *WV* and by the Socialist Workers Party's *Militant* (in compliance with second-class mailing requirements, see *WV* No. 340, 21 October, "Statement of Ownership"), provided amusement when it was posted on bulletin boards in our New York offices. We pass it along to *WV* readers with this cautionary observation. The main document adopted by the 1983 SL national conference noted regarding SL publications:

> "The high quality of *WV* and our associated publications is striking and superb, particularly in comparison with the willfully indifferent, uninteresting and unimportant newspapers of the rest of the left.... One must acutely regret that *WV* does not have ten or a hundred times its present average [immediate] circulation of 7,500. *WV* ...is as Lenin explained in *What Is to Be Done?* the "collective organizer" of the party—a tool of intervention which embodies our understanding that our knowledge of the world proceeds from our involvement in the struggle to change it."

	MILITANT	WORKERS VANGUARD
TOTAL CIRCULATION AVERAGE 1981	11,429	10,816
TOTAL CIRCULATION AVERAGE 1982	9,348	12,818
TOTAL CIRCULATION AVERAGE 1983	8,214	14,497
MAIL SUBS AVERAGE 1981	5,836	2,670
MAIL SUBS AVERAGE 1982	4,665	2,789
MAIL SUBS AVERAGE 1983	2,957	2,695

The chart therefore displays two things: (1) That this is the end of the reformist SWP as we know it, though its rump and some of its pieces will doubtless still be around. (2) That the press of our crucially important revolutionary organization still has about the same circulation as the unreadable *Militant* of the now irrelevant SWP. This is hardly grounds for our satisfaction.

WORKERS VANGUARD
18 November 1983
X-523
Special Supplement 10¢

Hundreds March in Oakland

Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero Must Not Go to Jail!

Ray Palmiero, Lauren Mozee and her two children.

Stop the Racist Anti-Labor Frame-Up!

More than 400 militant protesters in Oakland October 29 put the Alameda County D.A. and Pacific Telephone on notice: Stop the racist, anti-union frame-up of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero! The predominantly black demonstrators, many of them trade unionists and their families, had come out in the drizzling rain to march and rally for "Freedom and jobs back for Lauren and Ray!" In addition, massive leafletting, posters, radio shows, newspaper articles and publicizing by the unions have made this case widely known throughout the East Bay area.

Lauren and Ray were facing seven and a half years in prison for doing their duty as unionists during the recent national phone strike. While on the picket line in Klan-infested San Leandro, Lauren was called a "black nigger bitch" and hit in the face by racist scab assistant manager Michelle Rose Hansen. Because Lauren defended herself against this violent company assault, because her companion Ray came to her assistance, the two are facing multiple felony assault charges. They have been fired from their jobs and denied unemployment benefits.

The phone company, the cops and the D.A. are using this gross frame-up to send a message to the population: black people don't have the right to defend themselves against racist attack, workers don't have the right to defend their picket lines.

Ma Bell and the D.A. may have thought the working people of Oakland would quietly stay "in their place" while two left-wing activists in the union were picked off. But this blatant act of politicized racism in the service of union-busting is being opposed by a vigorous public campaign of protest and exposure. The Phone Strikers Defense Committee has marshaled an impressive united-front defense effort which has been endorsed by labor organizations representing many thousands of workers, prominent public officials, numerous left-wing and community activists. Among unionists and students, and in the neighborhoods where supporters of Ray and Lauren went to

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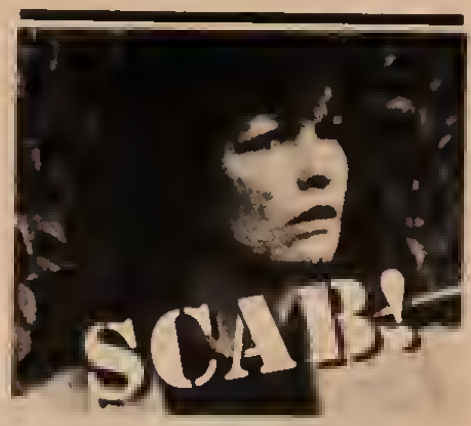
Muhammad Ali Endorses Lauren and Ray Defense

Muhammad Ali, Former World Heavyweight Champ: "No Viet Cong Ever Called Me Nigger"

Press Release ... 8



Michelle Rose Hansen
Racist Scab Manager called Lauren Mozee "Black Nigger Bitch"

WV Photos

"Freedom and Jobs Back for Lauren and Ray!"

(continued from page 5)

get the word out about the demonstration, the victimization of Mozee and Palmiero has become widely known and broadly opposed. It is because the victimized militants are determined to fight this vendetta not just in court but through labor/black protest action that the D.A. has backed off from one of the phony charges and the phone company has distanced itself from scab Hansen.

From the steps of the Alameda County Courthouse, Lauren Mozee explained the stakes:

> "As everyone knows, I'm a victim of a racist, anti-labor frame-up. Why? One, I'm a black woman. Two, Ray and I are an interracial couple. Three, I'm a militant—I said *militant*—trade unionist. A former member of the Black Panther Party for many years. And I'm a firm believer—I said firm believer—in socialism. I've always been a fighter against racism and cop terror, and a fighter for unity of the working class against the bosses. Now for these things and for doing my duty on the picket lines... I've been victimized.
>
> "... It's not Ray and myself who are the criminals here. The criminals are Ma Bell, the San Leandro Police Department and the District Attorney."

The demonstration brought out a serious hard core of people who know who the real criminals in this country are. Prominently displayed from the podium were large portraits to honor the memory of two black victims of racist killer cops: Patrick Mason, the five-year-old child shot to death by an Orange County cop last March, and Charles Briscoe, the 37-year-old Machinists union official brutally gunned down in 1979 by Oakland cops.

Patrick Mason's killer, white cop Anthony Sperl, was recently awarded $35,000 in bounty by the Worker's Comp Board for "psychological stress" allegedly suffered after he broke into little Patrick's home and shot down the child as he sat watching TV. Oakland cop Robert Fredericks pumped 10 rounds of ammunition into Charles Briscoe; this was the same cop involved in the killing of 16-year-old Panther Bobby Hutton and in no less than four other shootings of blacks, two of them fatal. That Sperl and Fredericks walk the streets as free men today says it all about racist class "justice" in America.

WV Photo

Marchers carry photos of black victims of cop terror, five-year-old Patrick Mason and Machinist Charles Briscoe.

If It Could Happen to Lauren and Ray, It Could Happen to Any of Us

The demonstration was a point of intersection for deep and desperate concerns of militant blacks and unionists. Striking workers came out, integrated couples came and brought their kids. Many participants were people who have had direct or close family acquaintance with cop violence. One interracial couple told us of their firsthand experience with the racist Richmond cops: the husband, a black man and member of Local 1, public employees, was the victim of the notorious "choke hold"; he still has the marks on his neck.

Some of the most active workers for Lauren and Ray in the weeks before the demonstration were members of the Labor Black League for Social Defense (LBL). The LBL was formed here around the Spartacists' Martha Phillips election campaign last March, which had heavily stressed the hideous pattern of racist killings by East Bay cops and the need to fight Klan terror through labor/black mobilizations like last year's November 27 mobilization in Washington, D.C. The LBL demonstrated with the Spartacist League in September demanding "Vengeance for Patrick Mason!"

Among the unionists who provided monitors to help ensure an orderly march and rally were members of the ILWU, IAM, Teamsters and Steelworkers. These brothers know that the attack on Ray and Lauren is an attack on the right to have *real* picket lines—and if you've got no picket lines, you've got no union. As the marchers proceeded from the Oakland City Hall to the Alameda County Courthouse, they passed a small picket line of striking bookstore workers. "Picket lines mean don't cross!" chanted the demonstrators in solidarity.

Speaking at the rally was Tom Sullivan, president of striking USWA Local 1304 in Emeryville. Steelworkers Local 1304 has a long militant history in the Bay Area. The Machinists' 141-day strike in 1945-46 was part of the postwar labor upsurge which culminated in the Oakland general strike of 1946. Members of that Steelworkers local have been out for five months, fighting a concerted union-busting campaign by Grove Valve. One 1304 member, who served as a leader of the monitors at the demonstration, told our interviewers that company "rent-a-cops" have been very aggressive against the picket lines. This black man is now facing charges brought by the company cop: "He claimed that I struck him which I didn't." American Federation of Teachers Local 771 was just evicted from its headquarters in the Piedmont township and was told that unions are not tolerated there. On the day of the rally, the local was moving its office, but was able to send a spokesman.

About 50 phone workers participated in the demonstration. We spoke with Darlene, a young black member of CWA Local 9415 who began working together with Lauren and Ray in the Militant Action Caucus during the recent strike and witnessed Hansen's attack on Lauren. She told us: "A lot of young people today don't realize the struggles their forefathers went through to get unions—the deaths, the arrests, just to have a picket line." Darlene emphasized that defending Lauren and Ray is integral to fighting continuing company harassment and victimization: "Since we got back [from the strike], they've been suspending people for refusing to work overtime," a particular hardship for single parents. Every phone worker has a stake in Ray and Lauren's fight. Had the CWA mobilized its ranks and the rest of labor to shut Ma Bell down, had those picket lines been massive, militant displays of workers power, racists like Michelle "Scab" Hansen would not be crossing those lines let alone attacking the workers on them.

At the rally, the videotape crew interviewed Frank Grinnon, a district representative of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in

PARTY!

Be there for music, dancing and partying

Saturday, Dec. 3, 8 p.m.

YWCA, 15th and Webster

Oakland

The Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Spartacist League invite you to a party to celebrate the one-year anniversary of the Spartacist League-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization that drove the KKK out of Washington, D.C. last November 27. Join us in stopping the racist anti-labor frame-up of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiaro.

Call (415) 835-1535

Oakland and one of the endorsers of the demonstration. He observed:

> "I feel that the old labor slogan of 'An injury to one is an injury to all' is not being practiced these days very much by labor. And that if the company can get away with victimizing Lauren and Ray, it's just the first step. They go after the more militant workers, and then comes next contract, which I anticipate a serious battle and probably a strike—if they get away with victimizing them, they're going to cool out everybody on the picket lines. This is a way for the company to intimidate the unions....
> "I think it's very clear here, they're going after particularly Lauren, who was a member of the Black Panther Party for ten years...a radical.... We have to defend everybody in the labor movement, particularly some of these more militant people, who are the ones that, you know, *win* the strikes on the picket lines."

Supporters of Lauren and Ray organized nationwide. A busload of supporters, including several phone workers, rode up from L.A. to participate in the march and rally. Backers of the defense effort in more distant areas collected signatures for telegrams of support and funds for the Phone Strikers Defense Committee. In Chicago, 150 striking school workers and 56 phone workers (CWA Local 5050) signed statements in solidarity with the demonstration's demands; 96 Detroit workers, many from the giant Ford River Rouge plant, sent a telegram and $305.05; in New York City, 156 transit workers and 71 phone workers (CWA Locals 1101 and 1150) signed their names for support telegrams; 152 Howard University students also sent a solidarity message to the demonstration.

Locally, campaign volunteers were excited about the way the case has become a real issue in the unions and neighborhoods. Several union newsletters plugged the demonstration, and some of the prominent endorsers, John George and Norman Huntsman among others, sent out appeals for support on their personal letterheads. Union cab drivers and supermarket clerks gave leaflets to patrons; two retired ILWU members postered their neighborhoods, stores and pool hall; members of black motorcycle clubs and CB van clubs worked to build the demonstration. Leaflets were distributed throughout the Flint's Bar-B-Q chain. One activist told us:

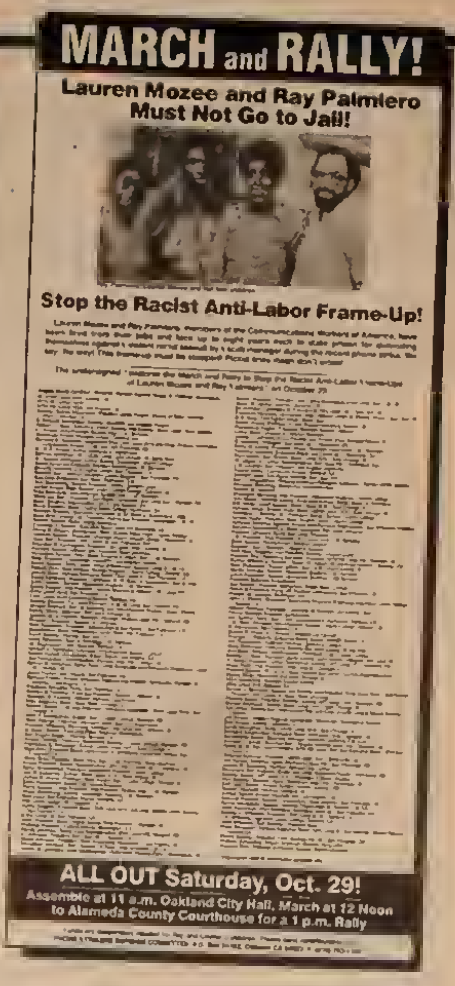
> "At Fremont High School in Oakland, a teacher brought in leaflets and discussed the case. The class concluded an injustice had been committed. At the community colleges, where some of the older students are ex-Panther supporters themselves, black students responded immediately to the significance of Lauren's Panther background."

Another comrade told us, "Though it wasn't such a large demonstration, the right people were there":

> "People really understood that if it could happen to Lauren and Ray, it could happen to any one of them. That Ray and Lauren were people on a picket line who got screwed over, and the person who got screwed over most was Black. This was the focal point. People understood how the race question was used in the most violent way to bust a union."

WV Photos

Top: Labor contingents back Lauren and Ray. Bottom: Houston Person's jazz band at rally.



Advertisement for demonstration in Oakland Tribune.

The comrade told a story about one of the monitors: "A black steward in a Teamsters bottlers local took 15 leaflets from one of our people on the street, handed them out, then he xeroxed 700 on his union machine and took them to the work locations represented by his local. Then he called us up and asked for 200 more for his friends up in Richmond."

A Spartacist supporter, one of the protest's organizers, stressed the impressive united-front nature of the defense campaign. "People like Bill Edwards [a longtime maritime unionist] helped get us coverage in the *Sun Reporter* and *California Voice*. Everybody opened their doors to him." The extensive press coverage and the solid support from organized labor "are a lot of why the D.A. is dropping the great bodily injury clause even before the hearing," she commented.

Put the Bosses and Their State Out of Business!

At the demonstration, the disciplined protesters were not cowed by the Oakland cops' attempts to harass and provoke them. As the march proceeded down 14th Street to the courthouse, motorcycle cops deliberately grazed three marchers with their bike mirrors. Midway through the march another protester was hit in the back by a cop's handlebar. Upon arriving at the Fallon Street entrance to the courthouse, some six motorcycle cops zoomed through crowds of demonstrators on the street. This attempt to "clear" the street contravened a prior agreement between march organizers and police officials. After the demonstration, *WV* learned that the cop sergeant in charge there, one Nolan Darnell, was the first cop to open fire the night Panther Bobby Hutton was blown away (see Reginald Major, *A Panther Is a Black Cat* [Morrow & Co., 1971]).

Whatever the Oakland cops' motivation for harassing the demonstration, we must assume that they view in particular the memory of Charles Briscoe with a mixture of hatred and fear. After a series of racist cop killings, the murder of IAM member Briscoe represented something of a turning point. Hundreds of angry Machinists crowded into the Oakland City Council demanding justice and forcing certain public exposures of the murderous cop vendetta against black Oakland.

Despite the efforts at provocation by the police, the protesters maintained their discipline and the rally proceeded without incident. Music was provided by Houston Person's excellent jazz band, which played three numbers in the rain. Union speakers included Willie Lee Bell from IAM Local 739, a close friend of slain Machinists officer Briscoe. (Excerpts from many of the rally speeches are featured elsewhere in this supplement.) Alameda Supervisors chairman John George termed the racist slur against Lauren "fighting words": "If we don't fight back for somebody saying something like that, then that's an assault, an insult to all black women. We ought to slap that person in the face." Among other endorsers of the demonstration were Congressman Ron Dellums; Angela Davis, S. Deacon Alexander and Rose Chernin, National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; Nelson Johnson, Communist Workers Party. The Phone Strikers Defense Committee has just announced that Muhammad Ali has endorsed the defense campaign.

Speaking for the Spartacist League, Diana Coleman received a warm reception from the demonstrators when she explained:

> "Reagan and his millionaire cronies, they hate black America and they hate the unions. But I will tell you, you cannot fight Reagan with Democrats. We need labor action to bring down Reagan.... We of the Spartacist League intend to build a mass, class-struggle workers party. Not the kind that simply participates in elections but a fighting workers party.... The working people produced everything in this country and that's what we want. We want everything! We want our own workers government, and you need a workers party to get it."

Nothing is fair or democratic about this sick, decaying system: that's why killer cops walk the streets and a black five-year-old lies in the grave. That's why Michelle "Scab" Hansen has her job today while Ray and Lauren, with three children to support, have virtually no income and are being dragged through the bosses' courts, forced to wage a staggeringly costly legal defense campaign to stay out of jail.

The October 29 demonstration is an example in action of the Spartacist League perspective of forging a multiracial vanguard party to lead the working class not only in effective struggle to defend the rights of labor and the oppressed but to fight for what we really need—a workers government to put the bosses and their state apparatus of repression out of business once and for all. Or, as Victor Pamiroyan of ILWU Local 6 said at the rally, "Maybe one day as workers we'll put companies on trial, and we'll be the jury and the judge!"

All workers, all the oppressed have a stake in the defense of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero. The October 29 demonstration was a big boost. But keeping these class-struggle fighters out of jail and winning their jobs back will take a lot more work—and a lot more money. Please help. Lauren and Ray fought for all of us; now we must fight for them. ■

WV Photo

Motorcycle cops zoom through demonstration, contravening prior agreement with march organizers.

Funds Urgently Needed

The hard work of defending Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero against the racist vendetta of the phone company and the Alameda District Attorney costs *money!* Ma Bell and the D.A. have millions at their disposal—Lauren and Ray have you: the workers movement, black community and student organizations, concerned individuals who want to see justice done.

The racist anti-labor frame-up of Ray and Lauren has cost them their jobs. The two phone workers have been denied unemployment and must somehow support three children until final victory of our defense campaign wins their reinstatement, back pay and gets the charges dropped. It costs thousands of dollars to fight in the courts and on the streets.

Over a hundred thousand leaflets and some 2,000 posters were distributed to get the word out about the October 29 march and rally to defend Lauren and Ray—all this takes bucks. And the fight is far from over.

The defense effort desperately needs your contribution *now*. The next time someone is framed for defending a picket line, for defending themselves against racist attack—it could be you.

Please make checks payable and send to:

Phone Strikers
Defense Committee
P.O. Box 24152
Oakland, CA 94623
(415) 763-1382.

Successful Benefit Held—Cop Harassment Protested

Muhammad Ali Backs Defense of Bay Area Phone Workers

Muhammad Ali, former world heavyweight boxing champion, has joined with hundreds of labor officials, local unions, black and student organizations and concerned individuals in backing the defense of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, two Bay Area phone workers fired and facing racist cop frame-up charges resulting from last summer's three-week national strike against the phone company. Contacted in Chicago, Ali, once stripped of his title for refusing the draft and renowned for his statement "No Viet Cong ever called me Nigger," endorsed the demands of the Phone Strikers Defense Committee: that Mozee and Palmiero be reinstated at their jobs with full back pay, that all charges against them and all phone strikers be dropped and that amnesty be granted to all victimized phone strikers.

Support for the victimized interracial couple has snowballed as word has spread of the racist, anti-labor frame-up they face. On August 10 while on a picket line in San Leandro, Mozee was called a "BLACK NIGGER BITCH" and struck in the face by a Pacific Telephone scab manager, one Michelle Rose Hansen. Lauren defended herself, and her companion and fellow unionist Ray Palmiero came to her assistance. Now they are fired from their jobs, denied unemployment and face up to four years each in state prison, while the racist scab still has her job. Efforts by the Defense Committee, including an October 29 march and rally at the Alameda County Courthouse of 400 mainly black trade unionists, have already resulted in the District Attorney's office dropping the serious "great bodily injury" clause from the felony charges against the couple.

Last night, November 14, over 250 supporters of this defense campaign packed "Your Place" blues club in Oakland for a spirited benefit. Top Bay Area blues artists Maxine Howard, Sonny Rhodes, The Right Kind and Malik and the Plus Factor performed in a dynamic show broadcast live over radio station KPFA. Over $2,000 was raised in ticket sales and donations.

Following the successful fundraiser, however, Defense Committee spokesmen stated, four Oakland Police Department squad cars descended on the area in an obvious attempt to intimidate and harass those in attendance. Two squad cars tracked Mozee and Palmiero, who were accompanied by an armed security guard hired by the Defense Committee, to a nearby restaurant and three squad cars were waiting outside when they departed.

Earlier, at the October 29 march and rally, Defense Committee spokesmen stated that Oakland motorcycle cops deliberately grazed three marchers with their bike mirrors and that another protester was hit in the back by a cop's handlebar midway through the march down 14th Street. When the march arrived at the Fallon Street entrance to the courthouse, some six motorcycle cops dangerously roared through the crowds of demonstrators on the street. This attempt to "clear" the street contravened a prior agreement between the march organizers and police department officials. Despite the efforts at provocation by the police, the protesters maintained their discipline and the rally proceeded without incident.

This pattern of provocations and harassment, designed to spark an "incident" which the police can use to justify cop violence, is strikingly similar to that used to set up and destroy the Black Panther Party, of which Mozee was a ten-year member. Partisan Defense Committee attorney Valerie C. West states she is preparing a formal complaint to the Oakland chief of police and has arranged a meeting with Oakland mayor Lionel Wilson to discuss this dangerous and disturbing pattern of police harassment.

Defense motions for discovery and dismissal of charges will be heard at the next court appearance, December 1, 1983, 10 a.m., Department 2 of the Hayward Municipal Court, 24405 Amador, Hayward, CA. A press conference will be held on the courthouse steps at 9:30 a.m., immediately preceding the hearing. The Phone Strikers Defense Committee is organizing to fill the courtroom with supporters of Mozee and Palmiero to deliver the message to the D.A. once again: DROP THE CHARGES! STOP THIS RACIST, ANTI-LABOR FRAME-UP! FREEDOM AND JOBS BACK FOR LAUREN AND RAY!!!

—Phone Strikers Defense Committee
15 November 1983

(For further information, contact: Phone Strikers Defense Committee, (415) 763-1382, or Valerie C. West, Attorney, (415) 832-1225.)

Soviet News Agency TASS Reports Bay Area Defense Rally

SAN FRANCISCO, 30 October (TASS)—Angrily condemning political and racist repression, which has assumed enormous proportions in the U.S. since the Reagan administration came to power, the workers of Oakland poured out to demonstrate and rally. They called for an end to the persecution of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, dark-skinned workers at the local telephone office, who have fallen victims to undisguised tyranny.

The administration drove Lauren and Ray out of their jobs and even plans to put them on trial simply for being trade-union activists and [for the fact] that in August of this year they took an active part in the nationwide strike of the workers and employees of the telephone company "American Telephone and Telegraph."

Addressing the rally speakers pointed out that the gross racist violence and political repression in the U.S. is a direct consequence of the reactionary politics of the Reagan administration, of its acts directed against the interests of national minorities in the country, against every American worker.

"We see the campaign in support of the trade-union activists L. Mozee and R. Palmiero as part and parcel of our struggle against the offensive of the forces of racism and reaction," Donald Andrews, head of the "League of Black Workers," told the TASS correspondent. "The police, FBI, courts—all this vast repressive apparatus is used by the ruling circles for the defense of the interests of the employers. We should counterpose to it our solidarity, resolutely upholding our rights," D. Andrews pointed out. ■

"Yes to Lauren and Ray—No to Racist Anti-Union Reaganite Frame-Up!"

ILWU Local 10: Injury to One Is Injury to All

Statement by William Bancroft, Secretary-Treasurer, ILWU Local 10, on behalf of Local 10

The officers and membership of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Local 10 stand in solidarity with fellow trade unionists Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero in their struggle against the racists and anti-union actions of Pacific Telephone Company.

The struggle against racism and for equality, the struggle against anti-unionism and for workers solidarity are not new to us in the ILWU. Threats of violence and judicial lynchings have been part of the arsenal used against us. These weapons did not deter us then... they shall not deter us now. The attack on Lauren Mozee by Michelle Rose Hansen, a scab/manager of Ma Bell, and the subsequent bringing of criminal charges against her and Ray Palmiero should come as no surprise to most of us. The San Leandro police department and the Alameda County D.A.'s office are tools for the racist, anti-union, anti-life policies of the Reagan administration. The same forces that now seek to jail Mozee and Palmiero, are also responsible for the invasion of Grenada and the attempt to curtail progressive people's movements throughout this world. *The ILWU says yes to Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero. No to racist, anti-union Reaganite frame-ups.* We the members of the ILWU Local 10 stand with Mozee and Palmiero in their fight for justice. *An injury to one is an injury to all.*

Los Angeles NAARPR Backs Lauren and Ray

Statement by Rose Chernin and S. Deacon Alexander

The entire executive board of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, L.A. Branch, is in full support of the Phone Strikers in general and specifically Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero. We demand that all charges be dropped and Ray and Lauren are returned to work with full back pay as labor is our first line of defense and the racist attack on this fine couple is but a part of a pattern to break the back of organized labor.

We congratulate the Defense Committee, the union and all involved for their heroic effort in this matter. Our endorsement will mean that a fund-raiser is just around the corner. We are sorry that we could not be here today. Our spirit of fight back is with you.

Freedom is a constant struggle. Unity is the key.

We can fight back and will.

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Endorsers of October 29 March and Rally to Stop the Racist Anti-Labor Frame-Up of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero

Partial List of Endorsers
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AFSCME Local 2620
AFSCME Local 3235, Los Angeles, CA
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S. Deacon Alexander, Director, NAARPR, Los Angeles Chapter
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American Postal Workers Union, Oakland, CA
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Dr. M.H. Anwar, Author, *Memories of Afghanistan*
Bettina Aptheker, AFT UCSC Local' and Lecturer, UC Santa Cruz
Dr. Cecilia Arrington, Ethnic Studies Chairperson, Merritt College, Oakland, CA
Association of Graduate Student Employees, UC Berkeley
Beverly Axelrod, Civil Rights Lawyer, San Francisco, CA
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Tom Beardsley, General President, APWU, Oakland Local
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Richard Bradley, Spartacist Candidate for San Francisco Board of Supervisors, 1982
Allen Brill, Director, San Francisco Interns and Residents Association,' San Francisco, CA
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Rose Chernin, Chairperson, NAARPR, Los Angeles Chapter
Sherri Chiesa, Secretary-Treasurer, Hotel and Restaurant Workers Local 2,' San Francisco, CA
Robert Chin, Head of Asian Studies Program,' Merritt College, Oakland, CA
Jackie Clark, General Executive Board, ILWU Local 6,' San Francisco, CA
Clyde Cleveland, Councilman, Detroit City Council, Detroit, MI
Diana Coleman, Spartacist Candidate for San Francisco Board of Supervisors, 1980 and 1982
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Geraldine Johnson, President, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists,' San Francisco, CA
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J.A. Williams, Instructor, Laney College, Oakland, CA
John Williams, Staff Reporter, *California Voice*'
Peter Woolston, General Executive Board, ILWU Local 6' and Member, Militant Caucus, Oakland, CA
Elaine Yoneda, President, ILWU Auxiliary No. 16," San Francisco, CA
Michael Zaharakis, Region Organizer, Socialist Party, USA'

'Organization listed for identification purposes only

We want to make it very clear that those endorsers do not necessarily agree in any particular with the views expressed by the initiators of this mobilization

Speeches...

(continued from page 12)

their robes in their brown paper bags and scuttle through the basement of the White House [cheers]. So we thank you, because this is where the power is. We have the real power. We have to organize it, and we have to use it. And thank you very much for coming out.

Willie Lee Bell

Chairman, Civil Rights Committee of IAM Local 739

Brothers and Sisters, it was told to us that the '80s would undoubtedly be a decade of serious challenges to our determination for continued progress. Now more than ever we must maintain vigorous and dedicated leadership to guarantee a secure and prosperous future for our membership and the peoples of the world. We have learned from our experiences and we've been taught that we must unite in order to survive. That is why I say I'm glad that you have cast aside your prejudices against one another and stand united against this overt act of suppression directed toward poor, working people and minorities. We will not tolerate this damnable act to deny us our right to defend ourselves on the picket line. And I say we must see and stop the racist anti-labor frame-up against Ray and against Lauren!

John George

Chairman of Alameda County Board of Supervisors

You know, when I heard that we had a labor dispute on the picket line, and my friend, they told her, or called her, a "black bitch." Now, that's fighting words. If we don't fight back for somebody saying something like that, then that's an assault, an insult to all black women. We ought to slap that person in the face [cheers].

We need to tell the doggone telephone company to dismiss this case and withdraw it.

Now here it is, they lose their jobs, they don't have any money, they've got to survive. The only way for them to survive is for us to support them. We have got to be up front. We have got to be up front because this issue is more than just two individuals. An injury to one, they say, is an injury to all. But a victory for one is also a victory for all. And that is what we are talking about. Not just two individuals.

This is a labor dispute. Because all workers, all workers are being threatened. Health benefits are being eroded. Plant closures are taking place. This case is a manifestation of this war on the workers of America.

I am joining with the people, Ray and Mozee, until we can win this case. And Ron Dellums used to tell me, and I will join you in that struggle, and I'm going to start right now by going down on the street.

Tom Sullivan

President, United Steelworkers Local 1304

I want you to know that the Steelworkers are with you, Lauren and Ray. United Steelworkers have been on strike where I work for five months, that's 150 days. The Steelworkers have been on strike down in Arizona for four months, since the 1st of July. They're fighting Phelps Dodge—the copper barons. The Steelworkers are on strike at Judson Steel, they've been on strike here in Emeryville for two months. They all send you their greetings, Lauren and Ray, and we're going to stand behind you.

Ed Kartsen

NYC transit worker, candidate for president of TWU Local 100

The first thing I'd like to say, I'd like to read a telegram which was signed by over 156 transit workers, a telegram to the president of the Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Company:

> "We, the undersigned members of Local 100 of the Transport Workers Union in New York City, demand that Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero not go to jail. Drop all charges! Stop the racist anti-labor frame-up! Down with South African-style justice! Freedom, jobs back for Mozee and Palmiero! Picket lines mean don't cross!"

I'd also like to say we have collected over $100 so far in collecting money in helping in this defense.

The bottom line is the picket line. The picket line must be respected, it must be backed up by the force necessary to galvanize the thousands of trade-union militants that can ensure that when Reagan mobilizes the kind of force that he used against PATCO or the type of force he used against Grenada, that he can be repulsed effectively. We cannot let Ray and Lauren go to jail! Labor solidarity, militancy and the picket line mean nothing if these people go to jail.

And picket lines mean you *better not* cross! The phone company's trying to erode that tradition. They're trying to say that management can dance across picket lines because they're management. Well, let it be known that a management scab is no different from any other kind of scab. And let it be known that a management scab is just as fragile as any other kind of scab. [Voice in the crowd: "Scabs must go!"]

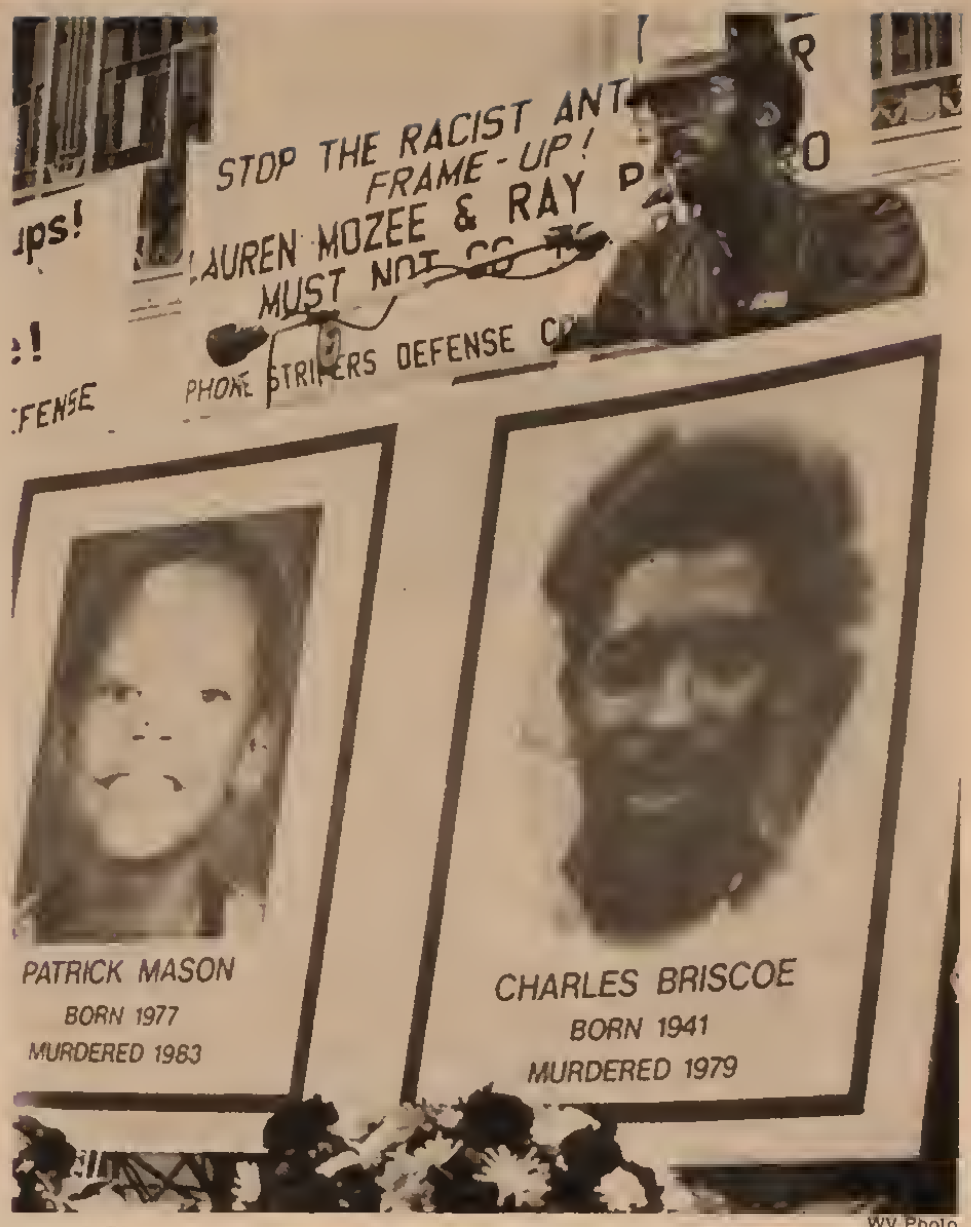
SCABS MUST GO! SCABS MUST GO! SCABS MUST GO!

And this was a racist scab at that. So picket lines mean don't cross. We will not let these people go to jail. Labor must continue to fight from here. Freedom and jobs for Mozee and Palmiero! Smash the South African-style justice! Smash this anti-labor frame-up!

Wilson Riles, Jr.

Oakland City Council

It's my pleasure to join with you here in this struggle. I think one of the things that people have learned over the struggles of the '60s and over the long history of struggle here in this country and around the world is that we cannot allow one individual or group in the struggle to be isolated, and to fight that battle by themselves. Because that's the tactic of the right, that's the tactic of the Republican administration. They will pick the particular most vulnerable members of the group and then they will move on from there to attack others. Here we have a black female labor



Ed Kartsen

WV Photo

organizer, legitimately organizing striking the telephone company in order to secure some just rights for all of the workers of the telephone company and for all people within the labor movement. It cannot be allowed for her to fight that battle alone.

One of the beautiful things about the people who are here today is that it is a broad-based coalition of people throughout this community. We have over in San Francisco a number of people who have gathered together around the problems in Grenada, and the fact that the same administration who started a full court press against the labor unions is now taking the military-industrial complex and moving troops into a small country like Grenada.

There are battles going on right here in the city of Oakland. The county of Alameda is rearranging its budget to support the sheriff's department, to build new jails, in order to put more of you, more of the people who are struggling for their own rights, in jails in Santa Rita, and in the jail down here that's just built in the city of Oakland. That's the same military-industrial philosophy that's being passed on. And the people who are going to be out today, people who are in solidarity with you and your concern, are out today attempting to get people to sign petitions to fight back the unfair, unjust redistricting of the boundaries for the East Oakland Board of Supervisors seat. The enemy is the same, the battle is the same, and onward with the march so that we can let the District Attorney of Alameda County know as we're letting the Reagan administration know that people in this country will no longer allow them to take away their rights.

Diana Coleman

Former Spartacist Party candidate for San Francisco Board of Supervisors

Brothers and sisters, I want you all to come over to this party, because not only are we going to have some fun but we're going to plan some organizing that's going to come next. And you out there are the people we want to do that organizing because we know that you are definitely the hard core. Because you have stood out here in the rain. We have had more speakers, we have also had some more rain than we expected, too. So you are the people we want to come over there.

We came out here today to say that Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero must not go to jail. Not for one hour, and not for one minute! The government and the phone company, in their usual alliance, are trying to turn the victims into the criminals. But our campaign has already had some successes, and Ray outlined that. The phone company is backing away from Michelle "Scab" Hansen, and the District Attorney is taking a step backwards from all his charges which he cannot prove, which he knows are lies.

So the frame-up of Lauren and Ray is one more in a long, long list of racist atrocities and union-busting. And that's right, there's a broader picture to this. Reagan and his millionaire cronies, they hate black America and they hate the unions. But I will tell you, you cannot fight Reagan with Democrats. We need labor action to bring down Reagan. Does anyone here think that Walter "Mundane" Mondale is going to stand up for the minorities and the working people against Reagan reaction? [Cries from the crowd: "No!"] Walter Mondale, the weepy, warmongering clone protegé of professional anti-communist Hubert Humphrey. I'll tell you, brothers and sisters, you gotta be kidding. There has to be a better alternative in this country for us. [From the crowd: "There is. A workers party!"]

We of the Spartacist League intend to

Willie Lee Bell

John George

Tom Sullivan

WV Photos

Wilson Riles, Jr.

build a mass, class-struggle workers party. Not the kind that simply participates in elections but a fighting workers party, a multiracial working-class party that can lead the workers and the oppressed, and take power. We're not talking about cutting up a piece of the pie. The working people produced everything in this country, and that's what we want. We want everything! We want our own workers government, and you need a workers party to get it.

When the Klan endorsed Reagan, let me tell you something, they knew what they were doing. They knew! And right now Reagan—with a little shadowboxing in Congress from the Democrats (he's backed up hy the Democrats)—is trying to lead us into a thermonuclear war which will blow up the whole earth. Let me tell you something, brothers and sisters: Yuri Andropov may not be the best friend that black people in this country ever had, but I will tell you he is not the worst enemy. Because the worst enemy is here at home. [Applause.]

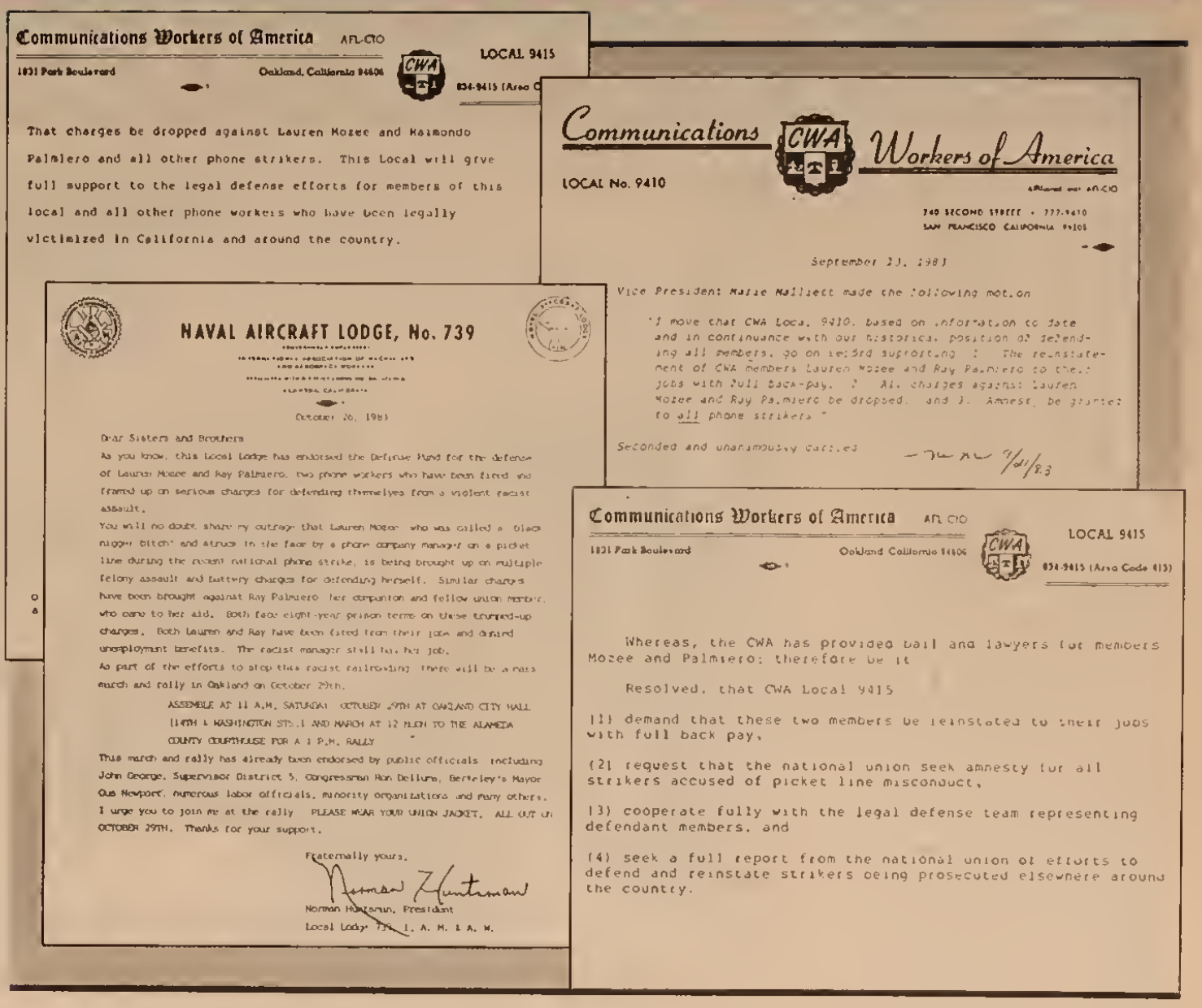
So Ronald Reagan was willing to sacrifice a lot of people in that 007 flight, and he was willing to sacrifice a lot of Marines in Lehanon for an imperialist adventure. And now, to cover it up, he is willing to go into tiny black Grenada with 6,000 troops. We say this is an outrage! And we say this is an attempt to cover up the disaster in Lebanon. Believe me, in Grenada our sympathies are with the Cubans who are there fighting. I want to read you what they said from Radio Havana. They said that "The Americans came in with fighter aircraft, with helicopters; with heavy- and medium-caliber artillery and mortars. But at the last, a group of six comrades, clutching our flag, continued fighting. At 11:17 our ambassador communicated, 'There is no further Cuhan resistance. The fighters in the final redoubt did not surrender and gave their lives for their homeland'." And I want to tell you something, these are our brothers and sisters. *These* are *our* brothers and sisters out there!

So the same reactionary forces that are trying to railroad Lauren and Ray are pursuing armed aggression around the world. And I will tell you something: U.S. imperialism's difficulties are our opportunities, and we welcome them and we will take advantage of them. In El Salvador we say, "Military victory to the leftist rebels in El Salvador! No negotiated sellout!" In Nicaragua we say, "Kill the invaders!" The capitalist fifth column must be smashed and the workers mobilized against the CIA's war. And we call for defense of the Soviet Union, the first workers state, against imperialism. We have our criticisms of the Soviet bureaucracy, but one of them is that they don't send guns to El Salvador and MIGs to Nicaragua. Why are our brothers and sisters in Central America fighting with battered rifles and old machetes? They need modern jet aircraft, and as far as I'm concerned the Soviet Union ought to be providing it. [Cheers. Applause.]

Defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in El Salvador! And defense of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero begins right here with labor/black mobilizations against racist terror, be it at the hands of the racists dressed in the white rohes of the KKK, the blue uniforms of the cops or the black robes of the bosses' courts. And, as black people in this country know, a goodly number of those who wear the white hoods at night are wearing hlue uniforms during the day. [Applause. Shouts: "Yeah!" "Right."]

Over the years there have been far too many victims. We have the pictures up here of Patrick Mason, Charles Briscoe. There have been so many, so many, going back to Bobby Hutton. So many victims. But this time we have a chance to defend these two before they go to jail, before they get sent away by this government. [Voice in the crowd: "No more victims!"] Lauren and Ray are fighters. They went up to Richmond with the Labor Black League for Social Defense to fight against police brutality. They went over to San Francisco to demonstrate against South Africa's murder of the ANC black militants. And they've fought for militant, class-struggle policies in the union. These are the kind of fighters we need more of! And you have to fight for them now, brothers and sisters, because they fought for all of us.

So we say: "No way! Smash the racist anti-labor frame-up! No South Africa-style justice in Oakland! Freedom and jobs back for Lauren and Ray! And for a workers government that will avenge all our martyrs!"■



Communications Workers of America AFL-CIO
1031 Park Boulevard Oakland, California 94606 LOCAL 9415
834-9415 (Area C

That charges be dropped against Lauren Mozee and Raimondo Palmiero and all other phone strikers. This Local will give full support to the legal defense efforts for members of this local and all other phone workers who have been legally victimized in California and around the country.

Communications CWA Workers of America
LOCAL No. 9410
340 SECOND STREET • 777-9410
SAN FRANCISCO CALIFORNIA 94105

September 23, 1983

Vice President Marie Maillect made the following motion

"I move that CWA Local 9410, based on information to date and in continuance with our historical position of defending all members, go on record supporting: 1. The reinstatement of CWA members Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero to their jobs with full back-pay. 2. All charges against Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero be dropped. and 3. Amnesty be granted to all phone strikers."

Seconded and unanimously carried

NAVAL AIRCRAFT LODGE, No. 739

October 26, 1983

Dear Sisters and Brothers

As you know, this Local Lodge has endorsed the Defense Fund for the defense of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, two phone workers who have been fired and framed up on serious charges for defending themselves from a violent racist assault.

You will no doubt share my outrage that Lauren Mozee who was called a 'black nigger bitch' and struck in the face by a phone company manager on a picket line during the recent national phone strike, is being brought up on multiple felony assault and battery charges for defending herself. Similar charges have been brought against Ray Palmiero her companion and fellow union member, who came to her aid. Both face eight-year prison terms on these trumped-up charges. Both Lauren and Ray have been fired from their jobs and denied unemployment benefits. The racist manager still has her job.

As part of the efforts to stop this racist railroading there will be a mass march and rally in Oakland on October 29th.

ASSEMBLE AT 11 A.M. SATURDAY OCTOBER 29TH AT OAKLAND CITY HALL
14TH & WASHINGTON STS. AND MARCH AT 12 NOON TO THE ALAMEDA COUNTY COURTHOUSE FOR A 1 P.M. RALLY

This march and rally has already been endorsed by public officials including John George, Supervisor District 5, Congressman Ron Dellums, Berkeley's Mayor Gus Newport, numerous labor officials, minority organizations and many others. I urge you to join me at the rally. PLEASE WEAR YOUR UNION JACKET. ALL OUT ON OCTOBER 29TH. Thanks for your support.

Fraternally yours,
Norman Huntsman
Norman Huntsman, President
Local Lodge 739, I. A. M. & A. W.

Communications Workers of America AFL-CIO
1031 Park Boulevard Oakland California 94606 LOCAL 9415
834-9415 (Area Code 415)

Whereas, the CWA has provided bail and lawyers for members Mozee and Palmiero; therefore be it

Resolved, that CWA Local 9415

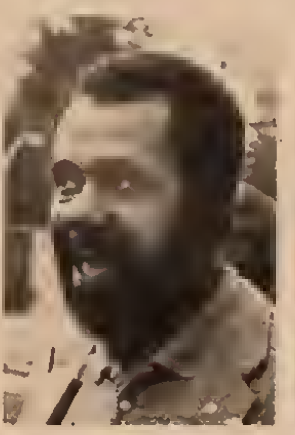
(1) demand that these two members be reinstated to their jobs with full back pay,

(2) request that the national union seek amnesty for all strikers accused of picket line misconduct,

(3) cooperate fully with the legal defense team representing defendant members, and

(4) seek a full report from the national union of efforts to defend and reinstate strikers being prosecuted elsewhere around the country.

Statements at Press Conference, October 27



Frank Tanner

Father O'Donnell

Norman Huntsman

WV Photos

Frank Tanner

CWA Local 9410

I'd just like to say that, first of all, you are correct that our local, as well as our union, views not only this case, but the cases of others suffered in the cause of alleged picket line activities, as being very dangerous to the labor movement in general, and especially when a case comes along with the racial overtones that we find in this case, which we find extremely repugnant. That our efforts should certainly not slacken, but probably be redoubled in dealing with this case, as well as all the other cases that are pending for our people who somehow suffered from alleged picket line incidents.

Father William O'Donnell

I'm here to emphasize and to stress the immorality of this action against two workers and two union organizers. Once you categorize thoughts and frame a person into violent categories, then you can behave against them basically by being physically violent, by being juridically violent, by being morally violent. It's just blatantly unjust and unfair and immoral. And the issue is racism, which is the very evil that will bring this society down. The court's accepting this case, it seems to me, is corruptive of the courts. And I think public opinion is so necessary in this case to bring the injustice of these charges before the public. And to see that these two fine persons will be exonerated.

Norman Hunstman

I'm Norm Huntsman, I'm president of Local Lodge 739 of the Machinists union, International Association of Machinists. In the march Saturday you will recognize the Machinists by these jackets like the one that I'm wearing. We are outraged. As a labor leader, we expect the establishment to attack us. That's old hat. But we cannot sit idly by while they attack our rank and file. We will not do that, we want to protest. We will be there. And we hope everybody, every unionist, community person, anybody with any sense of decency, will join us in this march to protest this racist act.

WV Photo

Spartacist spokesman Diana Coleman with rally chairman Don Andrews.

"No South Africa-Style Justice in Oakland!"

We publish below excerpts from the speeches at the October 29 Oakland march and rally to defend Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, fired phone workers facing jail in a racist, anti-labor frame-up. Other speakers at the rally included Victor Panniroyan, Business Agent, ILWU Local 6; Ann Fagan Ginger, Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute; Father William O'Donnell, Church of St. Joseph the Workman; Ben Visnick, United Teachers Local 771; Tom Boot, Freedom Socialist Party; Tim Ligosky, Exec Board, IAM Local 284.

WV Photo

Oakland, October 29—From left: Rally chairman Don Andrews, Ray Palmiero and Lauren Mozee lead chants: "Hey, D.A.! Workers say: Hands Off Lauren and Ray!"

Lauren Mozee

Fired telephone worker facing years in prison for defending her union picket line and herself from racist management/scab attack

I want to thank everyhody, and I've had a drink under my belt so I'm a little calm now. I had a frog in my throat, and that washed it down.

As everyone knows, I'm a victim of a racist, anti-labor frame-up. Why? One, I'm a black woman. Two, Ray and I are an interracial couple. Three, I'm a militant—I said *militant*—trade unionist. [Voice from the crowd: "Right on, sister!" Applause.] A former member of the Black Panther Party for many years. And I'm a firm believer—I said firm believer—in socialism. I've always been a fighter against racism and cop terror, and a fighter for unity of the working class against the bosses. Now, for these things and for doing my duty on the picket lines by defending myself against this racist attack, and for defending my picket line and our jobs against those who want to break the unions and take our jobs, I've been victimized.

We have been made a victim by the people who hate blacks, unionists and the whole working class. Blacks, unionists and workers have a right to take a stand in this country. That's what you all are here for. Local 10 is here, from the ILWU. IAM is here, Willie Lee Bell. And all my phone worker comrades—I see a lot of them! [Applause.] And many, many others. I thank you all for heing here, I really do. And your support has been of great effect on the District Attorney's office, let me tell you. Ray is going to talk about that a little bit more.

WV Photo

Ray and Lauren on the CWA picket line during strike.

Ray and I aren't the only ones who face this kind of situation. On Wednesday, October 26th, in Oklahoma City (I have a brother-in-law and a sister that were deported there from General Motors Fremont), the Klan marched into the plant in full dress—hood, robes and all—and worked on the assembly lines! Until my brother-in-law, my brother and my sister stopped the line. [Applause. Chants from the crowd: "Stop the Klan! Stop the Klan!"] So these people are all over. They're all over, I mean they follow them all the way to Oklahoma. This is their second encounter with the Klan in only five months that they've been there. I mean, two hours after my brother-in-law was in the city they tried to arrest him for armed robbery.

I am a member of the Militant Action Caucus, which is a real, living part of our union. As with Jane Margolis, an elected delegate to the National Convention of CWA in 1979: she was dragged off the convention floor bodily by Jimmy Carter's Secret Service men. Later, in 1980, they sent her a letter of apology and a $3,500 check which she signed over to the CWA Defense Fund.

So as you see, we can win with this kind of support. We need to win not only for ourselves, believe me. That's a real important point, important in the long run for all blacks and working people. An injury to one is an injury to all. It's not Ray and myself who are the criminals here. The criminals are Ma Bell, the San Leandro Police Department and the District Attorney.

I thank all of you.

Ray Palmiero

Fired and facing prison for defending his union and his companion Lauren

I want to thank you all again for Lauren and myself. We appreciate you all coming out here and hanging with us in this weather. I want you to know, and I'm happy to have been allowed to make this announcement, that our efforts—your efforts—have already paid off to some degree. Now the fight isn't over, and we have to keep fighting, and we want you all to be fighting with us, hut our efforts have started to pay off.

And what I mean by that is, that, number one, the phone company has already started to distance itself from this scab manager. There was an article in the *Oakland Post* dated 26 October where, I quote, "Doug Jones of Pacific Telephone's Community Affairs Department said he had just received a copy of the press releasc issued by the Ad Hoc Committee and had only a vague idea of what the issue was about. He promised to investigate further and call back with an official statement from the company. He did say that the telephone company was not the party filing charges against Mozee and Palmiero." [Lauren interjects: "And we all know *that's* a lie!"]

Now, anybody who knows the phone company knows that that woman doesn't go to the bathroom without approval from her superiors. So let's not kid ourselves, they're trying to distance themselves from this because they're already feeling some pressure.

The other encouraging news was that yesterday at our court appearance the District Attorney, with a very sad expression on his face, made a motion to drop one of the charges that was originally filed against us. And that was the "great hodily injury" clause [cheers], saying that originally they had had the understanding that Michelle Rose Hansen would need surgery on her nose, but recently they've come to discover that this wasn't necessary...so, sorry ahout the lies, but, you know....

So, your energetic work is paying off. They're feeling the pressure. But it's not over yet. As I said, we're dealing with dangerous people here and we have to keep fighting them. These people have to lie, the social contradictions in this society, where a rich minority tries to rule over a working-class majority, force them to lie. Witness Grenada, where the government said that a naval convoy would not he engaged militarily, and then they invade this tiny island in the name of restoring democracy. Lies.

Lauren and I are the victims of the kind of democracy that Reagan would like to see worldwide. The kind of democracy that slaughters thousands in El Salvador, the kind of democracy that massacres Palestinians at Shatila and Sabra. That same kind of democracy has tried to turn Lauren and me into criminals.

Why? Because when we were on a picket line, a scab manager hit Lauren, called her a "black nigger bitch," and Lauren defended herself. And when somebody attempted to get involved, I assisted her. Now, we've been fired, and we've heen denied unemployment. We've got Lauren's two children and her nephew to support. And we're facing time in state prison.

So this is an act of politicized racism. It's an attempt to import South Africa-style justice to Oakland. We've been singled out and selectively prosecuted because we're an interracial couple, because we've been active in the Militant Action Caucus, because Lauren was a long-time member of the Black Panther Party. But everybody knows that we are not the only intended victims. They're aiming at blacks and working people. They're saying that blacks do not have the right to defend themselves against violent racist assault. They're saying that unionists do not have the right to defend themselves against management violence on the picket line. And that's bullshit.

Because if we can't defend ourselves on the picket line, then we don't have picket lines. And if we don't have picket lines, then the right to strike is really meaningless. And if we don't have the right to strike, then we don't have unions. And if we don't have unions, Reagan would be a very happy man. Because the only union he likes is Solidarność. They hate unions. They hate us. They hate mobilizations of this kind.

And I want to thank you again for coming out here, because it's labor/black mobilizations of this kind that will stop this atrocity before it happens. And that will stop any other attempted mobilizations hy the KKK, the Nazis, as we witnessed in November in Washington, D.C. where the KKK had to put

continued on page 10

Edén Pastora...

(continued from page 2)

Nicaragua is next on his hit list. We say: "Vietnam was a victory! Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism!" The iSt calls for the construction of Trotskyist parties, based on the program of permanent revolution, to lead the proletariat to power, from Central America to Mexico and beyond.

The Spartacist League is at the forefront in denouncing *El Traidor* Pastora, warning that he is a "democratic" front man for Yankee invasion and Somozaist counterrevolution. But to the reformists, Pastora is "Mr. Political Solution," and thus they hesitate, equivocate and vacillate. The Democratic Party "doves" courted by the radlibs are for a "negotiated settlement" both in El Salvador and Nicaragua, and Pastora is their man. He even enjoys support· from the social-democratic Sccond International of Mitterrand and Schmidt, who call on the Sandinistas to restore "genuine" political pluralism (for the bourgeoisie), a mixed economy and nonalignment. So when the SL/SYL approached various groups for common action against the CIA's traitor Pastora, they were either "too busy" (Casa El Salvador "Farabundo Marti") or opposed to "common activities with the Spartacists" (Casa Nicaragua). Instead they preferred their November 12 "peace" crawl together with imperialist liberals like Congressman Michael Barnes who have *supported* Reagan's Big Stick invasion of Grenada.

But hundreds and thousands of those who have marched in opposition to Reagan's policies in Central America can smell a *contra* cockroach. Last Friday, Pastora received a small taste of what he deserves from the audicnce at a Columbia University forum sponsored by Alhert Shanker's rabidly anti-Communist Social Democrats USA. Outside thc auditorium where Pastora was to speak on "A Revolution Betrayed" (by him), the SL/SYL held a small protest picket together with the Revolutionary Communist League-Internationalist. Later, inside the auditorium, the largely anti-Pastora crowd erupted in chants of "*Asesino*" (murderer) and "*No pasarán*" (they shall not pass) when the CIA's "social-democratic" traitor-terrorist appeared. Pandemonium ensued. At times Pastora's translator seated beside him could not hear his voice above the tumult. Frustrated *gusano* goons charged into the crowd to get at the "Communists." When the "Young Social Fascists" tried to chant "Viva Pastora!" they were drowned out by the crowd responding, "CIA, CIA!"

Pastora is no democrat, he's Ronald Reagan's terrorist. This counterrevolutionary scum deserves to be driven from any platform from which he attempts to speak. While he talks of "democratic debate," his mercenaries are slaughtering defenders of the Nicaraguan revolution with guns and ammo provided by the CIA. As Pastora rants against "Cuban internationalists"—the teachers and doctors who are serving the Nicaraguan people, and the military advisers aiding the Sandinistas' defense against a new Bay of Pigs—the U.S. Marines are practicing amphibious landings with their Honduran puppet army. Nicaragua is in danger! We say: "Smash the *contras*, workers to power!" As Spartacist demonstrators proclaimed outside Freedom House, "No more Batistas, workers smashed the tsar—Defend Cuba and the USSR!" ■

Conference...

(continued from page 4)

ception of the Negro Struggle," castigated the SWP for adapting to black separatist ideology, a stance which becamc the SWP's theorctical cover for abstention from mass civil rights struggles: the party implicitly redefined itsclf as a "white" organization whose role toward the black movemcnt was to enthusc from the sidelines over black nationalist currents. Fraser's analysis showed how black separatist ideology has emerged at times when blacks saw little hope for integrated social struggles. He counterposed a program of revolutionary integrationism.

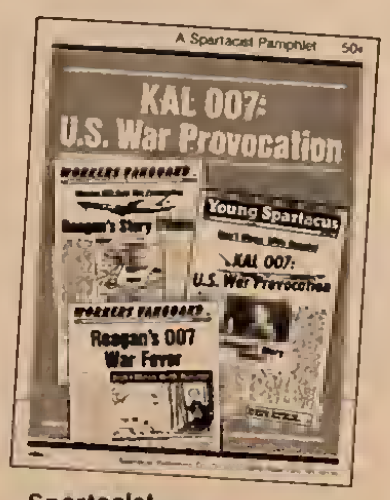
Dick Fraser, presently a member of the Democratic Socialists of Amcrica, was one of a sizable layer of SWP spokesmen propellcd out of the party as it plunged rapidly from centrism to outright reformist appetite in the 1960s. Though the comrade's political contacts with the SL have been episodic, he is an acknowledged theoretical mentor of our tendency, which has published "For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Struggle" as part of our *Marxist Bulletin* series.

At this conference, SL National Chairman Jim Robertson acknowledged his personal political debt to Dick Fraser as "almost my last teacher" in the SWP (along with the late Murry Weiss). Robertson cited the strong positive subjective component of the relationship, tclling the conference that we have some profound agreements with comradc Fraser and have always been happy to bend the stick that way despite no less serious differences which neither of us ever sought to hide. Comrade Fraser has recently become a closer party collaborator hclping to guide our efforts to root the SL among militant black workers and youth. In particular, he is participating in elaborating our perspective for transitional organizations of labor/black defense, mass organizations of the party (see box page 4).

Comrade Fraser's participation in this conference hclped underline the conference document's insistence that "what is posed for our party is not so much a 'turn' as the renewed applicability under these conditions of the perspectives outlincd in 'Black and Red: Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom' (March 1967), one of the founding documents of our tendency." The "Black and Red" document was adopted in draft form at the SL founding conferencc in April 1966. The report on that conference published in *Spartacist* noted the nced for "a mass organization of black workers around a program of organized self-defense, independent political action, and other transitional demands." The article noted that comrade Richard Fraser spoke then as a co-reporter on the black struggle and "traced the evolution of the SWP's thcoretical bankruptcy and unprincipled practice and our present Marxist position on this question." The article defined as a central task "blackening" the Spartacist League.

The SL of 1966, though a very small group, had forged, mainly in rent-strike organizing work and protests against cop brutality, real political and social ties among a layer of militant ghetto working people. But the rise of left-talking black nationalism, in the absence of a powerful revolutionary integrationist polc, closed off for a period the prospects for rapid recruitment of black cadres to Trotskyism. Now the black nationalist rhetoric has run straight into a hardening white bourgeois hostility, slamming the door on the illusion that blacks will "make it" in America by the "split-level dashiki" route, while the social and class polarization impelled by the hlows of Reagan reaction opens up a renewed prospect for the SL to emerge as the vanguard of united class struggle for black liberation.

In the months since the conference, our work continues to confirm the urgent opportunities we believe are presented. We continue to meet with a very encouraging response to our propaganda and slogans among blacks and other working people. There are serious people around our party who have not come forward lightly in this period, people who want to be convinced that our party has the program and the will to lead their struggles to victory. But everything underlines that in these times of social instability and war preparation, there is not much time left to get from where we arc now to where we must go: the building of a mass revolutionary workers party to lead the conquest of power. We have had a forthright, politically rich and forward-looking national conference. Its ultimate significance will be judged by how well the party confronts our urgent tasks in the present and future. ■



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On the 27 November 1982 Labor/Black Mobilization

Excerpted from the Main Conference Document of the Spartacist League/U.S. Seventh National Conference, "Struggle Against Reagan Reaction."

Masses of black people in the Washington area have embraced as their own victory the militant mobilization whose size, discipline and labor backing kept thc cops on their good behavior, prevailed over the Rcagan administration's intention that the Klan's "right" to march for genocidc would be shoved down the throats of black Washington by any means necessary, and handed the rapidly growing fascist "fringe" of reaction an important defeat. The success of this small mass action under our leadership poscs big opportunities for our growth....

The November 27 mobilization showed how quickly things can move in this period. With Reagan covertly backing the KKK provocation, probably gambling that it would cow rather than inflame the black masses, with the Marcyite All-Peoples Congress perfunctorily building an ill-defined protest after à desultory showing earlier in the month, and with D.C. police officials proclaiming early on their special animosity towards us, November 27 lookcd at the outset like a marginal proposition for our effective intervention. Furthermore the APC had permits for about two dozen sites all over the vicinity. But the mass sentiment for militant anti-Klan action among D.C. area black people, enabling us to obtain real labor support, enabled us to leap over the APC obstacle and directly lead thousands of people in action.

The SL's entry onto the scene had pushed the APC openly into the diversionary role played elsewhere by the Democrats themselves in "community unity" festivals counterposed to our same time/same place anti-fascist mobilizations. The APC chose its spot near thc very end of the announced Klan march route; we chose to assemble at the point appropriate to forces interested in stopping the KKK march at its starting point. Thanks to the outpouring of support for the Labor/Black Mobilization, instead of our being squeezed between the Marcyites and the cops, as the Marcyites would reasonably expect in the El Salvador protest milieu, the Marcyites got politically squeezed between us and the black masses. In substance simply running a pro-Democratic diversion, the Marcyites had to maintain a posture as "Marxists" and vicarious fans of "peoples rebellions." Thus the APC, whilc explicitly anti-militant (baiting the Labor/Black Mobilization as "confrontationist" and with predictions of "violence"), had to hedge on the central question of "ignore the Klan"/"han the Klan" vs. "stop the Klan." Hence the scared reformist leftists convoked a crowd of militant blacks, Palestinians, etc., some of whom thought they had come for anti-Klan action. Under steady provocation by the cops, the APC bloc lost political control of their demonstration and actually tried to link arms against their own crowd.

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Ann Arbor
c/o SYL
P.O. Box 8364
Ann Arbor, MI 48107

Atlanta
Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

Barkeley/Oakland
P.O. Box 32SS2
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 835-1S35

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Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 427-0003

Cleveland
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Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 621-5138

Detroit
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(313) 961-1680

Houston
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Houston, TX 77207

Los Angeles
Box 29574
Los Feliz Station
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 663-1216

Madison
c/o SYL, Box 2074
Madison, WI S3701

New York
Box 444
Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk
P.O. Box 1972
Main P.O.
Norfolk, VA 23501

San Francisco
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(41S) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.
P O Box 7S073
Washington, O C 20013
(202) 636-3537

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Near East Flashpoint...

(continued from page 1)

Strait of Hormuz, through which passes much of the capitalist world's oil, in transit from the Persian Gulf to West Europe. Washington is now using the Beirut bombing to whip up war frenzy against Khomeini's Iran as well as Syria. According to the *New York Times* (29 October):

> "The Reagan Administration is now assuming that the Iranian Government played the key role in the bombing attacks on the American marines and French troops last Sunday and will retaliate once conclusive information is collected, Administration officials said today."

"Dizzy with success" over tiny Grenada, the Reagan gang are now set to plunge into the Near East quagmire on a broad front.

From Grenada to the Shores of Tripoli

The tiny island of Grenada, with an army good only for shooting down its own unarmed citizens, was supposed to be a quick, tidy military operation for the American war machine. "Operation Urgent Fury" was a diversion to draw attention away from the bloody mess in Lebanon, where U.S. military headquarters were blown away and some 240 Marines killed. Maybe it would give Reagan a "Falklands factor" to get himself re-elected as well. Grenada did manage to drive Lebanon off the front pages for a few days, especially as the media were reduced to printing government handouts in the U.S.' first-ever off-the-record invasion. When reporters were finally permitted on the island they found the fighting neither quick nor tidy: it took 6,000 "crack" American troops, 20 naval warships and several squadrons of Air Force fighters and helicopter gunships almost a week to take Grenada in the face of heroic resistance by 700 Cuban construction workers.

Reagan's Grenada adventure has pushed up his popularity in the opinion polls. There's all the flag-waving jingoism, of course. But there's also another factor, never mentioned but brutally obvious every time you turn on the TV: raw, undiluted racism. All those white boys, many of them Southern crackers, getting their kicks by shooting down, abusing and lording it over black islanders, both Grenadians and Cubans. The Cuban dead are dragged along the ground and dumped in piles. White medical students who kissed the ground after being "rescued" by the Marines refer to the native inhabitants as "FIGS" ("fucking ignorant Grenadians"). Bringing "democracy" at bayonet point to Grenada is a replay of the colonialists' "white man's burden."

And what "democracy"! The governor-general, Sir Paul Scoon, representative of the British queen, promptly banned all public assemblies and meetings, instituted searches without warrants and announced plans for press censorship! Now it is revealed that prisoners were held for "interrogation" in tiny isolation booths, wooden crates with a few slits and tiny holes for ventilation: a new version of the Vietnam "tiger cages" for suspected Viet Cong. Yet now most of those Democrats who earlier complained about Reagan's violation of "international law" have changed their tune: they obey a higher authority—the Gallup Poll, and the interests of the American ruling class.

The *Wall Street Journal* (28 October) proclaimed that Grenada had buried the "lesson of Vietnam" and proved its opposite: that the U.S. should "use military power to achieve its political goals." It's an open secret that the Reagan gang is now preparing an invasion of Sandinista Nicaragua to follow up their Grenada "win." The *New York Times* (11 November) reported a secret meeting last month of the military chiefs of Panama, El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala to study "the legality of joint military action against Nicaragua." Asked if the U.S. would "aid" an invasion by its puppets in this "Central American Defense Council," as it did the phantom "Organization of Eastern Caribbean States," National Security Council head Robert McFarlane replied, "Yes, we support them." But Nicaragua could be the political graveyard for Ronald Reagan, as well as the physical graveyard for his *contras*. Unlike the Grenadian New Jewel Movement, which took power through a military coup, the radical-nationalist Sandinistas toppled the hated Somoza regime through a mass insurrection and civil war. The Nicaraguan people will fight like hell to prevent the Somozaist butchers from returning. And next door in El Salvador, the leftist insurgents are wiping up the puppet army which seems close to collapse.

Even more imminent than direct U.S. invasion of Central America is the prospect of Reagan touching off a major war in the Near East. The *Wall Street Journal* (9 November) writes that "the mobilization of American, Israeli and Syrian forces there [in and around Lebanon] looks like the prelude to a major dust-up." Despite all their talk of Syria as a "Soviet proxy," much of the U.S. ruling class knows that Damascus strongman Assad is just as treacherous as was Egypt's Sadat, who dumped the Soviet alliance a decade ago in exchange for U.S. weapons and Saudi petrodollars. Washington is threatening a punitive attack on Syria in order to force Assad to do Washington's bidding (pull his troops out of Lebanon, recognize an Israeli protectorate south of the Awali River, etc.) or else face the consequences. But whatever Washington's war plans and scenarios, a U.S./Israeli attack on Syria, now Russia's main military client in the region, can easily and quickly escalate into a nuclear World War III.

Syria is the Kremlin's most important client state in the Near East. Several thousand Soviet military advisers are now with Syrian forces, and many of these would certainly be killed in any major U.S. or Israeli attack. Facing American war provocations and war moves around the globe (above all, the deployment of first-strike Pershing 2 missiles in West Europe), Soviet leaders may well not allow their Syrian ally to be humiliated and defeated at the hands of Reagan and his Zionist henchmen. Even Washington's staunchest anti-Soviet NATO allies—Thatcher's Britain and Mitterrand's France—are worried that Reagan is playing a dangerous game on the Lebanon/Syria front. London warned the U.S. not to retaliate against Syrian-backed forces in Lebanon for the bombing of the Marines' Beirut headquarters. Likewise Paris expressed concern about the "risks of an escalation in the Middle East."

In the 1973 October War between Israel and the Arab states, Nixon resorted to nuclear brinkmanship to warn off the Soviets from intervening on Egypt's behalf. That was during the heyday of "détente." Now the Russians are in Syria in a big way, and Reagan is "going for the big one" against the Soviets' "evil empire."

Reforging the Washington/Jerusalem Axis

Especially after that truck bomb demolished Marine headquarters at Beirut airport, U.S. rulers were furious with their Israeli allies for precipitously pulling their forces out of central Lebanon. On national television Henry Kissinger complained, "The Israelis withdrew some 20 miles, leaving the Americans facing all the contending forces in Lebanon that have been fighting a civil war for 10 years" (*Washington Post*, 24 October). The Israeli army is supposed to police the Near East for U.S. imperialism, not the other way around. So Reagan is now pressuring Israel to step up its involvement across the board. A week after the Beirut bombing, State Department troubleshooter Lawrence Eagleburger went to Jerusalem to strengthen "strategic cooperation" between the two countries. This was widely understood to mean preparations for war with Syria.

A few days after the Eagleburger mission, an Israeli military compound in Tyre, southern Lebanon, was itself hit by a truck bomb, killing about 30 Israeli soldiers and secret police and 30 Palestinian prisoners undergoing "interrogation" (i.e., torture). One almost suspects the Marines of doing it in order to show the Israelis that they're not immune in their new "security zone." In any case, this attack had the effect of reinforcing Israeli military presence in

Remember "The Bedford Incident"

The recent attack on a Soviet submarine in international waters by the U.S. destroyer *McCloy* recalls the 1960s movie, *The Bedford Incident*. In the movie an obsessed Navy commander (played by Richard Widmark), who wanted to sink Cuba during the '62 missile crisis, hounds a Soviet submarine ("Big Red") off the Greenland coast until it is forced to surface. As he moves in for the "kill," crossing the line between playing at war and the real thing, an overwrought crew member launches the missiles. In the movie, the commander of "Big Red" retaliates; in the recent real-life attack on the high seas, the Soviet commander withheld fire. Perhaps he was thinking of the 90 men aboard his disabled vessel who were now sitting duck targets. But remember that these subs are not only nuclear powered, they carry nuclear weapons. If the Soviet commander, harried by an American destroyer out to play "dirty tricks" on the Russians, had loosed his torpedoes it would have left a large hole in the ocean where the U.S. ship used to be. Reagan had better stop messing with the Soviets.

Protest Reagan's Provocation Against Russian Press

TASS Held Hostage

western union **Telegram**

NEW YORK NY 11-11
SECRETARY OF STATE

PROTEST OUTRAGEOUS DENIAL OF PERMISSION TO SOVIET NEWS AGENCY TASS AND PRAVDA REPORTERS TO COVER COMMUNIST PARTY USA CONVENTION IN CLEVELAND. THIS BRAZEN VIOLATION OF FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND TRAVEL COMES AFTER DENIAL OF LANDING RIGHTS IN NEW YORK TO SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO AND DIPLOMATIC STAFF FOR U.N. SESSIONS, GROSS VIOLATION OF DIPLOMATIC IMMUNITY OF SOVIET EMBASSY STAFF IN GRENADA AND DISABLING OF SOVIET NUCLEAR SUBMARINE BY U.S. NAVY, ACTS WHICH NOT ONLY VIOLATE CIVILIZED NORMS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS BUT CONSTITUTE WAR PROVOCATIONS AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION. NOTE THAT IN THE PRESENT PERIOD OF U.S. GLOBAL BRINKMANSHIP AND CONFRONTATION, PRESS OF "EVIL EMPIRE" HAS MAINTAINED HIGH STANDARD OF VERACITY IN CONTRAST TO PREVARICATION AND LIES OF U.S. GOVERNMENT AND ESTABLISHMENT PRESS.

JAN NORDEN, EDITOR, WORKERS VANGUARD

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WV Photo

Detroit, October 25: SL protests U.S. war moves in Near East, rape of Grenada.

Lebanon. Like the chauvinist pigs that they are, the Zionist rulers responded hy bombing defenseless Palestinian refugee camps. They have since repeatedly threatened Syria with retaliation, and backed up these threats hy mobilizing Israeli army reserves.

However, Washington's current policy of pushing Israel into a war with Syria is a dangerous game, for it threatens to further destabilize the Zionist fortress internally. The invasion of Lebanon in June 1982 deeply polarized Israeli society, including its armed forces. Soldiers in uniform on leave from the front participated in mass "peace" protests; elite units signed petitions against the war. Had Begin/Sharon ordered the Israeli army to take Beirut, staggering casualties would likely have caused an explosion on the home front and in the army as well. The Zionist butchers did not withdraw from the Shuf Mountains because they suddenly lost their taste for Arab blood. The occupation of central Lebanon was bleeding Israel, not least economically. With inflation running at 130 percent, the former finance minister actually proposed to replace the shekel with the dollar to secure monetary stahility. Instead of Theodore Herzl, Israelis would be looking at a portrait of George Washington as the founding father of their country.

If the Lebanese adventure has proved to be a Pyrrhic victory for the Zionists, it did achieve its main aim: the destruction of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as an independent military force. Yasir Arafat (and unfortunately not he alone) is now paying the price for withdrawing PLO fighters from Beirut and inviting in the U.S. Marines and other imperialist "peacekeepers." The PLO commandos were dispersed in concentration camps across the Arab world, while those remaining in Lebanon increasingly came under the control of the Syrian army. Assad moved to take over the Palestinian movement, in part by exploiting justified hostility to Arafat's sellouts among many PLO militants. As Syrian forces and their Palestinian flunkies besiege the remaining Arafat loyalists trapped in the northern Lebanese city of Tripoli, while also killing countless Palestinian and Lebanese civilians, we are witnessing the destruction of the PLO as its remnants become clients of various mutually hostile reactionary Arab regimes.

The simultaneous crisis of Zionism and the Palestine national liberation movement offers a crucial opportunity to crystallize an Arab/Hebrew communist vanguard. A Trotskyist party must be based on this fundamental understanding: that there will be no future for the Hebrew-speaking people in the Near East without the destruction of the Zionist state; and there can be no national liberation for the Palestinian people without breaking from Arab nationalism. The only road to peace and justice for both peoples is through a binational Arab/Hebrew workers state, in the framework of a socialist federation of the Near East.

Smash the Anti-Soviet War Drive!

It will take more than a "Grenada high" to restore the "American century" which ended in the swamps of Indochina as the most powerful imperialist war machine in history was defeated by the heroic Vietnamese peasants and workers. In raping Grenada Reagan sought to retaliate for the American humiliation—not only in Beirut but in Cuba, Nicaragua, and above all Vietnam. A revolutionary war throughout Central America would threaten Yankee imperialism with a new Vietnam-type defeat, this time in its own backyard.

Behind America's bullying arrogance is the cowardice of a reactionary social class. The insane warmonger Reagan, like Hitler, is the personification of the deeply irrational capitalist system in its death agony. Private property and the nation-state, the cradle of the bourgeois revolution, are now shackles which strangle and deform the productive forces: millionaire farmers are paid subsidies not to produce milk while infant mortality from hunger skyrockets; bulldozers level steel and auto plants while millions are unemployed.

At the same time Reagan's general staff is complaining that even its $1.7 *trillion* military buildup program is not enough—they are stretched too thin to fight all the wars required for the world imperialist gendarme, as they rush carrier fleets from the Caribbean to the Med, from Nicaraguan coasts to the Arabian Sea. The crisis of American capitalism today is not the crisis of a single country but of the entire imperialist system. Whatever their tactical disagreements, the U.S. along with the other imperialist powers believes that the only way out is through reconquering the one-third of the world which has been liberated from the grip of capitalism. The Reaganites see the hand of Moscow behind every struggle for national emancipation and social justice because these struggles can only be fully victorious through the revolutionary expropriation of capital and the establishment of proletarian property forms as in the 1917 Russian October Revolution. Defend the Soviet Union! ■

$$$ Needed to Fight FBI Red-Hunt

War fever is in the air: Reagan's first-strike missiles in Europe, global anti-Soviet adventurism from the Near East to Central America, and a campaign of political repression and increased racism at home. War preparations trigger domestic witch-hunting. And as the government's secret police go on "red alert," the deadly machinery for a domestic Red Hunt is retooled. Political opponents of the government are branded as "terrorists," "criminals" to be set up for the kill. The FBI has new "Guidelines" for more COINTELPRO-type operations. In this poisonous Cold War climate, racist terror and police brutality rule the streets.

Cold War II is no time to "duck and cover." If there is a simple, practical lesson to be drawn from the terrible times of Senator Joe McCarthy, it is this: better to organize and fight. When facing government set-up and fascist provocation, it is time to defend our rights and our lives before it is too late.

Stop the Red Hunt! The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League are fighting the Attorney General's new FBI Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines with a lawsuit. These Guidelines make speech the basis for increased surveillance, harassment, disruption and government violence. Marxists, black activists or defenders of black people's rights, trade unionists and other opponents of the government's policies must not remain silent while they are characterized as outlaws, to be shot down like dogs.

Initial endorsers of the suit include Haywood Burns, Co-chairman, National Conference of Black Lawyers; Alexander Cockburn; Florynce Kennedy, Co-founder, Black Women United for Political Action; William Kunstler, Center for Constitutional Rights; Conrad Lynn, Civil Rights Attorney; Carl Marzani, Veteran, Abraham Lincoln Brigade; and Marshall Perlin, National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case (organizations listed for identification purposes only).

Send your contributions for the suit against the FBI (earmarked if you wish) to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

Greyhound Strike...

(continued from page 16)

scale of wages and hours; for full cost-of-living protection and jobs for all, through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay.

For a National Transportation Strike!

A nationwide transportation strike to smash Greyhound's seabherding would cripple the U.S. economy and immediately pose a political confrontation with the Reagan government. First of all it's necessary to defend the bus drivers' picket lines. But it will take more than simple militancy to organize such a struggle. It's not just a question of opposing particularly sordid acts like those of the UAW's "Solidarity House," which has already undermined this strike by ordering its Greyhound mechanics, baggage handlers and ticket agents (Locals 656 and 985) to cross the lines of the drivers in Detroit. The AFL-CIO bureaucrats zealously support Reagan's crusade against the Soviet Union. And once you buy that, you can't fight against its domestic reflection—Reagan's war on the unions and poor.

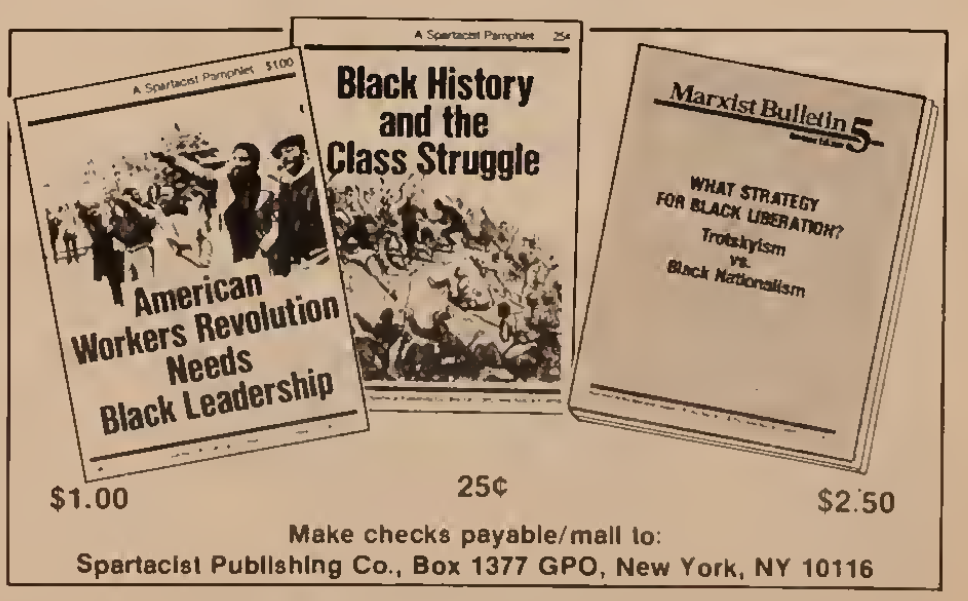
You can't fight Reagan with the anti-Soviet, strikebreaking Democrats. When Greyhound gets ready to try to move its buses, it's going to be all those Democratic Party city bosses—the Kochs, Feinsteins, Washingtons, Coleman Youngs—whose cops will be out there to knock the heads of pickets.

It's going to take class-struggle militants who fight for the political independence of labor to rally the unions behind the embattled Greyhound strikers. The Rouge Militant Caucus in Detroit, who are organizing against the UAW's seabherding and for mass support to the Greyhound picket lines, demanded:

"We say the UAW membership, employed and unemployed, must join those picket lines and make sure *'Picket lines mean don't cross.' UAW Local 656 and 985: Stop work now! Join the ATU Strikers!...*

"For a general transport strike coast to coast—shut it down!"

Militant Teamsters, airline and rail workers, transit workers: rally your unions behind the Greyhound workers! Bust the union-busters! Build mass picket lines—don't cross them! Shut down Greyhound tight! For united strike action! ■



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WORKERS VANGUARD

No More PATCOs—For a National Transport Strike!

Smash Greyhound Union-Busting!

San Francisco Greyhound strikers man picket lines chanting: "No scabs, no cuts, let the union drive the bus!"

WV Photo

NOVEMBER 15—The battle lines are up. Greyhound Lines, the nation's largest bus company, is out to break the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU). This is a fight for the entire labor movement. The showdown is Thursday. Greyhound scabherding must be stopped—*no matter what!* For mass pickets to blockade the garages! Transport workers: all out to stop the scabs! Defy the bosses' cops and courts!

First Reagan broke PATCO. Then Continental Airlines fired its entire workforce. Now they're aiming at the ATU. If they can bust the bus drivers, you're next! But labor has the power to ensure that there will be *no more PATCOs!* If Greyhound tries to roll the buses, we must make damn sure that nothing in this country moves—no buses, no planes, no trains, no trucks, no subways—*nothing!* This is everybody's fight. For a national transport strike!

Even before the picket lines went up on November 3, Greyhound had already put out its ads for scabs. On the first day alone in New York City, over 1,000 lined up under the nose of the union at the Port Authority terminal; within two weeks, the company was boasting it had 55,000 scab applicants nationwide to replace the jobs of 12,500 strikers. Then Greyhound issued a take-it-or-leave-it ultimatum, demanding that union members swallow a 25 percent cut in wages, medical and pension benefits, and holiday time.

On Monday, November 14 determined union members—bus drivers, mechanics, baggage handlers, ticket agents—massed in nationwide rallies. They were there to make it clear that they weren't going to take the company's total surrender terms. In Los Angeles some 300 integrated strikers marched to the Greyhound terminal from the bus barn and chanted defiantly, "Hell no, we won't go!" In San Francisco 400 pickets burned copies of Greyhound's back-to-work letters and loudly counted down the seconds to the company's noon deadline. It was the same in other cities. The strikers know that the existence of their union and every hard won gain they've made is at stake.

Greyhound is pleading poverty, but that won't wash. Last year the Greyhound Corporation netted $103 million. Meanwhile profits for the bus lines have zoomed as the bus line junked its unprofitable routes under new deregulation guidelines. The ATU offered to freeze the current contract for a year and submit to binding arbitration. But Greyhound provoked the strike with its massive takeaway demands for the sole purpose of breaking the union. As a union spokesman, Joe Brady, put it, "They're trying to make this the private-sector version of the air-traffic controllers fiasco of a few years ago" (*Wall Street Journal*, 10 November).

When Reagan busted PATCO, it was a green light for every boss to go after the unions. The government would love to see the trade unions beaten and picket lines smashed and militants like Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero jailed, to regiment and terrorize America's working people as part of the anti-Soviet war drive. With the air traffic controllers out of the way, the airlines went on the warpath. Last August Continental provoked a strike of the Machinists; pilots and flight attendants crossed the IAM's lines. Then it was their turn: Continental fired *everybody*, and hired back a scab workforce at half the pay and twice the workload! And in the Southwest, Phelps Dodge—backed with a massive display of police power and the National Guard—brought in truckloads of scabs in an effort to break the copper miners' union.

WV Photo

During 1981 PATCO strike, militant NYC transit workers called for labor action to shut down the airports.

What's behind the defeats of the unions is not so much the courts and cops, but the failure of the union misleaders to unleash the enormous power of labor solidarity. Two years ago, had key unions like the Teamsters, pilots or Machinists supported PATCO by honoring their strike, the airports would have been shut down solid and Reagan brought to his knees. No more PATCOs! The bosses' union-busting attacks can and must be stopped now! Teamsters, railroad workers, airline workers, private and city transit workers should meet Greyhound's scabherding with nationwide strike action!

Although a relatively small unit in itself, the Greyhound workers have established links with the powerful transportation unions. Teamsters in most cities have refused to make deliveries to Greyhound; Chicago's transit workers are manning Greyhound picket lines. Bus drivers in San Mateo, California refused company overtime to take over Greyhound routes. And every one of these key unions has reason to strike a blow at the union-busters—from the powerful Teamsters, who've been saddled with over 100,000 layoffs and concessions; to New York transit workers, who have seen their jobs and union conditions go to hell; to Chicago transit workers, who face government union-busting legislation supported by capitalist politicians ranging from the Republican governor to Chicago black Democratic mayor Harold Washington. And it wouldn't hurt to park some of those semis and city buses in front of the Greyhound terminals to make sure that no scab buses roll!

But the ATU leaders oppose linking their strike with other unions and call on bus drivers at Trailways and other lines to continue working! And they spread illusions in phony, nonexistent "legal guarantees," rather than preparing to build effective mass picket lines to stop the scabs.

Well, you can be sure that if the bosses will run airlines with scab pilots and air traffic controllers, they won't think twice about scabs driving Greyhound buses full of poor and working people. As for the "law," capitalist politicians from Reagan on down are primed to unleash the same strikebreaking court injunctions, jail terms and armed police thugs that PATCO strikers and the Arizona miners got. The capitalist state is not neutral but an organ of the class rule of the bosses. Defending their union and jobs means shutting down Greyhound solid! Particularly in a period like this, where union-busting is rife, that means a massive mobilization of labor, bringing out on strike the raw power of transportation workers, who can bring the economy to a grinding halt.

Such powerful labor action lays the basis for undermining the bosses' scabherding and union-busting. To break the airline strikes, they brought in not only the military, but ex-CIA flyboys, mercenaries and other social trash to do their dirty work. A lot of these guys are scabbing for kicks. Greyhound is openly appealing to the poor and hungry—particularly blacks and other minorities in massive ghettoized areas of high unemployment like Detroit.

What's necessary is not only militantly defended picket lines, but a class-struggle program that can unite the unions with the unemployed and blacks, with all victims of this decaying capitalist order! A solid strike *now* from all transportation workers opens the way for a class-struggle offensive by labor against the givebacks, the cuts in social benefits and massive unemployment. Urgently needed is a fight for a sliding

continued on page 15

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 343 — 2 December 1983

No Negotiated Sellout to Yankee Imperialism!

Stop Reagan's Rape of Central America!

U.S. Out of Grenada!

Central America is at the crossroads of revolution or bloody counterrevolution. There is no in-between. Reagan is getting ready to invade and everybody knows it. But Nicaragua is no Grenada. The Nicaraguan people lost 50,000 lives in the struggle to overthrow the bloody tyrant Somoza, and they won't submit without a fight. It is that prospect which has thus far stayed Reagan's hand. But at precisely this moment when revolutionary will and internationalist solidarity are in greatest need in Central America, we hear the suicidal din for "negotiated solutions." The more Reagan escalates his threats, the more the petty-bourgeois nationalists try to accommodate Yankee imperialism. And every attempt to appease Reagan just makes the U.S. capitalists more bloodthirsty.

It is the nationalism of the popular front which threatens to disarm the Central American masses before the *contras* and Yankee invaders. Looking for a deal with Reagan, the Nicaraguan Sandinistas have told Salvadoran rebel leaders to get out. They have thrown out Cuban teachers and military advisers. They are trying to appease Washington with offers to the "democratic" counterrevolutionary opposition within—at precisely the time when revolutionary measures should be taken against Reagan's confederates. While the people dig trenches, the leaders are digging their graves. The only deal Reagan and the *contras* want is to leave a trail of death all the way to Havana.

The reformists' and nationalists' talk of "negotiated solutions" with the Yankees and their "democratic" *contras* can only mean defeat. As revolutionary communists we have clearly posed the choices facing the Central American masses. When we called for "military victory," the reformists called for a "political solution" and chanted back the classic popular-front slogan, "The people united will never be defeated." They called us CIA agents for even suggesting the leadership of Nicaragua or the El Salvador guerrillas could sell out. Now the *New York Times* is writing editorials demanding that the Sandinistas dismantle their army and set up a coalition with the *contras* in order to then be "allowed to manage their own society."

Mario Ruiz-J. Miller

Big Pine II "war games" prepare invasion of Nicaragua. U.S. troops wade ashore in Honduras.

Reagan's rape of tiny Grenada has put the Yankee imperialists on a "high." The Sandinistas are pressuring the Salvadorans to accept a "political solution" which would leave the masses defenseless before the death squads. Castro, in turn, declares that Cuba will not militarily aid Nicaragua if the U.S. invades and is reportedly trying to broker a deal between the Sandinistas and the CIA's "liberal" *contra* terrorist, Edén Pastora. No doubt the Kremlin in turn is telling Castro not to upset the status quo in the Caribbean and Central America, lest Reagan vent his wrath against the Soviet Union.

The nationalists and reformists, from Managua to Moscow to New York City, have had as their major plan reliance on the liberal Democrats in the U.S. So what about the liberals? The *New York Times* (29 November) editorialized:

> "The Sandinista leftists are broke and beleaguered by rebel forces supplied by the United States. In piling offer upon promise, the Managua regime seems to be asking that it be allowed to survive."

What should be the terms for capitulation, asks the *Times*. Since "Nicaragua would retain an army of 25,000 and guns for much of its population... For Nicaragua then to forswear smuggling arms or otherwise aiding rebels in El Salvador or Guatemala would be no concession at all." Their conclusion:

> "If the United States is to swallow its disappointment over the betrayal of genuine democrats in Nicaragua it can hardly be asked to give up the right to assist democrats elsewhere. If there is to be a deal, it should be one that contains the Sandinistas in return for their being, if not welcomed, allowed to manage their own society."

What shameless imperialist arrogance! The "deal" is, the U.S. continues to arm Salvadoran death squads while Nicaragua dismantles its army and disarms its people!! And all the imperialists,

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Nuclear Soap Scares Hell Out of America . . . 3

Bronx Cheer for Decal City

It's Mayor Koch's capitalist miracle on the Grand Concourse. In a neighborhood that is part of the poorest Congressional district in the country, where on countless streets the "skyline" consists of the shells of burned-out tenements standing amid acres of rubble, New York City is pasting up large decals depicting louvered shutters, Venetian blinds, drawn shades and potted plants over the shattered windows of abandoned, city-owned buildings. It's 1984 in 1983. "Perception is reality," said the Commissioner of Housing Preservation and Development. Not since Reagan turned ketchup into a vegetable have the government's image makers had such a field day with the lives of the ghetto poor.

Officials "explained" that Federal "deep funding" programs for housing have been shelved and that there is no money for rehabilitation. There isn't even any cash to demolish these firetraps. Instead the government is providing fake windows, part of a $300,000 Federal program to improve the images of rundown neighborhoods. The "new look" is not intended for the black and Hispanic residents of the area, mind you—the bankers and politicians don't give a damn what they think.

The posters, which even from 100 feet away look like absurd props from Sesame Street, are primarily for the backs of buildings facing the Cross Bronx Expressway so that New England and New Jersey-bound motorists will get an upbeat view of "Fun City." But up close the first floors are covered with graffiti and trash accumulates in front of boarded-up doorways. Even the *New York Times* is embarrassed by Koch's decal city, as it quotes the bitter irony of area residents who say the city should provide "designer clothing decals to place over the tattered apparel of impoverished residents, large Mercedes-Benz decals to strap to their sides and decals of strip sirloins for them to eat."

And then there's Charlotte Street, where Jimmy Carter stood on the rubble in 1977 and promised a housing project (later canceled). In 1979 Pope John Paul Wojtyla denounced consumerism and reminded the faithful to keep their minds on "moral matters." He prayed over the rubble. *Deo gratias.* In 1980 candidate Ronald Reagan appeared too, with some Republican hot air. And today there is "Charlotte Gardens," two heavily barred, single-family, ranch-style model houses, complete with white picket fences, standing in the middle of the South Bronx desolation. The homes cost $53,000 in an area where average family income is $8,448, less than half the national average.

The bourgeoisie is wincing over the exposure of the decay of the South Bronx. But knowing that they are powerless to stop the rot, the bosses seek to cover it up in the shabbiest of ways. Mayor Koch claimed credit for the poster idea, stating that "In a neighborhood, as in life, a clean bandage is much, much better than a raw or festering wound." So that's what the South Bronx got—a picture of a bandage over a very real festering wound. The court of Catherine the Great, creators of the original Potemkin village, have nothing on Koch's camarilla.

Urban renewal Reagan-style: federally funded fake windows (complete with potted plants and louvered shutters) cover abandoned buildings in desolate South Bronx.

WV Photo

Three years ago we hailed NYC city councilman Gilberto Gerena-Valentin for taking a delegation from the Soviet Peace Council up to Charlotte Street and asking the Russians for $5 billion in foreign aid. In response, his seat was redistricted out of existence. We also recall that in 1942, during the darkest hours of the Nazi siege of Leningrad, false fronts were erected on buildings shelled by the Wehrmacht. Windows, doors and cupolas were faithfully reproduced in plywood, plaster and paint. It was the Russian people's own promise that their city, cradle of the October Revolution, would rise again after victory. And it did. The South Bronx however is finished under capitalism. It stands as a product of terminal capitalist decay. The rotting ghettos of America are part of this racist, capitalist system. Not promises of presidents, nor prayers of popes, nor decals of mayors can change this fact. It will take the socialist revolution to rebuild America's cities. ■

Slave Law Barbarism

Carolina Racist Judge: 30 Years or Castration

In a horrifying move reminiscent of the worst of the old slave South, three young black men who pled guilty to rape have been offered a "choice" of sentences: 30 years in prison or...surgical castration! The ruling in Anderson, South Carolina by white Circuit Court Judge C. Victor Pyle stunned the courtroom, including even the prosecutor. State Representative Theo Mitchell, one of the defendant's lawyers, rightly condemned the sentence as barbaric and "a badge of slavery." Nevertheless, facing 30 years in hellhole Southern prisons, the defendants are reportedly considering the castration "option," by which they would be released on five years' probation—mutilated for life.

The hideous "choice" before the three young men illustrates the sick, vicious racist violence underlying American bourgeois "justice." Even the Southern slaveowners, who considered black people subhuman chattel, eventually sickened of castrating men for rape as a form of torture, retaining the death penalty instead. Moreover, castration isn't so neat and "surgical" as they claim: bloody and deeply painful, there's plenty of chance for infection or death—and just how "careful" do you think the Southern white prison administration will be with its three black "subjects"?

The "theory" is that castration cuts off the production of male sex hormones, supposedly blocking the "male sex drive." Judge Pyle now allows maybe "chemical castration" will be okay—that is, repeatedly injecting them with Depo-provera, a female hormone that (temporarily) does the same thing. This "treatment" with similar drugs in British prisons results in nausea and intense pain in the stomach, chest and testicles, besides causing many men to develop huge, distended breasts that are then amputated.

But this cruel punishment doesn't even "work" in terms of "curing" rape, a form of violent criminal assault. Males castrated after puberty are still quite able to have sex—without ejaculation—and therefore quite able to rape, or, for that matter, quite able to make love with a woman. Not that the judge and prison system really care: the barbaric castration penalty is intended simply as a vindictive form of punishment by torture, like the death penalty which everybody knows doesn't stop murder. Rape isn't the result of "raging male hormones," as some feminists think. It's essentially a violent act of sexual coercion, whose aim is to overpower, abuse and completely degrade the victim.

And this was a particularly brutal and violent case of rape. The victim, an 80-pound black woman, 23 years old, was trapped in a motel, repeatedly raped and beaten for six hours, burnt with cigarettes; she lost four pints of blood and was in the hospital for five days afterwards. It was an outrage, and a bloody reminder that blacks are disproportionately the victims of violent crime in America. How can a victim get any real justice in this racist and exploitative society, which willy-nilly continues to produce an endless supply of abused, vicious, crazed, empty youth? *Castrating rapists won't stop rape.*

Just as blacks, who are the primary victims of the violence of this sick society, are also the majority of those thrown into Death Row, so too rape laws have always been used to victimize and terrorize blacks. Since 1939, 455 men were put to death for rape—405 of them black, and 398 convicted in the Southern states. And the cry "rape!" was always the signal in white Southern communities to bring out the lynch rope. In the 1931 "Scottsboro Boys" case, eight black youths were sentenced to death on the frame-up charge of raping two white girls they were traveling with, despite overwhelming conflicting testimony at the trial. Though not executed, thanks only to a world protest campaign, they all spent many bitter years in prison.

Even outside the capitalist "criminal justice" system, blacks are still treated as subhuman in this racist society. In the infamous Tuskegee "bad blood" operation begun in 1932 under the federal Centers for Disease Control, 400 black men infected with syphilis were left untreated and just "watched" for *decades* to see what effects the raging

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Spartacist League Forum

Blacks Need Power, Not Front Men for Racist Democrats—Build a Workers Party!

Don't Buy Jesse Jackson!

Speaker: **Bernard Vance**
SL Central Committee

Saturday, Dec. 10, 7:30 p.m.
Hyde Park Hilton, Oxford Room
For more information (312) 427-0003

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National Office
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Ann Arbor
c/o SYL
P.O. Box 8364
Ann Arbor, MI 48107

Atlanta
Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

Berkeley/Oakland
P.O. Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 835-1535

Boston
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San Francisco, CA 94101
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P.O. Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
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TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Soviet Nukes Deter Imperialist Holocaust

Nuclear Soap Scares Hell Out of America

ABC

While the bombs were landing on Kansas City in ABC's nuclear soap opera "The Day After" in TV movieland, in the real world NATO's Pershing 2 and cruise nuclear missiles were already being unloaded at sites in Britain and West Germany. These so-called "intermediate range" missiles take only *six to eight minutes* to hit targets in the Soviet Union, creating a deadly and provocative escalation in the ring of nuclear warheads practically on the USSR's doorstep. While liberal "nuke freeze" forces in the U.S. exulted that the ABC melodrama of nuclear holocaust in Middle America vastly strengthened their forces, the deployment of these offensive weapons right on schedule starkly revealed the impotence of the "hot autumn" of European anti-nuke daisy chains and peace crawls.

The Soviet Union at least is not living in a pacifist fantasyland. Soviet defense minister and marshal Dmitri Ustinov had warned beforehand the USSR would never accept the American preparations for "nuclear blitzkrieg" on Soviet command and communications centers. The USSR promptly did what it said it would if these first-strike missiles were deployed, announcing necessary measures to balance the latest offensive lurch by the U.S. and pulling out of the talks on medium-range missiles in Geneva. And Soviet leader Andropov warned the U.S. that it would not escape Truman A-bombed the defenseless populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Indeed this U.S. nuclear first strike was intended primarily to intimidate the Soviet Union. Japan had already been defeated and was suing for surrender.

If the USSR had not developed its own powerful nuclear arsenal, the population of the Soviet Union and many other peoples would have suffered nuclear incineration at the hands of U.S. imperialism. To achieve and maintain rough nuclear parity with the U.S. war machine has demanded great economic sacrifices from the Soviet masses, and they were not the only ones to make sacrifices in this cause. The heroic, decades-long revolutionary struggle waged by the Vietnamese peasants and workers tied down the Pentagon war machine and so allowed the Soviets to catch up to the American nuclear arsenal after their humiliation in the 1962 Cuba missile crisis.

That 1962 confrontation was much recalled in the past week or so. "The Day After" had the good doctor Jason Robards and his wife harking back to the Cuba missile crisis in simple fear, reflecting the very real terror of many Americans who felt they might well go over the "brink" then. Meanwhile NBC broadcast a 20th anniversary salute to John F. Kennedy, the imperialist chief who launched the Bay of Pigs and escalated the Vietnam War, glowingly

Silk/Time

The real day after: Nagasaki 1945. U.S. A-bombed defenseless Japanese population. The purpose: to intimidate the Soviets.

the consequences of a nuclear attack launched from West Europe:

> "During the two world wars the flames of destruction spared the territory of the United States of America. Now, too, the people in Washington would like to think that by deploying their medium-range missiles in Europe and creating thereby an additional nuclear threat to the socialist countries, they would be able to divert the return strike from their house."
>
> —*New York Times*, 25 November

The right-wing bait to show "The Day After" in Russia is doubly obscene. No people suffered more during World War II than those of the Soviet Union. For every American killed, 80 Russians lost their lives (20 million in all)! And the Soviet people have lived under the threat of U.S. nuclear attack ever since

recalling the days of "Camelot"—i.e., the days of overwhelming American nuclear superiority. From the Soviet side, officials kept repeating that "the missiles of November [the U.S. Pershings in Europe] are more dangerous than the missiles of October [the Soviet missiles in Cuba]." As indeed they are, because America has lost its nuclear blackmail advantage and Reagan's desperate attempts to regain it are inevitably deadly provocations.

"The Day After": Scaring the American Public

It's probably a good thing that millions of Americans who watched "The Day After" were forced to confront the effects of nuclear war on the United States—even in the extremely sanitized and mild version presented by ABC. The American people have not suffered a war on their soil in more than a century, not since the Civil War. One of the reasons that the Reaganites and their far-right allies like Jerry Falwell and Phyllis Schlafly "High Frontiersmen" were so furious about "The Day After" was that it blew holes in their attempts to convince the public that they can nuke the Soviet Union without a single white middle-class American getting killed. Last January the deputy undersecretary of defense claimed, in a wierdly revealing moment, "Everybody's going to make it if there are enough shovels to go around.... Dig a hole, cover it with a couple of doors and then throw three feet of dirt on top. It's the dirt that does it."

The basic message of "The Day After" is that it doesn't matter who started it. By the time the nukes have hit Kansas City and reduced the green and gold Midwestern prairies to a mass of rubble and bloated cow carcasses the survivors couldn't care less. (To bring nuclear war home to Middle America, all cars are disabled—but miraculously the horses survive.) The most devastating image is of smoking, charred ruins over which the U.S. president's voice floats eerily, carried by deadly radioactive winds: "My fellow Americans...I wish to assure you that America has survived. There has been no surrender, no retreat from the principles of liberty and democracy for which the Free World looks to us." The image is of some utterly isolated nut—Hitler in the bunker—but the date is 1983.

The imagery of Hiroshima was used throughout "The Day After," though everyone admits the reality of nuclear war would be far, far worse today. They didn't even show anybody retching on TV—one of the immediate effects of radiation sickness. Raging fires sucking up oxygen, gigantic craters, no possibility of medical aid—many of these immediate effects are well known. Carl Sagan and other scientists have recently pointed out what is perhaps the most deadly effect of nuclear war—the "nuclear winter" they project will result from dense smoke clouds flung into the atmosphere, blocking the sun (thus preventing plant growth) and creating a months-long pitch-black night with subfreezing temperatures around the globe. Most human survivors would starve; our species, along with many others, could be wiped out. But you couldn't show that on "The Day After," which was explicitly and successfully designed as a nuke soap opera with characters you could "identify with" and thus put the horror on a "human scale." (We're waiting for the spinoffs: "Where's Dallas?" "General Hospice," "Little Shelter on the Prairie," "The Nukes of Hazard" and of course, "As the World Burns" followed by "No Life to Live.")

"Official" Response: War Criminals Cover Up

Cleaned-up and folksy as it was, still "The Day After" did horrify a lot of Americans, and infuriated the Reagan administration which saw it (correctly) as a propaganda boost for the Democratic Party liberals in the next elections. "White House to Counterattack Movie" was the *Washington Post*'s headline on the initial response by the Reaganites. While those crewcut kids in Young Americans for Freedom were out there picketing ABC studios with "Better Dead than Red" signs, somewhat wiser heads at the White House finally figured it was better to outflank the peaceniks by claiming that the movie bolstered Reagan's "deterrence" policies. So they shoved Secretary of State George Shultz out in front of the cameras right after the last scenes of irradiated rubble faded, where in an oddly uneasy and shifty-eyed performance he attempted to sell the American public the incredible proposition that the movie actually supported the president's massive nuclear arms build-up ("peace through strength").

For many, the panel discussion after "The Day After" was even scarier than the nuclear soap itself. The main qualification for this panel was being a certified Vietnam War criminal—Robert McNamara for the Democrats, Henry Kissinger for the Republicans. General Brent Scowcroft, head of Reagan's commission on the MX missile, explained that the lower the number of warheads, the more "unstable" the situation, the more likely a nuclear war. ABC followed up this macabre performance with "The Crisis Game," presenting a bunch of real-life former CIA spooks, national security types, secretaries of state/war and generals "going to the brink" and back successfully in backing the Soviets down in Iran by threatening to use tactical nukes. The message: nuclear brinkmanship can work. The best moment: Hodding Carter III asked, "What will we tell the American people?" about sending troops into Iran. Someone pipes up, "Tell them American lives are in danger—like we did in '65 in the Dominican Republic," and everybody breaks up in spontaneous laughter.

The main political effect of "The Day After" is likely to bolster the "nuclear

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Darlene Kamlura

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No. 343 2 December 1983

Defend Postal Unionists Schneider and Mares!

Stop the Frame-Up by Canada KKK Union Basher!

We reprint below the statement of the Committee to Defend Anti-Fascist Unionists initiated by the Trotskyist League of Canada in defense of two Canadian postal workers, Paul Schneider and Mike Mares. Members of the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) Local 1, Toronto, these two militants have been set up for "legal" lynching by William Lau Richardson, *the self-declared "intelligence director" of the Canadian Ku Klux Klan!* This is an outrage! Richardson, Canada's most notorious agent provocateur—union-busting terrorist, convicted bomb planter and Klansman—is charging these two postal workers with "assault causing bodily harm" for defending themselves and others against this thug's provocation, intimidation and harassment of an abortion rights demonstration.

Richardson is targeting Schneider and Mares because they are union militants, fighters against Klan terror and supporters of the Trotskyist League of Canada (TLC). They were active in warning their union about this labor-hating fascist as part of a TLC campaign exposing Richardson, distributing photos and documentation of his 15-year record of crimes against the workers movement to unions, left and minority organizations. In their union Paul and Mike have consistently fought for the only strategy that works to stop the fascists: militant mass mobilizations of labor, minorities and all the oppressed. They won the local's support for the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the Klan in Washington, D.C. last year. Richardson's outrageous frame-up charges against these two militants is an open attack on all those who would organize to stop fascist terror and defend themselves against the murderous KKK.

Schneider and Mares have received widespread support from the labor movement, left and opponents of fascism across the country. From Quebec to B.C., unionists have endorsed the Committee's demand to drop the charges. Among the almost 200 union endorsers are 71 union officials representing public sector, auto, steel, wood and brewery workers, as well as a number of members of the social-democratic New Democratic Party.

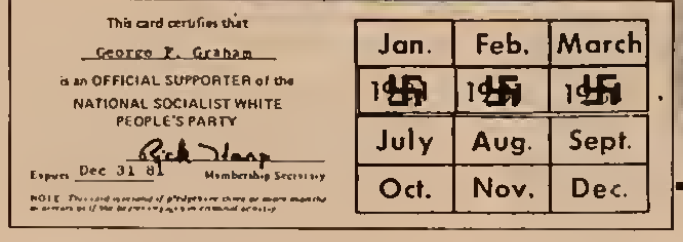
Ominously, however, defenders of Richardson have wormed their way into LCUC Local 1. Richardson's scandalous charges against Paul and Mike coincided with a vicious witchhunting campaign inside the union. A supporter of the Canadian Anti-Soviet Action Committee (CASAC)—an outfit full of self-declared Nazis and other fascists tied into the sinister, ultraright Moon cult—attempted to have Paul, Mike and 30 other unionists expelled or suspended from the union for issuing a statement exposing Richardson and the fascist-infested, labor-hating CASAC. At the last local meeting the union membership voted overwhelmingly to throw out these atrocious charges.

However the redbaiting and witchhunting was taken up by a two-bit one-time Mao lover, Jim Turnbull. In the tradition of the two Joes, Stalin and McCarthy, Turnbull's supporters mobilized to defeat a motion in defense of Paul Schneider and Mike Mares. The defeat of this motion is a frontal blow to the union itself, which faces an all-out union-busting attack by postal management. Where "legal methods" are found wanting the bosses have in reserve the fascist storm troopers with their guns loaded and aimed at organized labor, minorities and the left. The sister union of the LCUC, the Toronto local of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, endorsed the demand to drop the charges and made a generous $500 contribution, clearly understanding that "defense of Paul and Mike is defense of us all."

Fascist Scum

Spartacist Canada

Nazi George Graham (left) and William Lau Richardson, self-described "intelligence director" of Canadian KKK. Below: Graham's official Nazi membership card.



Brothers and Sisters:

William Lau Richardson, self-declared "intelligence director" of the lynch-mob, race-terrorist Ku Klux Klan, is targeting Paul Schneider and Mike Mares, two brothers from the Letter Carriers Union of Canada Local 1, Toronto. On October 13, Paul and Mike were arrested on charges of "assault causing bodily harm" laid by Richardson and another fascist creep, the Nazi George Graham. *This is an outrage!* These unionists face a possible *ten years'* imprisonment!

William Lau Richardson: CIA agent, RCMP informant, union-busting agent provocateur, convicted bomb-planter, Klansman. An avowed enemy of the labor movement, minority and left organizations, Richardson is a dangerous terrorist. The following is only a sampling of his long, well-documented and deadly history of crimes against the left and workers movement:

- 1968-69, worked for the murderous American CIA
- 1974, made bombs planted in the car of the UAW bargaining agent at McDonnell-Douglas and in the car of an Arab worker and union organizer at Ralph Milrod Metal Products in Mississauga
- 1976, provoked a fight with two Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union organizers at Dylex Ltd. to set them up for firing and smash a union organizing drive
- 1981, posing as an opponent of the KKK, Richardson tried to infiltrate the Riverdale Action Committee Against Racism, making off with a partial list of members and supporters
- 1983, Richardson and Graham consorted with the Canadian Anti-Soviet Action Committee, an outfit full of self-declared Nazis and other fascists, in provoking the April 23 "Against Cruise Testing" Toronto demonstration

The KKK and Nazis have found fertile ground on the fringes of the new Cold War. It is no accident that William John Beatty, ex-fuhrer of the Canadian Nazi Party, together with former members of the white-supremacist Western Guard like Geza Matrai and Paul Fromm resurface today as the Canadian Anti-Soviet Action Committee. The fascists are the domestic shock troops of the drive to ignite the entire earth in thermonuclear war against the Soviet Union. CASAC, the Nazis, Richardson, the Klan are targeting us and ours for union-busting, race-terror and genocide.

On October 1, the sinister criminal and Klansman Richardson provoked, menaced and terrorized the Toronto "Day of Action for Choice on Abortion" rally. At this rally for women's rights, endorsed by the Ontario Federation of Labour and the Canadian Labour Congress, were union brothers and sisters including Paul, Mike and other LCUC militants, pregnant women, children, leftists and other supporters of democratic rights. Richardson was tracked by rally marshals who were alerted to his dangerous presence by the Trotskyist League of Canada, a socialist organization that has distributed photos and documentation exposing Richardson and Graham to unions, minority and left organizations. Richardson physically threatened one of the marshals who was in charge of the protection of all in attendance. The police ordered Richardson to leave the rally site at Nathan Phillips Square.

Now this terrorist is trying to have Paul and Mike thrown in jail for defending the demonstration and themselves! These brothers are being singled out because they are union militants, leftists and fighters against Klan terror. Supporters of the Trotskyist League of Canada, Paul and Mike helped build support in the Canadian labor movement for the mass labor/minority mobilizations initiated by the Spartacist League/U.S. that have stopped the Klan and Nazis. Their union, LCUC Local 1, gave its financial support to the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization in Washington, D.C. last November 27 that stopped the Klan from marching hooded and robed in the U.S. capital.

The arrest of Paul and Mike, who were dragged from their workplace by plainclothes cops, fingerprinted, photographed and thrown behind bars for the day, is an open attempt to silence and intimidate *all of us* who want to stop fascist terror. But we had better not be silent! If these charges stick it will give a green light to the racist, labor-hating fascists to carry out their program of destroying the labor movement, terrorizing and murdering unionists, blacks, Jews, East Indians, gays, socialists and all decent people. *Paul and Mike must not go to jail!*

Remember the words of Martin Niemoller, a German Lutheran churchman and WWI U-boat commander, sent to a concentration camp by Hitler:

> "First they came for the communists, but since I was not a communist I did not protest. Then they came for the Jews, but since I was not a Jew I did not protest. Then they came for the Catholics, but since I was not a Catholic I did not protest. When they came for me, there was no one left to protest."

The defense of Paul and Mike is the defense of us all. Your support, endorsement and contributions are vital to this defense. We are depending on you to raise the thousands of dollars needed to wage this fight against Richardson and his ilk. Join with us to demand:
DROP THE CHARGES AGAINST PAUL SCHNEIDER AND MIKE MARES!

WHAT YOU CAN DO

1) Endorse the demand of the Committee to Defend Anti-Fascist Unionists: Drop the Charges Against Paul Schneider and Mike Mares!

2) Make a much-needed financial contribution to the Committee.

Contact/send contributions to: Committee to Defend Anti-Fascist Unionists, P.O. Box 463, Station E, Toronto, Ontario, M6H 4E3. For more information, call: (416) 977-0647.

2 November 1983

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Reformists Learn Reagan's Grenada Lessons

The Yankee imperialists are certainly playing Grenada for all it's worth. Racists grooved on TV shots of white U.S. Army Rangers in those mod Wehrmacht helmets training their M-16s on black islanders. Cold Warriors got off on the spectacle of Cuban and Soviet diplomats lined up, body searched, loaded onto trucks and filing past American paratroopers for eight hours while their belongings were ransacked prior to their being expelled from the island. In direct violation of the Geneva Accords, captured Grenadian coup leaders Austin and Coard were handcuffed, blindfolded and stripped to the waist to be displayed on a soccer field. "Hard-core Grenadians" were held in cramped, asphyxiating, hot-as-hell isolation crates reminiscent of the "tiger cages" into which suspected Viet Cong were thrown a decade ago.

For Reagan, Grenada's importance has always been as a pawn to be taken in his anti-Soviet war drive. It was cheap revenge for the U.S.' humiliating defeat by the Indochinese masses, as it projected itself once again as global policeman. Naturally, the "free world" democracy introduced on American bayonets excluded freedom of the press, freedom of assembly or any political activity. And it was indeed a lesson to be imparted to would-be anti-imperialists: fool around with Castro and the Soviets, and the American empire will strike back. Significantly/predictably much of the left is heeding this lesson. Most explicit was an article by Alexander Cockburn and James Ridgeway in the rad-lib *Village Voice* (8 November) blaming supposedly pro-Moscow "hardline sectarians" for providing Reagan with a pretext to invade. According to this story, Grenadian leader Maurice Bishop was the representative of a "populist nationalist upsurge" while Bernard Coard, who ousted Bishop in a bloody coup, "had far closer affinity to the austere traditions of democratic centralism and, ultimately, of Moscow."

This disgusting apology for "moderation" explicitly takes up themes from the State Department propaganda mills (which are posthumously rehabilitating Bishop as a radical the U.S. could "live with," even though they plotted his ouster and murder from the day he came to power). It was "highly possible," say Ridgeway and Cockburn, that the popular Bishop "would have been agreeable to a return to free elections" ...as if the electoral farces staged by theosophical UFO nut dictator Eric Gairy with his Mongoose Gang of *tontons macoutes* thugs had anything to do with "freedom." Ridgeway and Cockburn are eager to blame everything on "ultraleft sectarians" whose "overall beneficiary" is Ronald Reagan.

This same theme is taken up by the ex- and now explicitly anti-Trotskyist, "peaceful legal" Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The ultra-reformist SWP cynically talked of Grenadian resistance even though the so-called "People's Revolutionary Army," inherited from the Gairy dictatorship, collapsed as soldiers shed their uniforms. We ask: what kind of a "revolution" was it that took power by a coup d'état and was undone by another coup, where the imperialists could invade and install a puppet regime without reversing a single revolutionary gain?

In reality, Bishop's Grenada was a left-nationalist Third World regime like many others, popular but without the mass mobilization characteristic of a genuine social revolution, even if bureaucratically deformed. That is what explains the striking contrast between the passive response of the Grenadian masses to the U.S. invasion and the powerful defense of revolutionary Cuba by the Havana workers who rushed to Playa Girón (the Bay of Pigs) to beat back the CIA-sponsored *gusanos* in April 1961. In Grenada the backbone of the resistance was some 600-plus Cuban construction workers, *most of them over 40 years of age*, building the new airport at Port Salines. And what a fight they put up! These internationalists not only defended themselves, they gave the American paratroopers a taste of the reception they'll get if they try a Bay of Pigs II in Cuba itself. ■

Central America...

(continued from page 1)

from Reagan to the "dove" liberals, smell blood. Managua's concessions only whet their appetite.

But revolutionaries can see the potential for victory. Revolutionary class struggle is the way to defend, complete and extend the Nicaraguan revolution. The U.S. and the *contras* can be handed an historic defeat south of the border. As the White House turns to Central America to attack the next targets on its hit list, they could find themselves bogged down in a debilitating war like Vietnam, which sapped the strength of U.S. imperialism for a decade. What's needed above all is a genuinely internationalist communist leadership which answers Yankee invasion with revolutionary class war throughout the region and in the heart of the imperialist monster. *The Trotskyists of the Spartacist League say: Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs, Nicaragua Needs MIGs! For workers revolution, not negotiated sellout in Central America!*

Cuban Revolution Under the Gun

As Reagan threatens to "roll back" revolution from Managua to Havana, the contradictions of the Stalinists and nationalists become excruciating. While Castro seeks an accommodation which may sacrifice someone else's revolution, he also stands on the gains of the Cuban Revolution. We hail the tenacious resistance of Cuban construction workers in Grenada. This will give the imperialist war machine pause where empty United Nations resolutions just roll off the back of slimy East River rat Jeane Kirkpatrick. In Havana the Cuban masses poured into the streets to show solidarity with their comrades' heroism in Grenada. Several thousand waited for days at José Martí International Airport to greet the returning heroes, held hostage by the U.S. Castro shook the hand of each returning veteran. And even though the Americans asked every single one of the 784 Cuban volunteers on Grenada if they wished to defect, *not one could be bought off with promises of the easy life in Miami.* In his speech before hundreds of thousands in Revolution Square, Castro again proudly proclaimed: "Our country might be wiped off the face of the earth, but it will never be conquered and subjugated."

The giant billboard on the edge of the plaza proclaimed, "*Siempre internacionalistas*"—always internationalists. And the example of the Cuban *internacionalistas* in Grenada is an inspiration to workers throughout the world. Certainly the Cuban masses have tremendous achievements to safeguard. When the Rebel Army marched into Havana on January 1, 1959, average life expectancy was 58 years, there were one million illiterates while 10,000 teachers were unemployed and infant mortality was astronomical. Today the average life span in Cuba is higher than in the U.S., and the literacy rate is the highest in the Americas, while child deaths have been reduced from 70 to 17 per thousand. *The standard of living of the Cuban masses is higher than in any other country of Latin America*, with the possible exception of the oil state Venezuela. Compare this to the misery endemic throughout the Third World (or the South Bronx, for that matter). For youths in San Salvador where one child in two never sees its fifth birthday and three adults out of five are illiterate, Cuba is an inspiring example of liberation from the imperialist yoke of poverty and repression.

But the heroism of the Cuban masses, and even the courageous dignity shown by Castro, are mobilized to defend the *patria* (fatherland) rather than proletarian internationalism. In Grenada, surrounded by a U.S. war fleet of 20 ships and saddled with a murderous bonapartist junta, Cuba was unable—physically and morally—to provide effective aid against the Yankee imperialist invasion. But at a press conference in Havana on October 27, Castro went on to claim that in Nicaragua as well the Cubans would be unable to militarily aid resistance to imperialist invasion. (It has also been reported, and nowhere denied, that the Cubans have been negotiating with ex-Sandinista traitor Edén Pastora, looking for a "negotiated solution" in Nicaragua.) This is treachery, not a consequence of logistical realities so much as of the narrow nationalist perspectives of a Stalinist bureaucracy which is prepared to sacrifice the next guy's revolution in the hopes of negotiating its own deal with imperialism. This is also a reflection of the Soviets' attitude toward Cuba itself, where political support is a given but adequate aid in the face of threats of a nuclear World War III is more problematical.

Stalin's program of "socialism in one country" was a retreat from the program of international workers revolution advocated by the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky. This meant abandoning the working masses of China, Germany and Spain "to their own fate," while Stalin vainly sought "peaceful coexistence" (today called "détente") with the imperialists. For the Soviet Union, covering one-sixth of the surface of the globe, this was a dangerous illusion, undermining the defense of the USSR itself as the second imperialist world war approached. But in the island bastion of Cuba, located only 90 miles from the U.S. Navy's Caribbean Command at Key West, such betrayals can be immediately fatal. Speaking to American correspondents after the July 26 celebrations of the attack on the Moncada Barracks in Santiago de Cuba, Castro remarked:

> "I said to the journalists jokingly that by trying to prevent the United States from intervening in Central America we were helping Reagan. Because I really consider it would be a very serious error, one that would cause a split between the United States and our peoples that would last for a long time."
>
> —*Granma* (English weekly edition), 14 August

This is no joke.

With all the heroism of the Cuban masses, led by a self-appointed bureaucracy—the guerrillas in power, so to speak, rather than the soviet democracy of Lenin and Trotsky's Russia—successful defense of their revolutionary gains against the American capitalists, who still dream of turning Cuba (as Barry Goldwater put it earlier this year) into the 51st state, requires an internationalist communist mobilization throughout the Americas. Not pandering to bourgeois nationalism, such as Castro's support to the Argentine generals in their Falklands/Malvinas adventure (whose *defeat* has opened the way to ousting the bloodsucking military dictatorship), but promoting *workers* revolution that will really "sock it to the Yankees" (*a los yanquis darles duro*, as the chant goes). In his speech on the 30th anniversary of the attack on Moncada Barracks, Castro remarked:

> "A new Vietnam in the heart of the American continent? May it never happen, and there's still time to avoid it! The peoples of Our America and the rest of the world would not sit back and observe a crime of such magnitude."
>
> —*Granma* (English weekly edition), 7 August

The imperialist doves (and their reformist tails) call for "No more Vietnams" because for them, no less than Reagan, Vietnam was a defeat. But for the impoverished masses of the world, the opposite is true. In his April 1967 "Message to the Tricontinental," Cuban revolutionary hero Che Guevara proclaimed that "the Cuban Revolution has before it a task of much greater relevance, to create a second or a third Vietnam...." *The Spartacist League proclaims: Vietnam was a victory! Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism!*

For Revolutionary War Throughout Central America!

At the United Nations debate on the U.S. invasion one delegate stated that Grenada was "a small nation whose people are being butchered with the most sophisticated weapons, whose only fault is the desire to build an airport and to choose a government that does not please the United States." In an exchange in the *New York Times* (13 November), Massachusetts Democratic Senator Tsongas remarked ironically, "Let's take Nicaragua. Nicaragua has an airport, too." That, of course, is just what Reagan would like to do. But it's not so easy. For unlike Grenada, Nicaragua has experienced a popular revolution which drove out the hated bloodsucking Somoza dynasty, the "jackal of Managua" installed by the U.S. half a century ago much as it is establishing a Caribbean "peacekeeping force" (neo-colonial constabulary) in Grenada today. The Nicaraguan people will defend the conquests of their revolution. But to do so effectively they must go beyond the trilogy of "mixed economy, non-alignment and political pluralism"—the pipe dream of a "middle road" between capitalism and social revolution—to expropriate the bourgeoisie.

Today Nicaragua is besieged from within and without. Across its borders come the CIA-financed *contras*, whether former Somozaists or the Pastora pseudo-democrats. ("Comandante Zero" recently admitted that he had 25 former National Guardsmen in his forces, but this was okay because they accepted his discipline [*San Francisco Examiner*, 20 November 1983].) Inside the country the capitalist "fifth column" is at work, milking the economy by exporting capital, working in tandem with Reagan's assault from

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Moon Cult in the Service of Bloody Right-Wing Terror

Fascists, Gusanos and Moonies

One year ago, on November 27, five thousand overwhelmingly black and working people stopped the Ku Klux Klan in the streets of Washington, D.C. The most effective anti-fascist protest in decades, the Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK was initiated and organized by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) in collaboration with trade unionists from Norfolk, Washington and elsewhere.

Three days later the *Washington Times* printed a libelous article charging Spartacists with having tried to provoke deadly violence against the police. The *Washington Times*, which aspires to be the mouthpiece for the conservative right, is the cornerstone of the drive for anti-communist respectability by the sinister South Korean fanatic Sun Myung Moon. Our Marxist organizations have become the targets of their falsehoods, aimed at setting us up for bloody repression at the hands of the police and intelligence agencies. As an elementary act of self-defense, the SL/SYL have filed a $20 million libel suit against the Moonies' publishing arm, a lawsuit vital to our democratic rights and the liberties of all Americans. The Moonies' hit list probably includes you.

In previous issues of *Workers Vanguard* and *Young Spartacus*, we have exposed some of the Moonies' sinister activities in promoting murderous anti-communism in Honduras, El Salvador and Uruguay, their links to South African and South Korean intelligence agencies, their venomous anti-Sovietism on U.S. campuses. Yet every day more evidence comes to light of financial and operational ties between Moon's multimillion-dollar cult-empire and a vast collection of bloody tyrants and ex-tyrants, *gusano* assassins and fascist war criminals around the world.

Below we reprint a small selection of material—some of it quite chilling—from a variety of sources about the Moonies and their ominous allies.

Moonies and the Japanese Ultraright

"In Japan...the Unification Church is known variously as *Sekai Toitsu Kyokai, Toitsu Genri*, or *Genri Undo*, with numerous variations. The main adjuncts or manifestations of the Church are the *Kokusai Shokyo Rengo* (International Federation for Victory over Communism or IFFVOC), which is essentially the Japanese chapter or counterpart of the World Anticommunist League/Asian People's Anticommunist League (WACL/APACL)....

"In a top position is Professor Juitsu Kitaoka, a leader of the United Nations Association and member of several pro-American, rightist organisations. He is described as a violent anti-communist advocating rearmament, stronger police powers and capital punishment for communists.... Kitaoka is a long-time associate of Dr Tetsuzo Watanahe, a former film tycoon whose ideas are no less violent. Organiser of the APACL in Japan, Watanabe became international president of the WACL/APACL, the IFFVOC's *alter ego*. Watanabe was closely connected with US Army intelligence and maintained relations with prominent McCarthyites in the US....

"*Genri* leaders, by their own admission, have been collaborating with the KCIA [Korean Central Intelligence Agency], and their movement worked in alliance with...the IFFVOC, established jointly by Moon and gambling czar Ryoichi Sasakawa in 1967 with the participation of several prewar ultra-nationalist, terrorist and underworld bosses....

"The IFFVOC was based originally

People

Sun Myung Moon, dangerous cult leader with links to international right-wing terror network.

on Sasakawa's Federation of Motorboat Racing Associations, which grosses US$5 billion a year and employs tens of thousands of people, mostly young men. It appears that the IFFVOC serves Sasakawa as a private police force.... Sasakawa's remarks indicate that he considers it as a patriotic militia in reserve for political crises, similar to Hitler's brownshirts and the uniformed militarist party that Sasakawa, a self-proclaimed fascist, organised during the 1930s....

"The Moon Machine in Japan operates...a trading firm known as *Toitsu Sangyo* (Unification Industries) which raised eyebrows several years ago by importing several hundred shotguns and powerful air rifles manufactured by the Reverend Moon's munitions factories in South Korea which assemble M-16 rifles on a knockdown basis under US licence and manufacture parts for the same weapons. Significantly, the shotguns and air rifles mentioned above were imported for the militant IFFVOC, presumably to be used (when *Der Tag* comes) against targets whom the Messiah chooses to designate as communists."

—John Roberts, "Happiness ginseng from earth-conquering Moonies," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 23 June 1978

Moon Sponsors Gusano Assassins

"Feeding the hopes of [Cuban] exile terrorists through the years have been powerful outside interests. First came the CIA, recruiting for the Bay of Pigs, the Congo, and Vietnam. Later came E. Howard Hunt for Nixon's re-election committee. After that, the Chilean secret police. And in 1977 a representative from yet another heavily financed international organization dedicated to fighting world Communism appeared on the scene: a Reverend Jose Casado of Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church.

"Over the past two years, it was learned, Casado arranged and paid for buses to transport exiles to the World Anti-Communist League conferences in Washington. [Cuban Nationalist Movement leader] Armando Santana also said Casado supplied $2,000 to the Cuban Nationalist Movement to help pay legal fees for the three members convicted for their parts in the Letelier murder. Casado also picked up the publishing costs for the first three months of this year of *El Cubano Libre*, one of the most right wing of the area's exile tabloids, according to owner-editor Pedro Hernandez."

—Jeff Stein, "An Army In Exile," *New York* magazine, 10 September 1979

...And the "Current White House Staff"

"The ubiquitous 'Reverend' Sun Myung Moon and his Unification Church are making a bid for influence

Village Voice

Notorious Japanese fascist and Moonie supporter Ryoichi Sasakawa posing with Mussolini.

and respectability in the Middle East by setting up their own publication—*The Middle East Times*, first published in Cyprus in March.... But few of the writers, including those who helped to set it up (and fewer of the readers), know that it is funded and run by Moon's right-hand man, former South Korean officer Colonel Bo Hi Pak....

"To achieve his aim of a world theocracy, Moon has set up corporations engaged in everything from ginseng exporting to the manufacture of M-16 rifles. They have turnovers of tens of millions of dollars. Together with Colonel Pak, said to be the man responsible for the day-to-day running of the UC [Unification Church], Moon also cultivates the most conservative of politicians and regimes worldwide to help spread his message by offering them assistance in fighting the left.

"...some politicians are unworried by

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Help Fight Moonie Libel

When the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. last November 27, the Moonies targeted the principal organizers. The Moonies' *Washington Times* falsely branded the Spartacists as "violent provocateurs," would-be cop-killers—a set-up for violence against us which compelled the SL to sue for libel.

The Moonie libel is such a pack of lies their lawyers have no defense and so have tried to squeeze through a legal loophole using an anachronistic law in the District of Columbia stating that political organizations cannot sue. Of course we wanted to keep the case in Washington, D.C., the city which experienced the event. But on November 18 we moved the case to New York State. The Moonies must not be allowed to get away with this libel that kills.

Money, and lots of it, is urgently needed to win this lawsuit against the dangerous, well-financed ultra-rightist Moon cult. Send contributions to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

Endorsers of SL/SYL Anti-Moonie Libel Suit

Partial List of Endorsers

Tom Beardsley, General President, American Postal Workers Union Oakland Local,* Oakland, CA
Al Belmontez, Member, UAW Local 216*; State Vice President, Mexican American Political Association*; Exec Board Member, Democratic Party State Committee,* Los Angeles, CA
Chip Berlet, Editor, *Public Eye Magazine*,* Chicago, IL
Paul Bigman, Co-Director, Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights,* Chicago, IL
Spurgeon L. Boone, President, IBEW Local 2280,* Portsmouth, VA
Brian Campbell, Former NDP Candidate for Mayor, Vancouver, Canada
Reginald R. Carrington, President, ILA Local 1458,* Norfolk, VA
Construction and General Laborers Local 304 Exec Board, Hayward, CA
Paul Copeland, Attorney, Toronto, Canada
Sheila Delany, Professor of English, Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, Canada
Carter R. Dodge, Attorney, Cleveland, OH
E.H. Duncan Donovan, Vice President, Southern California ACLU,* Los Angeles, CA
Robert Edwards, President, ILWU Local 2,* San Francisco, CA
Marvin Foreman, Business Rep, Hotel and Restaurant Workers Local 23,* Norfolk, VA
Richard S. Fraser, Historic American Trotskyist; Member, Democratic Socialists of America,* Los Angeles, CA
Stan Gow, Exec Board Member, ILWU Local 10,* San Francisco, CA
Ford Greene, Attorney; Ex-Member, Unification Church*; Anti-Moon Activist, Ross, CA
Eliot Grossman, Attorney, Member, Immigration Committee Steering Committee, National Lawyers Guild Los Angeles Chapter,* Los Angeles, CA
Thomas Hansen, Member, Canadian Union of Public Employees Local 391*, Former Ten-year Member, Left Wing NDP, Vancouver, Canada
Cleophas C. Hawkins, Steward and Treasurer, IBEW Local 2280,* Portsmouth, VA
Calvin Hamton, Professor, Oberlin College, Oberlin, OH
Daniel A. Hartz, Amnesty International,* Chicago, IL
Gianna Hockstein, Member, Unitarian Universalist Service Committee,* Los Angeles, CA
Kathy Ikegami, Exec Board Member, CWA Local 9410,* San Francisco, CA
ILWU Ship Scalers & Painters Union Local 2 Exec Board, San Francisco, CA
Ed Kartsen, Candidate for President, Transport Workers Union Local 100,* New York, NY
Florynce Kennedy, Civil Rights Attorney, New York, NY
Carl C. Kessler, Committeemember, IAM Local 758,* Los Angeles, CA
Bill Luaders, Poetry Editor, *The Crazy Shepherd*,* Milwaukee, WI
Conrad Lynn, Attorney and Civil Rights Activist, New York, NY
Philip J. Lyons, Vice President, B.C. Government Employees Union Local 604,* Vancouver, Canada
James McCartar, Managing Editor, *The Crazy Shepherd*,* Milwaukee, WI
Michael Meeropol, Member, National Committee to Re-Open the Rosenberg Case,* Springfield, MA
Militant-Solidarity Caucus in the National Maritime Union*
E.L. Pete Morano, Business Manager, Construction and General Laborers Local 304,* Hayward, CA
Partisan Defense Committee
Martha Phillips, Spartacist Candidate for Oakland City Council 1983, Oakland, CA
Georgia L. Roberts, Former Executive Secretary, Norfolk NAACP,* Norfolk, VA
Israel Shahak, Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights,* Jerusalem, Israel
Barnard Smallwood, Exec Board Member, IAM Local 1518,* Oakland, CA
Donald A. Smith, Exec Board Member, NALC Branch 2200,* Los Angeles, CA
N.L. Smokler, Attorney, Detroit, MI
T. Sritharan, Somerville, MA
Shalton Tappes, Retired Member, UAW,* Detroit, MI
David C. Thomas, Attorney, Chicago, IL
David Thorstad, Gay Rights Activist and Writer, New York, NY
Ronald Avon Tyree, Building Steward, CWA Local 1150,* New York, NY
James Vollvio, President, UAW Local 919,* Norfolk, VA
Alfonso Wells, Retirees Chairman, UAW Local 1776,* Willow Run, Ypsilanti, MI
Pelar Woolston, Exec Board Member, ILWU Local 6,* Oakland, CA
Lynn Yeagar, Chief Shop Steward, *Village Voice*, UAW District 65,* New York, NY

*Organization listed for identification purposes only

Young Spartacus

Rousing Benefit for Victimized Phone Strikers

"Hey, D.A.—Hands Off Lauren and Ray!"

OAKLAND—Some 250 people jammed into "Your Place" in south Berkeley on November 14 to hear the hottest blues musicians in the Bay Area in a rousing benefit for framed-up phone strikers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero. Sonny Rhodes, singer Maxine Howard, The Right Kind and others donated their time and talent. Opening with the song "Money," blues band Malik and The Plus Factor kicked off the fund-raiser, which was broadcast live over radio station KPFA. People came out for a good time and for a good cause: more than $2,000 was raised for Ray and Lauren's defense.

Phone workers from San Leandro and around the Bay Area, trade unionists, socialists of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League came to see justice done. Virtually everyone in the predominantly black crowd had their own stories about racist cop harassment and scab violence. The audience responded warmly when Lauren and Ray addressed them. "They're not going to railroad me to jail," said Lauren. "They did it to me once before, years and years ago. My kids were young. They took me away from my kids for a while, but they're not going to do it again." For several minutes, the nightclub echoed with chants of "Hey, D.A.—Workers say, get your hands off Lauren and Ray!"

Darlene Posey, a member of the Labor Black League for Social Defense and of the Militant Action Caucus in the CWA (phone workers), spoke to the need to fight racist attacks, union-busting and cop terror:

> "I worked with Lauren. In my garage we have less than 50 people and we have been off strike for two months. And in two months we had three people fired—for defending picket lines, for fighting overtime. And when I say overtime, I mean 12-13 hours a night for weeks at a time....
>
> "They're not just doing it to us. They did it to PATCO, which set the trend to all the union-busting going on right now... Look at what they're doing to Greyhound.... Lauren and Ray were two people who finally said no."

Following the successful fund-raiser, four Oakland Police cruisers descended on the area. Two of the squad cars tracked Ray and Lauren—who were accompanied by an armed security guard hired by the Defense Committee—to a nearby restaurant, and three cops were waiting outside as they left. Such provocation and harassment recalls earlier police efforts to set up and destroy the Black Panther Party, of which Lauren Mozee was a member for ten years.

On November 21, defense attorneys filed motions for discovery and dismissal of the charges. These motions will be argued in a December 1 hearing at the Hayward Municipal Court. The Phone Strikers Defense Committee has been mobilizing supporters to fill the courtroom to send yet another message to the D.A. and phone company: Drop the charges! Freedom and jobs back for Lauren and Ray!

Victory for Lauren and Ray requires money—and lots of it. We congratulate the San Leandro phone worker who sold $105 worth of benefit tickets, and urge *Workers Vanguard* readers to contribute as generously as they can for this important defense effort. Checks and money orders can be sent to: Phone Strikers Defense Committee, P.O. Box 24152, Oakland, CA 94623. In defending themselves and their union picket line against a racist management scab attack, Lauren and Ray fought for all of us—now we must fight for them! ■

Why Keith Anwar Case Isn't Going to Supreme Court

Picket Line Militant Says: "Back Lauren and Ray"

We reprint below excerpts from a leaflet issued by fired Chicago steel worker and picket line militant Keith Anwar:

When Inland Steel fired me in 1979 for the "crime" of refusing to cross a USWA picket line, thousands of District 31 steelworkers saw the fight for my reinstatement as *their* fight for picket lines that no one crosses. It was easy to see we needed the weapon of labor solidarity—not fine phrases but united *action*—to defend ourselves from the bosses' anti-labor and racist campaigns. Rank-and-file USWA members dug into their pockets to help pay legal costs. Many circulated petitions and sent postcards supporting the picket line fight to USWA officials. The 1979 District 31 Conference unanimously voted to demand my reinstatement with back pay. My own Local, 1010, organized a rally for our right to honor picket lines. It was this support which last year won a decision from the NLRB ordering Inland to put me back to work.

But last summer a federal Appeals Court in Chicago overturned the NLRB decision and backed the company all the way. This left me with one legal recourse: an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. I have decided not to do this. Such an appeal could cost tens of thousands of dollars—money which would have to be raised from working people who've been pushed to the wall by givebacks and layoffs. And the chances are damned slim that the Supreme Court would uphold our right to hit back at the steel bosses with militant solidarity.

Originally I took my case to the NLRB on the grounds that even when you're playing against a stacked deck you might win a hand or two. But I recognized that the Labor Board and the courts are not neutral, as a leaflet issued by the Keith Anwar Defense Committee pointed out at the time (December 18, 1980). They are arms of a government whose prime purpose is to maintain this system of exploited labor and racial oppression. What we need to do is to take matters into our own hands, reviving the traditions of labor solidarity by building mass picket lines that no one *dares* to cross.

From the Memorial Day Massacre to Newport News to Phelps Dodge; picket lines have always been the battle lines of class struggle. And the companies know that whenever they can punch holes in our battle lines, they've got us beat. That's why judges, politicians (Republicans *and* Democrats) and cops are always so concerned about protecting the so-called "democratic rights" of scabs. And that's why they go after militant union pickets who try to put into practice the First Commandment of

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National Black Press Covers Mozee/Palmiero Defense

THE Black American
17-23 November 1983

A BLACK WORKERS STRUGGLE GETS SUPPORT

THE ATLANTA AV VOICE
12-18 November 1983

Hundreds March To Oppose Racism In Oakland

Humanities

400 March in Oakland to protest 'frameup'

The Chicago Metro News 25¢ "The Involved Newspaper"
5 November 1983

In a demonstration with overtones of the 60s, over 400 "Black militants" and members of a socialist organization marched through drizzling rain in downtown Oakland, Ca to City Hall to protest the alleged frameup of two phone company employees charged with assault during the recent nationwide strike.

The two, Laurie Mozee, 36, and Ray Palmiero, 30, are accused of having assaulted a Pacific Telephone Company manager during a picket-line scuffle in last August's nationwide phone strike. Both were fired and both insist that they are innocent.

Ms. Mozee, a founding member of the Black Panther Party is Black and Palmiero is white. Supporters of the two contend that the incident occurred when Pacific Phone company manager Michelle Rose Hansen, crossing the picket line of the striking workers, referred to Mozee as a "Black Nigger Bitch" in response to cries of "scab."

Ms. Hansen allegedly struck Ms. Mozee in the face and the scuffle erupted when Palmiero and others came to her defense. According to prosecutors, Ms. Mozee grabbed Hansen, 27, in a hammerlock as she walked through the picket line and hit her several times in the face. But Mozee and Palmiero say the charges are untrue and insist that Hansen started the fight when she knocked a can of soda out of Ms. Mozee's hand, uttered a racial slur and hit her.

According to members of a legal defense committee set up to defend the couple who face up to seven years in prison, they are the only persons in the nation facing felony charges for strike-related incidents. Ms. Mozee is a phone installer and Palmiero works in directory assistance.

Carolina Judge...

(continued from page 2)

disease had on their mortality rate—a cruel "experiment" just a step away from Nazi Germany. And poor black women on welfare have all too often regained consciousness after childbirth to find themselves forcibly sterilized.

In Europe, the bourgeois democratic revolutions terminated the last remnants of the abominable practice of castration. It took Napoleon's army conquering Frankfurt in 1815 to abolish the use of "castrati" in "boys choirs," castrated to keep their voices from changing. Today the American rulers' willingness to snatch up the ancient bloodstained knife, to geld the black man and sterilize the black woman, reflects the poisonous and unbearable racism which characterizes American capitalism. A direct violation of the U.S. Bill of Rights prohibition of "cruel and unusual punishments," this barbaric blow at the manhood of blacks, the ultimate cruelty of castration, reveals the terrible fear, and the terrible reality of racist America.

It's going to take nothing less than socialist revolution to finish what the Civil War started, to wipe out the racist oppression of blacks, the central question of the American revolution, and the central agony which has vastly accelerated the slide into barbaric degeneracy of this rotting capitalist society. ■

Nukes...

(continued from page 3)

freeze" proposal taken up by Democratic presidential hopefuls like Mondale and Cranston. In one sense the "freeze" is just the latest example of the "arms control" fraud. Remember that SALT I, signed by Nixon and Brezhnev in 1972, was supposed to freeze the U.S. and Soviet nuclear arsenals at the then existing level. For many U.S. ruling-class politicians, the "freeze" is mainly intended to free up Pentagon funds for *more conventional weapons*. It is no accident that two of the prominent advocates of the "freeze" and "no first use" of nuclear weapons were also main architects of the Vietnam War—Robert McNamara and McGeorge Bundy. Vietnam was the supposed testing ground for "flexible response" to "Communist aggression" (i.e., social revolution).

"America Über Alles"—Or Else

The mass of the American people know in their guts that they will not survive nuclear war, and "The Day After" strongly reinforced this sense of reality. Yet the aim of the American ruling class—under the Democrats as well as Republicans—has been to destroy the Soviet degenerated workers state through an effective *nuclear first strike*. But they can't come right out and say that. Hence the right wing's seething hostility to a movie which actually understates the effects of nuclear war and Shultz's shifty-eyed effort to enlist "The Day After" in the service of the most massive nuclear arms buildup in history.

From Truman's atomic bombing of Japan in 1945 to Eisenhower's A-bomb threats in Korea to Kennedy's nuclear bullying against Cuba, the American ruling class has repeatedly demonstrated its willingness to launch a nuclear war, in particular to get the Soviet Union. What the Reagan administration has done is to make this policy more public and to bring it closer to reality through an accelerated application of the latest computer technology. Campaigning in 1980 George Bush spilled the beans in an interview with *Los Angeles Times* correspondent Robert Scheer in which former CIA chief and current vice president Bush talked about "winning" in a "nuclear exchange," through "survivability of command and control" and by having "a capability that inflicts more damage on the opposition than it inflicts on you." Colin Gray, one of Reagan's top "arms control" experts, put it more explicitly in his notorious "Victory Is Possible!" article (*Foreign Policy*, Summer 1980) calling for the ability to "initiate strategic nuclear use."

And the Reaganites are not just talking about starting a nuclear war. They are, with bipartisan support, *preparing to do just that:*

- Development of the MX missile which ex-president Jimmy Carter stated would give the U.S. "a capability to destroy most of the Soviet silo-based ICBM force in a first strike."
- Deployment of the Trident submarines and their very accurate D5 missile, which can be brought undetected close to Soviet shores.
- The Pershing 2s now being deployed in West Europe, six to eight minutes from their Soviet targets.
- The multi-billion-dollar "hardening" of Bell System phone complexes against the effect of nuclear explosion to preserve Pentagon "command, control and communications" systems.
- The Pentagon's emergency program for 50,000 hospital beds in the U.S., for the spillover from a "limited" nuclear war in Europe.

We could add ten times more evidence that the government of the United States is actually planning a nuclear first strike. But no amount of holocaust handwringing or pacifist protest is going to stop these madmen. As Karl Marx said against the woolly-headed do-gooders of his day: "material force must be overthrown by material force." And the material force which prevents the Pentagon from unleashing its arsenal of megadeath is, first of all, fear of a Soviet second strike. It is the Soviet nuclear arsenal which has until now stopped the men who A-bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki, who carpet-bombed Vietnam, from pushing the button. *The peoples of the world should be very thankful for those SS18s and SS20s.*

At the same time, the Kremlin Stalinists disarm the world working class politically by preaching the need for "peaceful coexistence" and "détente" with imperialist militarism. Yet all the women's vigils at Greenham Common near London and all the anti-nuke protests at U.S. Army bases in West Germany did not and will not stop or even delay a single Pershing or cruise missile. Here is exposed the bankruptcy of Stalinism as well as the impotence of pacifism.

The only force which can overthrow imperialist militarism is working-class revolution. Thus German Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency demand: "Stop NATO First-Strike Weapons with Workers' Strikes!" The Soviet nuclear arsenal has bought the world working class precious time to resolve the historic alternatives facing mankind: socialism or barbarism. And that time is fast running out. The American working class, in particular, has both a great opportunity and a great responsibility—to destroy this war-crazy capitalist system before it destroys the world. ■

Central America...

(continued from page 5)

without. Recently, the FSLN has sought an accommodation with the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic church, which, however, is waging an open campaign to encourage draft resistance, undermining defense of the revolution against CIA/*contra* aggression. The Sandinistas have also eased censorship of the bourgeois daily *La Prensa*, which printed provocative articles endorsing Reagan's invasion of Grenada. Yet despite this liberalism, *La Prensa* announced it is closing down supposedly for lack of newsprint. This is an imperialist provocation on the order of the truck owners "strike" in Chile in 1973.

By kicking out the Salvadoran leftists, conciliating the Vatican and the capitalists, the FSLN *comandantes* risk slitting their own throats. Their successful 1979 revolution destroyed the capitalist state apparatus of Somozaism. But the petty-bourgeois FSLN regime has not taken the decisive step of expropriating the capitalist class. By preserving the property of the bourgeoisie intact, the Sandinistas are keeping the door open to successful counterrevolution. No matter how much they try to accommodate the imperialists and domestic capitalists, the latter will recognize their *class* interests as standing far higher than national interests. And when the Yankee invasion begins in earnest, these powerful counterrevolutionaries will undertake sabotage on a massive scale. To crush them it will be necessary to unleash the working masses, forcibly kept in check for the last four years in order to preserve the FSLN's utopian/reformist "third road." For this the urgent need is for Trotskyist parties built on the program of permanent revolution throughout Central America.

In El Salvador, the leftist guerrillas of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) have established a corridor across the northern tier of the country. More than 60 municipalities, a fifth of the national territory, are controlled by the insurgents. But to achieve real strength the FMLN must link up with Nicaragua's Sandinista army, sparking a revolutionary civil war throughout the isthmus. Artificially separating the struggles in the name of nationalism only aids the U.S. imperialists who seek to drown the Salvadoran insurgency in blood, "roll back" the Sandinistas and besiege the Cuban Revolution. In El Salvador itself it is necessary to fight for workers revolution rather than "democratic" reform which would safeguard capitalist/landlord property and preserve the genocidal army which has lorded it over this long-suffering country for the past half century. All of Central America must burn with the flames of revolutionary war. This is the only real answer to the impending threat of Yankee imperialist invasion.

Reagan has escalated from not-so-secret support to Somozaist *contras* (at a cost of more than $80 million to date) to direct CIA attacks against Nicaraguan ports and rehearsals for a U.S. invasion of Sandinista Nicaragua. Washington's ultimate aim is to reverse the Cuban Revolution and overthrow the conquests of the Russian October Revolution. Contrary to the illusions of the reformists and nationalists, accommodation with the imperialists is impossible. And therefore all attempts to negotiate a "political solution" short of social revolution only aid the counter-revolution. The Central American working class is relatively weak and divided. But it can link up with the millions of proletarians, from Mexico to the Southern Cone of Latin America, whose only hope for liberation is through workers revolution against tinpot dictators and the bloodsucking International Monetary Fund. Defeat Yankee imperialism in Central America! ■

Moonies...

(continued from page 6)

various aspects of the UC in their zeal to join forces with such militant anti-communism. These include Jacques Soustelle, governor of Algeria during the war of independence, Colombia's former president (and its present defence minister), the chief of staff of the Honduran army, a former US secretary of the treasury, and many others, including, it is said, current White House staff."

—*The Middle East* magazine, September 1983

The World Anti-Communist League

"In the first ten days of January, 1966, delegates from some 30 countries met in Seoul, South Korea, to officially charter the World Anti-Communist League. Its main offices were established in Seoul's Freedom Center, which was organized by the Korean Cultural and Freedom Foundation (KCFF), a Reverend Sun Myung Moon fundraising arm started by Moon's interpreter, close friend and Unification Church member, Bo Hi Pak. Funds for the Freedom Center came principally from the Korean government with $796,000, and the KCFF, which derived the bulk of its money through tax-exempt donations in the U.S....

"By the early 1970's, WACL had proven itself to be the legitimate flame-bearer for neo-fascist causes....

"On May 23, 1975, a WACL-financed conference was held in Las Palmas (Canary Islands) in the name of the 'Secret Atlantic Alliance'. Gathered together were the world's active terrorists from Argentina's Anti-Communist Alliance, militants from the Italian-based Ordine Nuovo, extreme right activists from Legion Afrika (South Africa), British neo-Nazis from Column 88, and like-minded extremists from France, Switzerland, Spain, and Brazil.

"In 1976, the League underwrote the founding of the International Anti-Communist Front, to be headed by the Belgian heir to the Rexist Movement, Vlaamse Militante Orden (VMO) which has ties with the U.S. Ku Klux Klan....

"[WACL members] have access to formidable resources and friends and allies in corporations and governments around the world, and represent a key consolidation of the Nazi network, rightist terrorists, cold war rhetoric and obsessive anti-communists."

—"World Anti-Communist League," *Public Eye*, 1979

Keith Anwar...

(continued from page 7)

labor: "Thou shalt not cross!"

Today, two such militants are being viciously framed up on the West Coast. Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, members of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), face up to *eight years in prison!* Their "crime"? Doing picket duty during the nationwide phone strike last summer. On August 10, in the KKK-infested city of San Leandro, California, a racist scab boss walked up to the CWA picket line and punched Lauren in the face, calling her a "*black nigger bitch*"! Lauren defended herself, with assistance from Ray, her companion. Later both were arrested, charged with felonies and fired from their jobs. The CWA bailed Ray and Lauren out of jail and provided lawyers for their defense. Their cause has been taken up by several Bay Area union locals, scores of labor officials and many notable individuals, including Congressman Ron Dellums. Now a massive outpouring of labor/black support from across the country is needed to keep these union members out of the state penitentiary!

I want to thank every USWA brother and sister who has supported the campaign for my reinstatement—a campaign for picket line solidarity. All funds which the Keith Anwar Defense Committee has raised for a Supreme Court appeal will be returned to the contributors. At the same time, I strongly urge all such contributors to send this money to the Phone Strikers Defense Committee (Box 24152, Oakland, CA 94623). Lauren and Ray have their *freedom* on the line because they believe "picket lines mean don't cross!"

October 29, 1983

Taylor Family...

(continued from page 12)

racist attack. In his summary District Attorney Jimmy Evans told the jury: "If you break into my home, I'll kill you. Is that the message you want to send out of this community?" The estimated 150 blacks who were in the courtroom replied, "Yeah."

The hung jury was a defeat for the prosecution. They went after Worrie Taylor first, but they couldn't make it stick. They couldn't shove the monstrous lies, the doctored tapes, the "missing" gun down the throat of the jury made up of eight whites and four blacks. On Friday, the judge threw out the charges of kidnapping and robbery against Worrie Taylor. On Sunday the jury was deadlocked and they couldn't get a conviction of Worrie Taylor on the remaining charge of attempted murder. As a local black state representative put it, "We're gratified, but not satisfied that we got a hung jury."

The Taylors' lives are still very much in danger. Worrie Taylor can be tried again (and next time they'll rig a lily-white jury no doubt). Meanwhile, four other members of the Taylor family are due up next in the dock. Chris Taylor, the 21-year-old student from Pontiac, Michigan who was shot by the cops and then charged with kidnapping and assault, is now fighting extradition back to Alabama. So far the rallies, petitions and fund-raising campaigns, both South and North, have helped to stay the legal lynch mob's hands. There must be a national spotlight focused on Montgomery. Drop the charges against the Taylors! No extradition of Chris Taylor! Jail the racist cops! A million dollars compensation to the persecuted Taylors!

Racist Lynch Trial

The trial began on November 14. But the Taylor family ordeal began on February 27 of this year when family members from Michigan and Ohio gathered in Montgomery for the funeral of Mrs. Annie Bell Taylor. They were sitting around the table at home when Christopher Taylor came running into the house screaming, "Two white men are shooting at me!" The next moment the two white gunmen, pointing .357 magnums, kicked open the door. The Taylors, thinking they were under KKK attack, disarmed the racist thugs, then phoned the cops. But the two thugs who had stopped Chris Taylor outside his grandmother's home, called him "nigger" and then shot him as he fled back to the house *were* the cops: officers Les Brown and Ed Spivey of the Montgomery PD.

More cops burst into the house. In the 15-minute confrontation which ensued, Brown was shot twice. Evidence suggests that he was shot by another cop who was gunning for the Taylors. The gun has since "disappeared." Then 11 members of the Taylor family were dragged down to Montgomery city jail where they were beaten so badly they were "bouncing off the walls of the police station." Even Judge Thomas suppressed the "confessions" that were beaten out of the Taylors. One week after the arrest, the Taylors' home on Todd Road was vandalized, with "KKK" spraypainted on it. The Alabama lynchers want to string up the Taylors as an example to all black people. The victims are being tried as criminals.

Montgomery is the birthplace of the civil rights movement, but the capital of Alabama is also a small, segregated, insulated, repressive place. Montgomery mayor Emory Folmar aims to keep it that way. He has personally cultivated a police force which resembles nothing so much as an elite Southern cavalry corps, owing its allegiance to one particular Confederate general fighting to restore the slavocracy. One spectator at the trial observed, "Folmar is our Ku Klux mayor." What has these racists screaming mad is that the Taylors defended their home and lived to tell about it: cops are not supposed to get whipped by blacks in racist America.

Spivey and Brown, the prosecution claimed, were justified in stopping and attempting to search Chris Taylor because there were "a lot of shiny new cars with out-of-state plates in front of their rundown shack, probably a dope ring." (It was the Chevy Corvette and the two Lincoln Continentals which really gored their ox. As one black resident said, "They think black people aren't supposed to have that.") As lying D.A. Evans played to the gallery of cops and the jury, he kept screaming that the Taylors had said, "This is the way we treat police up North." His message was clear: the South shall rise again. Evans told the jury, "I want you to come back here with a verdict that says 'we are a community'"—that is, this "community" will make your lives hell if you don't come back with a guilty verdict.

Evans pointed to the impassive, drawn Worrie Taylor and raised a picture of a bottle of gin purported to have been on the Taylor dining room table that night, and screamed that Worrie Taylor had been "fermenting his mourning" and that "the machinery of pure violence was working in this man's mind." On the fact that the mayor of Warren, Ohio had come and testified to Worrie Taylor's good character, Evans intoned, "There isn't a man in the South who wouldn't have said John Wilkes Booth had a good character until he climbed over the balcony and shot Abraham Lincoln, the greatest president we ever had." This was too much for most of the audience. A spectator remarked, "There isn't a Southern white man alive who thinks Abraham Lincoln was our greatest president."

In his closing argument defense attorney Soloman Seay said a guilty verdict would be a revival of the 1857 Dred Scott decision where the Supreme Court declared once a slave, always a slave, even if he has gone North, and that a black man "had no rights which a white man was bound to respect." At issue was Worrie Taylor's constitutional right to self-defense, said attorney Seay, and the jury "must say that a black man does have rights." When another member of the defense team, Vanzetta Durant appealed to the jurors, saying "You must be a Taylor," the frenzied D.A. Evans leapt up and screamed, "Thank god you're not a Taylor, because then you might jump out of the jury box and finish the job," as he clutched the shoulders of cop Spivey. At one point Judge Randall Thomas, frustrated by Evans' refusal to give any kind of justification for the stop-and-search of Chris Taylor that night exclaimed, "You know the citizens have rights too. This isn't Korea."

Battle Lines in the Courtroom

The Taylor trial became a DMZ for Montgomery. The cops came to the trial armed and ready for intimidation. But the Taylors' black supporters filled the courtroom daily, standing up to the cops' threat. The jury's first full day of deliberations began Saturday at 9 a.m. Montgomery mayor Folmar's troops arrived early to stake out the seating. Over 100 members of the Montgomery PD were there by mid-morning, approximately one-third of the entire department. The chief of police attended the trial every day, while the assistant chief of police showed up in a hunting outfit modeled after camouflage fatigues, armed. There were cops in uniform, cops off duty, plainclothes detectives. And every morning about 20 cadets from the Montgomery Police Academy showed up fully uniformed. The defense attorney remarked that it might have been an ideal time for someone to rob a bank—all the cops were in the courtroom.

Taylor supporters stood their ground. More than a few had grown up with Worrie Taylor. A Montgomery-based Taylor defense committee has raised over $43,000 and sponsored numerous mass meetings—sometimes up to 800 people, overflowing the church meeting hall. The fact that the Taylors defended themselves and their home against Folmar's racist cops means a great deal to these people. In their support of the Taylors, Montgomery blacks were determined to show that another Scottsboro Boys case would not be rammed down their throats.

On Saturday, "General Folmar's regiment" occupied the first several rows of seats on both sides of the aisle, including the seats that had been occupied by the Taylor family and their friends and relatives throughout the trial. One row of these arrogant thugs finally gave up their seats to the immediate family of Worrie Taylor, after being instructed to do so by Chief Swindall, but continued to surround them. The police conduct during the trial was a conscious political provocation. Donald Watkins, the former black city councilman who blew the cover-up of the brutal jailhouse beatings of the Taylors, was effectively barred from the courtroom when the prosecution refused to release him from subpoena as witness.

On Sunday, Folmar himself arrived at the courtroom, walkie-talkie in hand, and herded all the police into the grand jury room for a briefing. This was not Folmar's first appearance in court. He attended at least three times last week, arriving armed, and once in combat fatigues direct from a parachute jump. Folmar is well-known for his paramilitary recreational activities.

Build the Taylor Defense

The five members of the Taylor family still face charges which could put them away for 20 years in Alabama state prison—where any black man branded as a would-be cop killer faces nearly certain death. Folmar's racist thugs in blue and their friends in the D.A.'s office are pursuing this proud black family with a vengeance. Stymied for now in the courtroom, look for them to wreak their terror indiscriminately in the streets against the 40 percent black population of Montgomery. As defense lawyer Seay remarked about the tension in the city, "In terms of the black community... we're simply on the brink of war, and they won't believe me" (*Atlanta Constitution*, 28 November).

But if Folmar, Evans and the boys think they're still fighting the Civil War, let them remember who won and who lost. The Montgomery blacks who have courageously stood up for the Taylors in the courtroom have powerful allies, in the plants, in the ghettos across the North, among working people everywhere who stand for the dignity of the black man and the basic right of the people of this country to defend themselves and their homes against racist attack. In Pontiac, Michigan the Taylor family's union brothers and sisters in the UAW have shown support, and hundreds have come out to black church rallies there and in Warren, Ohio. The Spartacist League and the Labor/Black Struggle League have fought for mass labor/black action to free the Taylors from the threat of the Alabama lynch mob. They have sought to mobilize support through demonstrations at Wayne State University in Detroit, a fund-raising benefit, telegram campaigns to stop Chris Taylor's extradition. The Rouge Militant Caucus at UAW Local 600 and the Labor/Black Struggle League have rallied outside that giant auto complex to win the black workers there to this critical case. Mass labor/black action can stop the Dixie lynchers from carrying through this racist crime against the courageous Taylors and all black people. Drop the charges against the Taylor family!■

His Life Is in Danger

No Extradition of Chris Taylor!

The following urgent telegram was sent to Governor Blanchard of Michigan demanding no extradition of Christopher Taylor to Alabama where he faces a lynch law frame-up. The telegram, circulated by the Partisan Defense Committee, Labor/Black Struggle League and Rouge Militant Caucus, was signed by 139 Detroit area unionists, labor and black leaders, including 95 members of UAW Local 600 (Ford River Rouge). Among the signatories are Mike Rinaldi, President of UAW Local 600; Winston E. Lang, Executive Secretary, Detroit NAACP; Joesephus King, President, AFSCME Local 23; and Roy Greer, Business Agent, Laborers International Union Local 959 (organizations listed for identification purposes only). The growing support for the Taylors must be mobilized in powerful labor/black action to bury the racist frame-up!

Governor James Blanchard
State Capitol
Lansing, Michigan 48909

We, the undersigned, demand that Christopher Taylor not be extradited to Montgomery, Alabama, where he faces jail or worse at the hands of lynch law "justice" in the State of Alabama's racist frame-up of the courageous Taylor family.

Drop the charges against the Taylor family!
No extradition of Chris Taylor!

CORRECTION

"Remember 'The Bedford Incident'" (*WV* No. 342, 18 November) incorrectly states that in the 1960s movie a U.S. warship hounds a Soviet submarine off the Greenland coast "until it is forced to surface." While in the final moments of the movie the Soviet sub raises its conning tower to take in air, at no point does it surface and submit to the torture of the imperialist psycho commander. Instead, when the *Bedford* moved in for the kill—and the American captain had his crew so wound up that they fired away—the submarine completely submerged and retaliated with nuclear torpedoes. As we noted, if in the recent real-life attack by an American destroyer on a Soviet submarine carrying nuclear weapons, the Soviet commander had done the same—with full justification—there would be a large hole in the Atlantic Ocean where the U.S. ship used to be. Reagan had better stop messing with the Russians!

Greyhound Strike...

(continued from page 12)

Thanksgiving, ATU "Solidarity" rallies were held in Washington, Boston and New York. They were designed as mere protest affairs, but the thousands of trade unionists who jammed areas adjoining the Greyhound terminals didn't come there to listen to speeches. In Boston some 3,000 workers, with heavy representation from the building trades, turned out in Copley Square and marched to Greyhound. There the bureaucrats attempted to disperse the rally and the militancy, warning against "violence" and pleading that the "police are our friends." But the workers taunted cops: "If you're on our side then why didn't you get the 'Blue Flu' today?" Demonstrators chanted, "No more PATCOs!" and a group of iron workers demanded, "Let us strike!" Over a thousand workers refused to disperse and it took mounted police to break up the rally.

That evening, more than 2,000 workers, including several hundred transit workers, turned out for the rally at New York's Port Authority Bus Terminal. As two dozen speakers droned on endlessly with "we're with you all the way" platitudes, members of the Committee for a Fighting TWU and other militants began chanting "stop the buses!" which spread throughout the crowd. Finally the crowd was instructed to move, not to the nearby bus platforms, but to the Greyhound ticketing area. Half an hour later, protected by a wall-to-wall line of cops, the company closed up the area and the crowd cheered wildly. Reluctantly these workers, who stayed long past the speeches in the hope that there would be a fight against the scabbing, left the terminal. The next day there were only minimal pickets and Greyhound's buses were rolling.

Despite the failure to mount effective picket lines, Greyhound has resumed only about 10 percent of its normal service. Significantly, there are no buses rolling out of Cleveland, with militant Ohio Teamsters on the highways. The bosses have moderated their scabherding tempo to a limited number of targets initially. But the scabbing must be stopped now before it kills this strike! The courage of the Greyhound workers, as well as the enthusiasm expressed by thousands of trade unionists—who know damn well what union-busting here portends for all of labor—show that if the unions take a determined stand in even one location it could spark a massive mobilization to bury the union-busters!

St. Louis: Strikers burn Greyhound's back-to-work order.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Philadelphia: Trade unionists stop the buses from leaving terminal.

Boston: Cops push Greyhound striker under scab bus.

Landers/Boston Globe

Fresno, California: Scab Greyhound driver in training kills a woman driving a car.

From Boston to Seattle

On November 17 in Philadelphia, more than 1,000 pickets from ATU and 30 other unions held up Greyhound's first scab bus for more than 12 hours. Hundreds of strikers and supporters pushed through police lines and pounded on the bus. Cops arrested 43, but evidently fearing a massive labor response, the courts set them free. The same day in Boston there were more than 50 arrests as 300 pickets, including hardhat volunteers from nearby construction sites, blocked the Greyhound terminal.

The next day about 250 workers, who knew that their unions had pledged support and who had seen the cop violence on TV, showed up on the line. When the Boston pickets noticed that Greyhound was sneaking a bus out the back exit, 100 ran to the rear of the terminal to stop it. Militants struggled to stay in front of the vehicle but were forced back by mounted police, yet after 20 minutes the bus had moved only one block. The cops, with badge numbers covered, attacked again. A 53-year-old construction union official was struck by the front wheels of the bus after being driven into its path by a mounted policeman. The Boston cossacks charged into the fuming crowd which continued to bang on the sides of the bus screaming "Arrest the fucking scab!" When a fire engine roared up, everyone braced for the water cannon but the firemen jumped out waving their fists, leaving their truck in the way of the bus until they too were forced to move.

In San Francisco, stones and bottles rained down on scab buses on the 17th as 300 pickets, again including militants from other unions, manned the lines. Again the cops were vicious. ATU co-steward Mike Boswell got a dislocated shoulder. Department Store Employees president Walter Johnson was billy clubbed and Molders business agent Ignacio de la Fuente had his arm broken. At least one picket, a Machinist, was hit by a scab bus.

In city after city, rank-and-file militants, in most cases with their local leadership absent, relied on their own resourcefulness in the face of overwhelming police force. In Los Angeles, close to 200 pickets massed in front of Greyhound's first scab bus. Cops pushed the strikers aside but militants, with young black workers especially prominent, filled in the holes. A car manned by sign-carrying strikers "broke down" in front of the next bus and strikers massed around to lend "assistance." This time the cops moved in with

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Phone Strikers Defense Committee at Greyhound Strike Meeting

"Shut Down Every Airline, Bus Terminal, Railroad...!"

Supporters of the Phone Strikers Defense Committee have joined other trade unionists on the Greyhound picket lines in San Francisco, where the popular chant from last summer's phone strike, "Picket lines mean don't cross!" was readily taken up by embattled Greyhound strikers. On November 16, ATU Local 1225 vice president Lee Peschell invited representatives of the committee to speak at a special mass meeting of the strikers. We reprint below their remarks:

Keith Dodds: On behalf of the Phone Strikers Defense Committee, which was formed to defend victimized members of the Communications Workers of America, one of whom I'm going to introduce in a moment, who were fired and face trumped-up, racist anti-labor felony charges as the result of picket line duty during their strike, I want to bring you the greetings and the warmest solidarity of the phone workers, who are with you and know that your strike is their strike. During the strike of 700,000 phone workers last summer in August, there was massive management scabbing, as you know, there was massive violence directed against the pickets. And on August 10 this woman, a courageous member of her union, Lauren Mozee, was attacked on a picket line in San Leandro in front of the directory assistance location there by a management scab who had been provoking the strikers throughout the strike, making obscene gestures. She approached Lauren and called her a "black nigger bitch," and hit her in the face. Lauren defended herself, and her companion and fellow union member Ray Palmiero, who couldn't be here today, came to her assistance.

As a result of that, the management scab, that racist, still has her job; Lauren and Ray have been fired from their jobs and face four years in state prison on trumped-up felony charges for defending themselves. [Shouts from strikers: "What?!"] We are pursuing that fight and we've got hroad support from a lot of the rest of the labor movement. We'll not rest until those charges are dropped and Ray and Lauren have their jobs back with full back pay. [Loud applause.] As I said, we know that your strike is on the front line for the entire labor movement right now. There was a chant that was very popular on the phone workers picket lines, which maybe we can take up a little later today and get Lauren to lead it, "Picket lines mean don't cross!" That's how you're going to win your strike. And we're going to be down there and mobilizing our forces and our people to help you *shut Greyhound down!* [Cheers and applause.]

I want to close by saying, the labor movement cannot tolerate any more PATCOs. [Interjection: "That's right!" Clapping, shouts.] And that's what they're aiming at you. That's what Reagan and his team and Greyhound are aiming at you. So we're going to try to he with you, to mobilize support to shut those terminals down and make sure no scab bus runs in this country. And if it comes to it, if Reagan and Greyhound keep pushing it, let's shut down every airline, every bus terminal, every railway...[Cheers and enthusiastic applause.] The working people in this country have the power to shut this country down—we won't have any more PATCOs! Solidarity forever! Let me introduce Lauren Mozee, the woman I told you about.

Lauren Mozee: You guys are great, even though you're here and not working. [Laughter.] I know how that is. But if you notice that Reagan is exercising that trickle down effect—you know, starting with PATCO, United Auto Workers in Fremont, that plant is closed. Phelps Dodge in Arizona—I remember the pictures on the news when they had 750 National Guardsmen escorting scabs into that plant in Arizona. And I understand that's what they plan on doing to you guys tomorrow. [Shouts: "They better not!"] And we're not going to let that happen. I'm going to get up, I'm going to come over here, I'm going to help you. *Picket lines mean don't cross!* [Cheers and applause.]

I've been reading this ATU [Amalgamated Transit Union] flyer that was given out at the front door. And it says, "Question: Can I be fired for participating in a legal strike? Answer: No, although you can be fired for misconduct on the picket line, hitting a supervisor." [Laughter.] What if a supervisor hits you? [Interjections: "Right, yeah!"] What if they hit you and call you lots of names...? I was on the picket line and I saw a truck coming at me, 40 or 50 miles an hour. I don't care. I've got a job. I got kids to support. And I am a unionist. And I'm not going to let any scab or anyone take food out of my kid's mouth. [Loud applause.]

I worked a long time for the phone company. I was a lines person. I worked outside on the lines, okay, and I climbed poles in this weather like we have here. They have scabs that are still working after the strike. [Boos.] And they are starting to fire our union members that supported me and my comrade during the strike. They fired me outright, because I defended myself. But now they're starting that little trickle down effect, they're firing one right behind the other, that same old thing. My whole garage, and they have scabs in there.

Picket lines mean don't cross! And you guys: tomorrow there should not be one bus rolling. Not one! [Interjection: "There won't be!" Loud cheering and applause.] We're going to show Reagan, and all those other corporate whatever you call them [Interjection: "Idiots!"] that we're not going to let this happen. Picket lines mean don't cross! Scabs must go! [Loud applause.] Thank you. ■

TWU Militants Say:

Greyhound Strikers' Fight Is Our Fight!

Reprinted below are excerpts from a leaflet issued to New York City transit workers by the Committee for a Fighting TWU. The Committee, a class-struggle opposition in the union, is currently contesting elections in Transport Workers Union Local 100 against the conservative John Lawe bureaucracy.

If the bosses succeed in busting the Greyhound strike, who's next? Where's this union busting going to stop? We need a nationwide strike—Teamsters, rail, airlines, transit—everything stops. We need mass picket lines manned by all the unions to stop the scab buses!

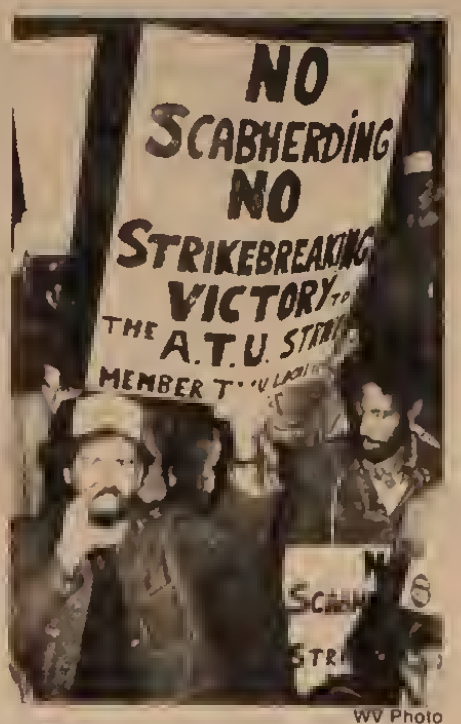
The *Committee for a Fighting TWU* has been fighting to get our union behind the Greyhound strikers. We were out there Thursday morning helping man the picket lines. Jimmy Smith, who's running for exec board in the Motormen, along with other supporters of the committee raised the following motion at last Wednesday's meetings of that division:

> "Greyhound's scabherding union-busting attack on the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) is an attack on not only the transport workers unions but the entire labor movement like Reagan's attack on PATCO. What's really needed is a solid national transport workers strike to stop this union busting crap. We should mobilize our members and the entire union to get out to help man the ATU picket lines on Thursday morning, when Greyhound has threatened to run the buses with scab drivers, to make sure those buses do not roll—because they'll be rolling over American trade unionism."

But it's going to take a massive mobilization of labor because the big city mayors, most of them Democrats, have called out their cops, and the police terror daily unleashed against the black community is now being used against the labor movement. The cops have beaten pickets and arrested over 130 strikers. We cannot let these people go down. This fight is our fight. What they do to the ATU they will try on every union. The bottom line is the picket line. If you don't have the right to strike, if you don't have the right to defend your picket lines, you don't have a union. Picket lines mean don't cross!

When Reagan went after PATCO, the rest of the labor movement let them hang alone. This is the payback. Continental Airlines fired their whole workforce. Now the bosses have got the ATU in their sights. And still the union misleaders refuse to unleash the power of a massive labor mobilization. We said it would take actions of labor solidarity to defend PATCO. We called for unions like the Teamsters and IAM to join with the air controllers to shut down the airports. We called for our own union to shut down the train to the plane as an act of solidarity. But Lawe chose that moment to announce the TWU would give up our long-standing policy of "no contract, no work" and submit our contracts to binding arbitration. He, like the rest of the AFL-CIO tops, ran up the white flag before the battle ever started. Well, Reagan's not going to let up. His war on the unions, blacks and the poor here at home is meant to force the working class to march in step with his plans for war against the Soviets which have dramatically escalated with the KAL 007 spy mission provocation and his committing what amounts to acts of war against the Soviet navy in every ocean of the world. But labor has the power to stop this war-mad union buster. A national transport strike would not only beat back the Greyhound union busting, it could bring down that maniac in the White House before he blows up the world. We need a labor offensive to bust the union busters and our own workers party to lead it! No more PATCOs!

22 November 1983



WV Photo

Transit militants support Greyhound strikers at NYC labor rally, November 23.

riot gear.

All across the country, cops have been employing the sort of violence against the strikers which they ordinarily reserve for the daily treatment of blacks. But despite Greyhound's attempt to set black against white, based on mass recruitment of scabs in heavily minority urban areas where unemployment has gone through the roof, the strikers aren't buying the company's union-busting racism. On November 15 a white scab in Cleveland told a black picket, Marvin Sealey, that he'd "rather be a scab than a nigger." The scab's companion tried to start a fight. Sealey effectively defended himself, and as a dozen plainclothes and uniformed security guards jumped him, the picket line came to his defense. In Atlanta, strikers assert that a company vice president has committed racist bombings against black churches. On the picket line, he's been met with chants from black and white workers of "Church bomber!" and "KKK!"

Despite the efforts of rank-and-file unionists, the ATU and AFL-CIO bureaucrats have consistently undercut the militancy of the ranks. Elected strike committees are needed now to organize mass picket lines drawing in the broad ranks of labor. In Boston, a company request for an injunction was refused because ATU officials agreed voluntarily to limit the pickets and state AFL-CIO officials agreed to go along. In Detroit, the AFL-CIO president "kept order" by personally directing scab buses through the ATU's lines. Meanwhile, the UAW's misnamed Solidarity House is daily playing the role of strikebreaker by instructing its Greyhound bus mechanics, baggage handlers and ticket clerks from UAW Locals 656 and 985 to work behind the ATU's picket lines.

For a National Transport Strike!

The "strategy" of the ATU and AFL-CIO leaders boils down to "hang tough and ride Trailways." If there's ever a situation where this kind of go-it-alone business unionism *won't* work it's right now. Because this is no ordinary trade-union dispute where you can even find somebody to cut a deal. "Pressure" Greyhound through a consumer boycott? But the bosses at Trailways and elsewhere are backing Greyhound chairman John Teets to the hilt because if the ATU is wiped out here, it's open season on the unions elsewhere. Appeal to the Democratic Party city bosses? In Cleveland a city council resolution urging the mayor to enforce a local ordinance banning the employment of strikebreakers was laughed out of court. In San Francisco labor leaders pleaded with Mayor Dianne Feinstein to do something, so she made the record by sending a letter asking Governor Deukmejian to suspend Greyhound operations in the state. The letter is gathering dust in some state agency. But what can you expect from Democratic Party mayors whose cops right now are shepherding scabs through the picket lines! From Feinstein (a leading labor-baiter during the 1976 city workers strike) to Ed Koch to Coleman Young, there's not one of these Democratic party pols who doesn't have a trail a mile long of attacking city unions and enforcing Reagan's austerity on working people and blacks.

Union officials keep claiming this is a "legal" strike, but the only picketing the cops want to permit is the kind that doesn't stop any buses! This strike confronts the whole range of government strikebreaking, from Reagan on down. The way to win is not through impotent appeals to labor-hating politicians, but militant mass labor action. It's a question of power. As a former PATCO leader put it, "The only illegal strike is a strike that fails." Postal workers struck against the government in 1970 and beat back the strikebreaking. Coal miners defied Taft-Hartley in 1978. What it will take to smash Reagan/Greyhound scabherding now—to make a dead letter of injunctions limiting pickets and send the strikebreaking cops packing—is the organized muscle of the heavy battalions of labor to shut down rail, trucking, transit and airlines.

Greyhound workers and other unionists are getting a cold, hard taste of the kind of force that Reagan metes out to working people in Grenada and El Salvador. Reagan's smashing of picket lines at home is part of his preparation to terrorize the unions and any organized resistance to his mad plans to launch a war against the Russians. And American workers are saddled with a leadership that backs Reagan's anti-Soviet crusade to the hilt. Lane Kirkland, Owen Bieber & Co. are the hand-picked descendants of a union bureaucracy consolidated by driving out the socialists and other militants who led the struggles that built industrial unions. The union tops never fought Taft-Hartley, Landrum-Griffin and other major postwar anti-labor laws because they lined up in favor of their anti-communist witchhunting provisions.

The Taft-Hartley Law provided for strikebreaking injunctions and outlawed hot-cargoing, secondary boycotts and other weapons of labor solidarity. Government snoop laws were used to put away Jimmy Hoffa. And emboldened by the union bureaucracy's refusal to fight, the government's attacks on the unions have mushroomed in the last couple of years to outright union-busting: PATCO smashed, National Guardsmen called out to bust the copper miners in Arizona, a whole union workforce fired at Continental. There's Taylor Law fines imposed on transit workers in NYC and new legislation in Illinois that eliminates cost-of-living protection for Chicago's subway and bus drivers. The state outlaws respecting picket lines and victimizes picket line militants like Bay Area phone workers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero.

Now is the time to deliver powerful strike action against the government's union-busting assaults on the unions. *For a nationwide transport strike—nothing moves until the Greyhound strikers are back at work with a decent contract!* Amnesty—no victimizations! Rehire the PATCO strikers, release jailed PATCO leaders and fire the scabs! Bury the Taylor Law and the RTA bill in Chicago—and make Taft-Hartley a dead letter now! A national transport workers strike could smash the union-busting and pay cuts imposed on Teamsters and airline workers through government-fostered deregulation schemes.

Such a struggle would immediately become a political confrontation with the government that could turn the racist, union-hating cowboy in the White House into a lame duck. But you can't fight Reagan with Democrats. What's needed is a workers party to rally millions of the oppressed to the banner of a fighting labor movement: Jobs for all through a sliding scale of wages and hours! Organize the unorganized! For labor/black defense guards to defend picket lines and smash racist terror! Fight for a workers government that would put an end to decaying capitalism once and for all.

Transport workers: the battle lines are drawn. If the ATU goes down, you are next. No more PATCOs! Bust the union-busters! For a national transport strike!■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Beat Greyhound Union-Busting! For a National Transport Strike!

Stop the Buses! No More PATCOs!

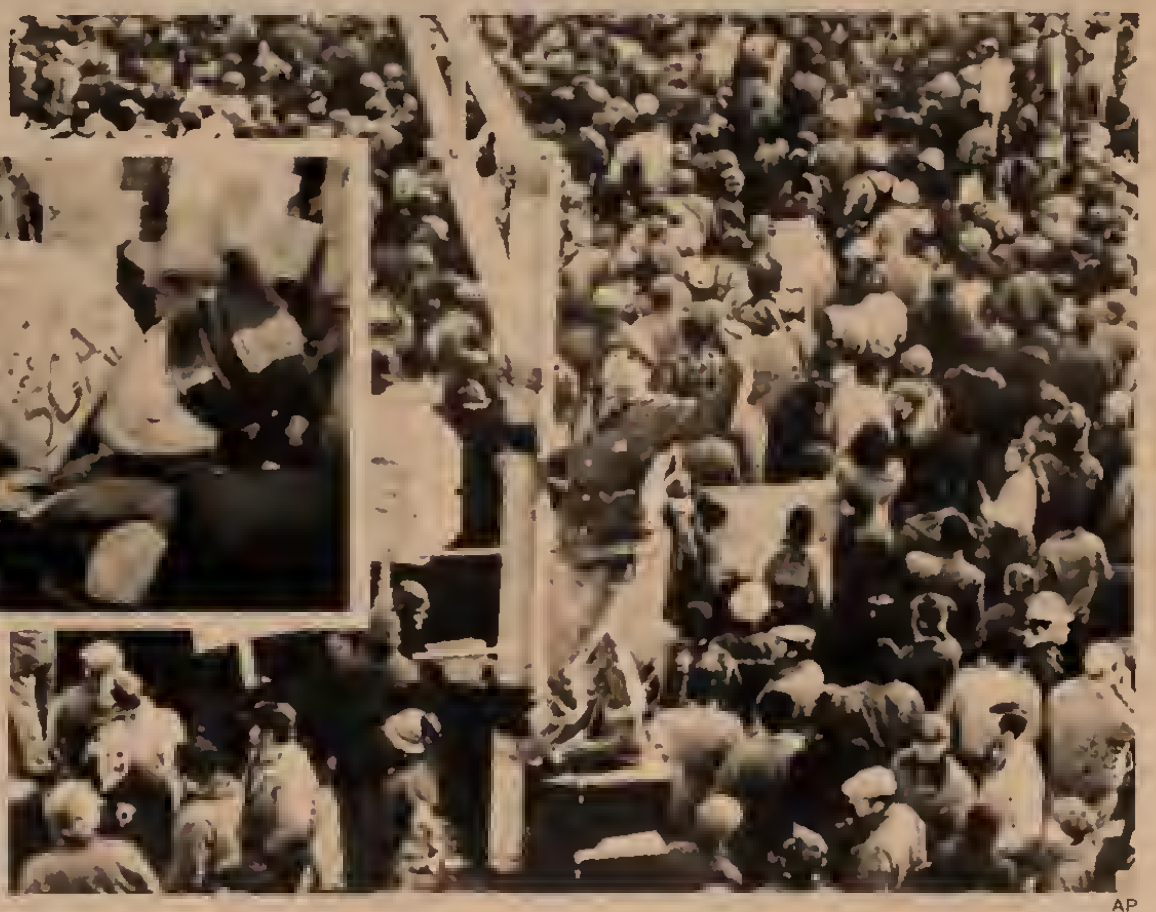
On November 17 Greyhound started operating with scabs. It should have heen the signal for an immediate response hy labor of mass pickets and strike action to *stop the buses!* On November 29, after union members defiantly rejected the company's surrender terms by a 97 percent margin, Greyhound announced it was firing all strikers. If Reagan and the bosses can break the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) at the nation's largest bus company, then no union is safe. They got away with it at PATCO and now they're herding seabs in union towns from New York to Detroit to San Francisco. We say: *No More PATCOs!* The Spartacist League calls on other bus workers, Teamsters, railroad workers, pilots and ground crews, city transit workers: *All out to stop the scab buses! For a nationwide transport strike!*

When Greyhound began to run the buses, rank-and-file ATU members attempted, essentially without leadership, to stop the scabherding. The cops answered with mass arrests and assaults on strikers. In the face of this blatant government-sanctioned strikebreaking, the response of the ATU and AFL-CIO tops has been to appeal for a *consumer boycott*—the same impotent tactic that paved the way for the PATCO disaster. Mass picketing has been dismantled and precious time needed to mount a labor mobilization has been wasted on appeals to Democratic Party city bosses to "ban" the scabbing. This strike can be wnn, hut union militants must fight now to reverse these disastrous policies.

The ATU leaders tried to run away from this strike. They offered to work without a contract and even proposed *their own* takeaway package of wage and henefit concessions. But Greyhound will settle for nothing less than total union-busting. *The unions didn't pick this battle, but they better win it!* Every decent trade unionist understands this. Individual militants and some officials from dozens of unions have joined the ATU picket lines on their own initiative. As one Teamster on strike against Budweiser put it, "We didn't do what we should have during PATCO... we need a little [musele] out here to stop the union-busting."

On November 23, the day before *continued on page 10*

Webber/Seattle Post-Intelligencer



AP

3,000 unionists rally with Greyhound strikers in Boston, November 23. Inset: Strikers defend picket line against cops' scabherding in Seattle.

Hung Jury in Alabama Racist Frame-Up

Drop the Charges Against the Taylor Family!

MONTGOMERY, Alabama, November 27—The racist frame-up trial of Worrie Taylor, 49, of Warren, Ohio, ended here today with Judge Randall Thomas declaring a mistrial at 4:05 p.m. Three courageous black jurors stood firm for acquittal throughout snme 20 hours of deliberation, refusing tn "compromise" despite the judge's repeated order to the hung jury to go back in and reach a unanimous verdiet.

The state was out for a legal lynching of the Taylors, the family of hlaek auto workers from the North who had come back to Montgomery for a funeral and dared to defend themselves against a nightriding Alabama cop attaek. Here in the "cradle of the Confederacy" where the South seceded from the Union in 1861, where today George ("Mr. Segregation") Wallace is governor and jackbooted "Führer" Folmar is mayor, they were fighting the Civil War all over again. For the 13 days of the trial, the Montgomery Circuit Court was the battleground as scores of gun-toting cops packed the courtroom to enforce the prerogatives of Southern lynch law and intimidate the Montgomery blacks who dared to show up in the Taylors' support.

But the cops did not succeed: each day some 80 to 100 determined black supporters were there when the court opened at 9 a.m., staying until 10 o'clock each night. The Taylors' fight was their fight. At stake was the right of the black man tn defend himself and his home against

continued on page 9

AP

Lillie Bell Taylor and Worrie Taylor at the start of his trial in Montgomery.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 344 X-523 16 December 1983

Smash the Union-Busters! Defend the Soviet Union!

Class Struggle Sharpens

Today the working class and its allies face unprecedented union-busting attacks and a drive toward nuclear war pursued by both capitalist parties. As Reagan was installing the anti-Soviet nuclear missiles, Greyhound strikers were walking the picket lines. Workers need a revolutionary program and leadership to mobilize the power of labor and blacks against their class enemies. We reprint below excerpts from a presentation given by a New York transit worker at an NYC public meeting December 9 titled, "The Class Struggle and the Spartacist League."

WV Photo

Support rally for Greyhound strikers in New York City, November 23—Labor must stop the buses! For a national transport strike!

"The Class Struggle and the Spartacist League"

I wanted to start out talking about the Greyhound strike. I'm happy to see that there's a lot of brothers from Transport Local 100 who came tonight, because I think there is a recognition in the labor movement now that if they get Greyhound, who's next? I think there's a recognition that there should have been hundreds of union militants out there with those guys helping to man picket lines so that those buses never got off the dock. The Teamsters, the railway workers, the airline workers—you've got to grind it to a halt.

The problem is that the rank-and-file ATU [Amalgamated Transit Union] members have been left largely on their own, and those guys *tried*. In Philadelphia 1,300 of them and other unionists in the city got out there the first day and stopped the buses for 12 hours. But the question is the leadership. Now a man is dead! A striker was hit by a scab driver. And those ATU leaders come back with the same damn offer that Greyhound put on the table in the first place, that take-it-or-leave-it offer. So what are they supposed to do in the face of this? There has to be a fight. They should take the contract and burn it. They should do what the miners did to Arnold Miller in the 1978 coal strike, because he did the same thing to those guys. He brought them two rotten packages, and they put both of them in the bonfire. The way forward is for elected strike committees to run this strike, and that means the guys who want to run this strike have to say no to this deal. The way we fight it is mass pickets, and we go to the rest of the labor movement and we get backing, including national strike action by other transport workers unions.

Because the sentiment *is* there. This comes after PATCO [the air traffic controllers union busted by Reagan in 1981]. There's a widespread sentiment now amongst union members that the labor movement didn't do right by PATCO. The leadership let them hang alone. So that now *any* union is fair game. The labor movement was caught a little bit by surprise when PATCO happened. Also there was a little difficulty feeling much sympathy for these guys that make $45,000 and furthermore voted for that damn Reagan. But the issue was bigger than that. A lot of people knew it then, and a lot more people know it now. And with the ATU you're talking about drivers and black women who clean the toilets in the terminals. It's one of the reasons that the labor movement is really aroused. It's really felt, *it can happen here*.

What will it take to win? Comrade James Cannon, who was the leader and founder of the Trotskyist movement in this country, said something very important about strikes and strike strategy. It was at the time there was a big maritime strike on the Pacific Coast in 1936. He pointed out that a strike is a bullheaded struggle between two forces

continued on page 2

RAY PHILLIPS

LABOR MARTYR

See Page Five

Jesse Jackson: Front Man for the Racist Democrats

SEE PAGE SIX

Class Struggle Sharpens...

(continued from page 1)

whose interests are in constant and irreconcilable conflict. The partnership of labor and capital is a lie. The immediate issue in every case is decided by the relative strength of the two forces competing at the moment. The question you had better ask every time you go into battle: who are your friends, who are your potential allies and who are your enemies?

The ATU is distributing a petition to [New York governor] Mario Cuomo to revoke the operating licenses of Greyhound in this state. Now, what's the problem with that? The problem is you're going hat-in-hand to the very labor-hating politicians who are busting this strike. Mario Cuomo is our Democratic governor. Ed Koch is our Democratic mayor. Whose cops are out there scabherding at Port Authority? Whose cops in most cities, which are run by Democratic mayors, are out there busting these pickets! Over a hundred of them have been arrested, a lot of them beat up and thrown in jail. These are the guys [the Democratic mayors] who love to hate city workers and bust the city workers unions. They're there to implement Reagan's austerity. So you're going to go hat-in-hand to *them?*

The other thing that they've been pushing is this consumer boycott stuff. Your strength is not in appealing to this amorphous mass of consumers out there who are trying to get to Oshkosh. Your strength is in appealing to the union drivers, so that the passengers don't even have to worry about a choice because those buses aren't going to roll!

In this strike you run right up against the question of the state. As Marxists we have always maintained that the state exists for the subjection of one class by another class. It is not neutral, it doesn't float above, it's not evenhanded. In this society what the state exists for is to maintain the capitalist exploitation of the working class. Because whose cops are out there trying to break these strikes? Whose courts are out there trying to cripple the picket lines? Sure, you can have picket lines just as long as it's not more than three people. They slap an injunction on you if you intend to stop the buses. The kind of police terror that is normal in the black community is now being used against the labor movement, hot and heavy.

Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive on the Home Front

Why is this happening now to the labor movement? And why don't the labor leaders fight? People are generally aware that this country is going to war. The provocations are there, right? The Reagan government sends 269 people up in this Korean jetliner over strategic Soviet [military bases], and it gets shot down. Or he's playing chicken with the Soviet navy in every ocean of the world, disabling Soviet subs. And thank god the commanders of those submarines are quite controlled in their response or we might not be here tonight. Now you've got the raids in Lebanon against the Syrian positions, which is the Soviets' strategic ally in the Near East. So he's pushing it. This country is headed for war.

What stands in the way of that are basically two things. One is Soviet nuclear power. We'd better be thankful that the Soviets have the bomb, because it's given us a little breathing space. The other thing, in terms of this country's preparations for war, is [U.S. rulers] want to militarize the American working class so they can get us all to march lock step. This union-busting and this witchhunting in the unions is the effort to quash any organized resistance to the war drive in this country.

The question of protectionism here is really important because it's one of the tools that they use to line up workers behind "our" government. Whip up nationalist sentiment in this country against foreign workers, meanwhile the *real* problem is these capitalist outfits and how they're running this country and this economy into the ground.

These [anti-union] attacks are political. And the reason why the labor leaders won't fight them is also political, because these guys stand foursquare behind Reagan's war drive against the Soviet Union. The people that presently lead the unions are mainly the people who built their careers driving socialists and militants out of the unions after the [Second World] War. That's who's there, and they've never fought. Since they're going to lay down, roll over and put their legs up in the air, both the government and companies have felt emboldened and they've gone to outright union-busting.

WV Photo

Oakland, October 29—Hundreds rally to defense of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero.

For Labor/Black Struggle

That's basically their message, that blacks don't have a right to fight against racist attacks and workers don't have a right to defend their pickets. It's one of the important things about the Ray and Lauren case on the West Coast. [During the national phone strike last August Lauren Mozee, while on picket duty in San Leandro, California, was hit in the face by a white racist scab supervisor, Michelle Rose Hansen, who called her a "black nigger bitch." Lauren defended herself and the picket line, and her companion Ray Palmiero came to her assistance. Now they are fired and charged with felonies carrying up to seven and a half years in prison.]

What's important is that you've got a real hard core of the Bay Area labor movement behind that case. You've got a very impressive united-front defense effort, which includes many prominent public officials like [black Democratic Congressman] Ron Dellums and [Alameda County supervisor] John George, and you're dragging behind also organizations like the Communist Party. At the demonstration [on October 29 in Oakland] there were striking workers, interracial couples (lots of them) and people who had experience with brutality at the hands of the police.

South Africa-style justice is still a big issue in this country. Look at the Taylor family case [in Montgomery, Alabama]. Auto workers went down from Ohio and Michigan to mourn their mother, and their mourning is busted up by a couple of racist cops. They defend themselves and *they're* up on charges that could land them in jail for years. But it's not just the South, right? We all knew that—we saw it happen in Brooklyn. They beat our union brother [Willie Turks] to death because he was black and he had the damn nerve to go out for a bagel and a beer after work.

We've got "up South" racism too. And in this country it's really deep. We had a Civil War, which freed the slaves, but blacks are still on the bottom. You've got one nation, two races, one on top of the other. And there's no way out under this system. In the civil rights movement it took mass struggles to win *anything* for black people. But the civil rights movement hit a dead end, because it couldn't answer what this system, meaning capitalism, does to black people. And now some of the best elements of that movement are presently around this party, partly because it has been in the forefront of fighting the Klan/Nazi fascist terror. Five times they tried to march—in Detroit, San Francisco, Ann Arbor, Chicago and Wash-

continued on page 11

L.A. Greyhound Strikers Give Big to Lauren and Ray Defense

LOS ANGELES, December 6—Four hundred spirited Greyhound strikers, meeting today to discuss terms of their takeaway contract, dug deep into their pockets and donated a grand total of $459.45 for the defense of victimized phone strikers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero. This powerful display of labor solidarity is a testament to the fighting spirit exhibited by the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) rank and file throughout this strike. This impressive amount of money was collected from workers who haven't seen a paycheck in over a month.

Manuel Delgadillo, Phone Strikers Defense Committee representative, was introduced at the meeting by noting that Manuel's local, CWA 11502, donated $500 to the ATU strike fund. This announcement was greeted warmly. Manuel explained the background to the racist, anti-labor frame-up of Lauren and Ray and linked it to the Greyhound strike:

"Lauren Mozee, who is black, was walking the picket line in San Leandro when a scab manager, who had been very provocative on the line, called her a 'black nigger bitch,' struck her in the face, breaking her lip. Lauren of course defended herself. Ray Palmiero, her companion, was also walking the lines and came to her aid. Now they both face four years in prison as a result of this.

"The bosses are out to bust the unions, as Greyhound is trying to do to your union here. All of labor is under the gun. We can't allow the bosses to ram their takebacks down our throats. All labor must stand together against the bosses. You need the support of all transport to win against Greyhound. We will do whatever it takes to win this strike. If it takes shutting down communications, I will go back and fight for that in my union.

"This case is not just about two individual phone workers. This is an attack on all labor, an attack on the picket line. Lauren and Ray need the support of all labor who defend the picket line and the right to defend ourselves against racist attack. I know you are on strike, but I would like you to contribute what you can and help support these two phone workers. Thank you."

Workers enthusiastically applauded and pulled out their wallets. Many workers, especially blacks, waved their money in the air to ensure that the collection would not pass them by. When Delgadillo returned to the podium to thank the ATUers for their generosity and announced the amount donated the room filled with cheers.

The Phone Strikers Defense Committee's appearance was the highlight of this meeting. After being told by their union leaders to support a defeat—to vote for a 14 percent takeaway contract—ATU ranks refused to let their anger and bitterness turn them away from supporting Lauren and Ray. Strikers, especially black workers, began to leave the meeting in disgust. A worker passing a *WV* salesman responded to our call for a national transport strike by saying, "We need a goddamn general strike!" If this contract stands it will represent a defeat for all working people. *Workers Vanguard* salutes the gut-level fighting spirit and generosity the L.A. Greyhound strikers showed by their impressive support to the defense of Lauren and Ray.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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PRODUCTION MANAGER Noah Wilner

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No. 344 16 December 1983

Defend Picket Lines! Defend Blacks!

Defend Lauren and Ray!

We reprint below excerpts from a presentation by Deborah Mackson, secretary of the Partisan Defense Committee, given at a New York City Spartacist League forum on December 9.

As you know, there was a very bitter phone strike last August. On the tenth of that month Lauren Mozee, a black mother of two children, former Black Panther, avowed socialist, member of an opposition caucus within the CWA, the Militant Action Caucus, was doing her duty on the picket line in that Klan-infested area of California known as San Leandro. With her fellow workers she was defending the elementary rights of every worker in this country, her job, her union and the right to strike.

Now, on that day Michelle Rose Hansen, a racist low-level phone company manager, crossed that picket line and called Lauren a "black nigger bitch." She [Hansen] then hit her in the face. Lauren defended herself. And her companion and fellow unionist, fellow socialist Ray Palmiero, son of Italian working-class immigrants, came to her assistance.

Now, over the next several days Lauren and Ray and every black and every trade unionist in this country received a message from a group of representatives of the bourgeois state, that being the phone company, the District Attorney's office and the local police. Lauren and Ray were fired from their jobs. Lauren and Ray were denied unemployment. Lauren and Ray were charged with enough felony counts to put them in state prison for seven to eight years. The racist scab Michelle Rose Hansen still has her job.

So the message of this blatant act of politicized racism is quite clear. Blacks have no right to defend themselves against racist attack, and workers have no right to defend their picket lines. Now, this is an outrage! And on many different levels. In the first place, if you just look at the incident itself, worse altercations happen in Oakland bars every Saturday night, believe me. But on a more general basis, look at what this means. Everyone in this room knows to some degree the history of the struggle for trade unions and their right to strike in this country. Those victories were not won in negotiations. They were not won in the courts, but they were won on the streets. And on the streets things were not friendly. There were hard-fought battles there. And believe me, when the battles were through scabs were not walking around on two legs going to the courts and bringing charges against picketers.

So this case is a really crystal clear example of what the present rulers of this country have in store for workers and blacks. Unemployment, poverty, racial oppression, atomization in more ways than one, and if you don't like it—jail. Well, Lauren and Ray weren't about to take this. And neither were we, and neither was the working and black population of the city of Oakland and the Oakland Bay Area. We want to tear up that message from those people and throw it back in their faces.

On October 29 a united-front demonstration [demanding] freedom and jobs back for Lauren and Ray was held on the steps of the Alameda County Courthouse. Now, just the publicity that attended the building of that demonstration, in fact, was a very major part of why the day before that demonstration the District Attorney wound up dropping the great bodily injury clause from one of the felony charges.

If you look at the list in *Workers Vanguard*, the newspaper of the Spartacist League, of people who endorsed this case and endorsed this demonstration, you can see that the import and implications of this case are very, very clear. Individuals, Ron Dellums for example, endorsed this demonstration. Any organization on the left in this country who wanted to continue to have any credibility with the working class endorsed this demonstration.

And the demonstration itself was extremely impressive. On October 29 we had 400 very militant, serious, committed people turn out. And they were committed to seeing that Lauren and Ray don't go to jail. And I'm very happy to tell you that their committment in fact does continue. It wasn't just for that one day of that demonstration.

So who were they? Well, they were, for example, what I think is the fighting core of the union leadership of the Bay Area, representing thousands of workers, local politicians from the area who wanted to continue to have any credibility in the Bay Area, large numbers of phone workers and other unionists, the socialists of the Spartacist League, the Labor/Black League for Social Defense and others, and many individuals who simply could not stand by and not do anything about this case.

And I think that one of the most interesting things in fact about that group of people who came to that demonstration was there were a large number of integrated couples there who came and brought their children. Now, that indicates something about the level of people's commitment to seeing that this doesn't happen.

Now, the demonstration itself, as I said, was very spirited. And in addition to that, the cop harassment that we experienced during the course of this demonstration was way, way out of proportion to anything that one could have imagined. We worked very hard in advance with talking to the mayor, telling people exactly what we wanted to do. And during the course of that demonstration there were at least four people who were hit by police motorcycle handlebars and mirrors on the motorcycles. When the march came into the Alameda County Courthouse area, the police had a whole bank of motorcycles just waiting for the demonstration to come in. As soon as the demonstrators moved around the corner in front of the courthouse, all of those motorcycles started and came sweeping down the street to try and clear the street. So it was very clear that they know too what's going on. And this kind of cop harassment of Lauren and Ray and their supporters continues in the Bay Area today still.

The Labor/Black League had worked very hard at building this demonstration. In the course of that building they talked to people about this case and got a number of new members, so that the Labor/Black League in the Bay Area today now has over 50 members.

The work is not done on this case. This is an ongoing united-front defense effort. And there have been several things that have happened since that demonstration. There was a benefit that was organized for the case of Lauren and Ray which was extremely well attended. And at the time that the benefit was over we had more cop harassment, with four squad cars coming into the area, police following Lauren and Ray and their security guard to a local restaurant and waiting for them to come out, things like that. But nevertheless people stuck right by Lauren and Ray and were not put off by that.

Also, on December 1 Lauren and Ray for the first time since the demonstration went back to court, and supporters of theirs, unionists, Spartacist League supporters, Labor/Black League members organized their friends and other supporters to come to the courtroom. And they packed the courtroom. We just had every seat in the entire courtroom. And various members of the prosecution team and Michelle Rose Hansen were heard to whisper to each other, "They're everywhere!" [Laughter.] And that's where we want to be, everywhere.

So we want to continue to build the defense effort and publicize this case across the country, but that takes money. And the Partisan Defense Committee is helping in raising funds for this case. So if you're here tonight and you haven't made a substantial donation to this case, please, we'll take checks, we'll take cash, we'll take almost anything. The publicity and the other activities must continue because these people cannot be allowed to go to jail.

So in conclusion I just want to make the point that the Spartacist League is a small organization but we are a very vital part of the struggle for survival and for advancement of blacks and working people in this country. Because, you see, we understand history, we understand the big picture. We understand how this case fits into the history of the working class in this country, and we know that our program for a multiracial vanguard party which can actually lead the working class in successful struggle toward the workers government is the only hope for the workers of this country and indeed of the world. ■

WV Photo

Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero on the picket line in San Leandro, August 1983.

WV Photo

Militant demonstrators demand freedom and jobs for Lauren and Ray in Oakland, October 29.

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Smash Thatcher Union-Busting! Victory to the Printers Strike!

Showdown for British Labor

Cowboy Reagan and Iron Lady Thatcher personify capitalist reaction amid the worst economic conditions since the Great Depression of the 1930s. Their program: break the power of organized labor to increase the rate of exploitation; slash social services and social-welfare programs; prepare for war against the Soviet Union. They must be brought down by mass strike action!

Within months of coming to office Reagan fired an entire union of striking air controllers (PATCO). The destruction of PATCO set the stage for the give-back contracts throughout U.S. industry and encouraged further union-busting now centered on Greyhound. The British trade-union movement is stronger, more entrenched and far more combative than the American. Despite depression-level unemployment, in part deliberately induced by Thatcher's monetarist economics, union power at the base has not been broken.

Last year Thatcher launched a frontal assault: the Tebbit Act. This law aims to destroy the strong closed-shop tradition of the British labor movement. Unions are now subject to fines up to £250,000 ($360,000) for engaging in "secondary boycotts" and industrial actions deemed "political." Now the attempt by a small, right-wing publisher in northern England to break the closed-shop agreement with the National Graphical Association (NGA, printers union) has drawn the battle line against Tebbit and the entire Tory union-busting offensive. On November 29, 4,000 members of the NGA and other trade-union supporters confronted 2,000 seabherding cops.

British labor must not lose this fight. The Spartacist League/Britain is agitating for a national printers strike and support action by the Trades Union Congress (TUC), if necessary with a general strike. At a support rally in Manchester on December 1 our comrades led militants in chants of "Shut down Fleet Street!" the center of the British newspaper industry.

The industrial showdown over the printers strike has predictably aggravated the Cold War split in the Labour Party between the NATO-loyal, CIA-connected right wing and the "little England" left social democrats like Tony Benn. The Labour rights have openly denounced the printers for "illegality" and "violence" as union pickets are brutally attacked by Thatcher's cops. We say: Drive the NATO-loving right wing out of the Labour Party! Meanwhile, the Labour "lefts" have done nothing except talk about changing the Tories' anti-union legislation in the great by-and-by. But when they are in office the Labour Party tops—agents of the bourgeoisie in the workers movement—do their best to suppress working-class struggle. Remember Callaghan's "social contract" in the mid-1970s. The printers strike must and will be won on the picket lines *against* the defeatist policies of the Labour Party and TUC bureaucracy. We reprint below a leaflet issued on November 30 by the Spartacist League/Britain on this critical class battle.

News Line

Warrington, England—Militant printers and other unionists defend picket line against Thatcher's scabherding cops.

Spartacist League Says: Defend the NGA—Defeat the Tory Union Bashers!

Tuesday night Maggie Thatcher's helmeted and visored boot boys rampaged against union picketers in Warrington, injuring and arresting dozens and destroying the NGA van and sound system. The fist of Tory hatred for the working class is coming down. The whole union movement must respond in kind. Remember Saltley Gates—flying pickets from every union should be pouring in to Warrington right now to build the mass pickets! Attempts to smash the picket lines must be met with determination—for disciplined trade-union-organised defence squads! The lockouts and provocations against the NGA's Fleet Street bastion show the bosses want to smash the NGA, one of Britain's strongest unions, built on the closed shop and the union hiring list. Its Fleet Street chapels were in the forefront of the Pentonville Five strike that forced Heath to free the dockers' leaders in 1972. Answer lockouts and the juridical theft of NGA assets with mass occupations. What is posed is not simply the defence of the NGA but of the entire trade-union movement. If they beat the NGA, who will be next? Not a penny of union money to the capitalist courts—no reliance on the dead-end of arbitration. *Reinstate all sacked workers! Drop all charges against arrested picketers! Smash all the Tory anti-union laws—Picket lines mean don't cross! Take on the bosses' union-bashing provocation—All out on Fleet Street! For a national all-union print strike!*

The government attacks on the unions are part of a political drive to smash the gains of the working class everywhere. The Iron Lady and her NATO allies are driving for nuclear war against the Soviet workers state. At home she sends the police out to crack the heads of workers and minorities, while she lauds Solidarność, the CIA company union for counterrevolution in Poland. *Thatcher hates the NGA, Thatcher hates the USSR—Defend the workers unions, defend the workers states!*

Miners are already on overtime ban. Ford workers are voting to strike in meetings up and down the country. The POEU [Post Office Engineering Union] still has a fight to win after the craven capitulation to the courts of their 'leadership.' The powerful TGWU [Transport & General Workers Union] has promised full support—but the only real support is to join the NGA in strike action right now! The ruling class freed the Pentonville Five eleven years ago when faced with the threat of a general strike. A general strike is what's on the agenda now. No TUC sellout—*the TUC must back the NGA all the way, up to and including a general strike!*

All the important battles of the working class have been won outside the bosses' courts—and outside the bosses' Parliament. But the Labour Party leadership is telling you to crawl before the decisions of the bosses' courts and their laws. No way! The Labour Party wants constitutional windbaggery in Westminster. We want to win on the picket lines!

The Fleet Street vultures carry on about 'union privileges.' What a filthy joke! The British working class—privileged? The only privileges workers in this country have are to live in the shadow of the dole in crumbling cities in the most decaying economy in Europe. Every gain of union organisation, every small protection has been fought for over and over. It's vital to defend the workers' fighting organisations. Victory now can give a lead to all workers and oppressed and, with the construction of a revolutionary leadership, open the road to workers power.

- Build the Warrington mass pickets! Flying pickets from every union to shut Messenger down!
- All out on Fleet Street! For a national all-union print strike!
- TUC must back the NGA all the way, up to and including a general strike!
- Give Thatcher the Heath treatment—Mass action to bring down the Tories! Jobs for all, worksharing on full pay! Take the economy out of the bosses' hands—For socialist planning and a workers soviet government! ■

Stop Greyhound Union-Busting!

Militants Campaign for a Fighting TWU

The current elections in New York City's Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 offer an especially clear choice between class-struggle politics and the bureaucracy's capitulation to all-out union-busting. The campaign of the Committee for a Fighting TWU—which is running Ed Kartsen for president, David Brewer and Jim Smith for executive board of their respective divisions—has focused on the need for a national transport strike to defeat Greyhound's union-busting attack on the brothers of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU). The John Lawe regime of TWU Local 100 sabotaged any effective *action* in support of the Greyhound strike. At bottom these bureaucrats are demonstrating their loyalty to the Democratic Party and the capitalist system it represents. The Committee for a Fighting TWU says: Break with the Democrats—For a workers party to fight for a workers government! We reprint below excerpts from Ed Kartsen's presentation at a forum on "The Class Struggle and the Spartacist League" in New York City, December 9.

During these elections we haven't been grandstanding on the basis of running simply for posts. We've been fighting for the program that will advance the working class, defend it, unite it against the attacks by management, reasserting the basic foundations of trade unionism like the picket line. It *means* don't cross and *not* for information. We're not about a game of grandstanding for the Democrats and blowing a lot of hot steam.

In the TWU a motion was put forward in a number of meetings:

> "Greyhound's scabherding union-busting attack on the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) is an attack on not only the transport workers unions but the entire labor movement like Reagan's attack on PATCO. What's really needed is a solid national transport workers strike to stop this union-busting crap. We should mobilize our members and the entire union to get out to help man the ATU picket lines. We need labor power not protest gestures. A nationwide transport strike and round-the-clock mass pickets can stop those buses from rolling over American trade unionism."

That motion passed in one section of the Transport Workers Union, a meeting of track workers. The central [TWU] bureaucracy, however, did their "part" to go down to the ATU demonstration at Port Authority, [treating it] primarily as a big pep rally for John Lawe. Members of the Committee for a Fighting TWU were there at the rally a few weeks ago. And one demand that was raised, one chant that was raised was taken up by the entire crowd in the face of all the Democratic Party speakers and a lot of the hot air that the bureaucracy was putting out. The demand was "Stop the buses!" This chant was taken up. Unfortunately, the AFL-CIO leadership that ran that rally was too busy trying to stay within the confines of acceptable business unionism, providing a platform for the "respectable" Democratic politicians. Now an ATU striker is dead, killed by a scab protected by the bosses' cops, which in many cities are called out by these so-called "friends of labor," the Democrats. And the AFL-CIO leadership has not lifted a finger to close down every transport facility in this country, which is what is needed.

This election has laid a foundation for fighting for a leadership that's going to lead the TWU out of this quagmire. Because what's needed is a leadership that's not going to dampen, dilute or weaken the struggle of the working class particularly at moments when it's most important to fight. The working class needs its own party, not the Democrats or Republicans. We need a party that's going to fight to mobilize to smash the Klan and finish the Civil War. The fight continues to build the kind of militant leadership that will form a general staff of a working-class counteroffensive.

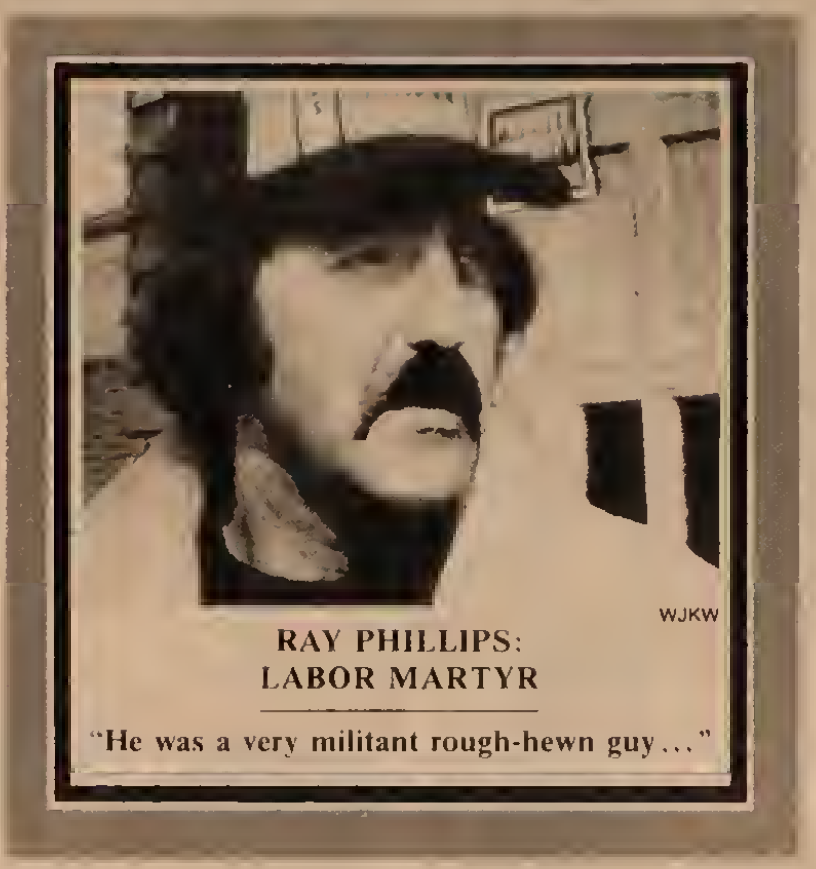
Greyhound Scab Driver Runs Down Strike Picket Captain

Ray Phillips: Labor Martyr

CLEVELAND, December 9—Six hundred transport workers from all over the country jammed into the tiny Lutheran Reformation Church in Eastlake, Ohio to attend the last rites for Raymond L. Phillips. Brother Ray was murdered in cold blood by a scab Greyhound driver on December 5 while picketing outside Zanesville, Ohio, about three hours south of Cleveland.

The somber church ceremony was followed by a car caravan to the Willoughby Lakefront Cemetery. There, surrounded by hundreds of his union brothers and sisters huddled in a heavy snowfall, with a three-round salute from the local VFW, to the sounds of taps and the gentle sobbing of his grieving wife and mother, Ray Phillips was buried.

Ray was a union martyr in the war against labor being waged by Reagan and all the bosses. A well-known and respected member of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1043 in Cleveland, at the age of 42 he had been a Greyhound driver for 13 years. He was a very militant rough-hewn guy opposed to all the givebacks in the current contract. He defended the picket line, declaring in a local television interview that ATUers "were not going to cross the picket lines to go back to work for the same conditions they'd been out here fighting for." He was the picket captain of a crew at the lines out in front of the Greyhound terminal on Chester Avenue in downtown Cleveland. Ray appreciated all expressions of solidarity with the strikers and understood the importance of labor unity to prevent any more PATCOs. He was very friendly with *Workers Vanguard*, purchased our paper on at least two occasions and talked with us at length. Our comrades remember Ray as a decent and honest unionist with determination and commitment.



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RAY PHILLIPS: LABOR MARTYR

"He was a very militant rough-hewn guy..."

Greyhound had not felt confident enough to challenge the militant traditions of Ohio Teamsters or ATU Local 1043, which had wildcatted at the expiration of two previous contracts. The company has not been running buses out of Ohio. But when unionists learned that Greyhound was opening a training school for scab drivers in Zanesville, Ray Phillips was among scores of ATU members from Cleveland, Columbus, Pittsburgh and Charleston who volunteered to go down and picket. On December 5, some picketers approached an unmarked scab bus at the intersection of Ohio Routes 797 and 40. Scab Lewis Harris accelerated through a stop sign and blinking red light while making a left turn. Hugo Fox, an ATU eyewitness, described what happened: "Ray Phillips was walking in front, shaking his fist at the bus. The instructor (who was in the front of the bus with the trainee) motioned for the driver to go ahead. The bus sped up. Ray tried to jump out of the way. His feet got tangled up and he tripped. The bus ran over his legs. You could hear the pop.... I was hollering 'Hold it. Hold it.'" (*Akron Beacon Journal*, 6 December). But the bus didn't hold it. As Ray was trying to crawl out of the way the back wheels went over him, crushing his skull. The bus continued on for *more than a mile*, before a sheriff's deputy pulled it over.

The immediate aftermath was shock and outrage. Within hours Columbus ATUers sent a memorial pine wreath with a large black ribbon to Cleveland. It was quickly posted next to a makeshift sign reading "Greyhound caused the death of our friend" in front of the Chester Avenue terminal. When news of the homicide reached Pittsburgh scores of ATUers, many of whom knew Ray from his frequent runs through that city, spontaneously showed up at their picket lines and held an impromptu memorial. The next day over 200 unionists wearing black armbands—Cleveland Greyhound workers in uniform, meatcutters, roofers, machinists and communications workers—marched grimly through Zanesville chanting, "Arrest the killer scab, the whole world is watching!"

Outrageously, neither the scab driver nor any of his trainers were charged in connection with this foul murder. On December 13 the Muskingum County prosecutor announced that Phillips' death was "accidental" and no indictments would be issued. The courts ruled it was legal to murder strikers! The obvious partiality of the cops and courts became a major focus in a protest memorial held in downtown Cleveland on December 7. About 200 marched through the bitter cold: hand-lettered signs read "Brother Ray is on each picket line" and "Ohio is a right-to-kill state."

Two days later seven busloads of ATUers—two each from Pittsburgh and Columbus, and one from Philadelphia, Buffalo and Cincinnati—were there to honor Ray Phillips. Black and white unionists formed car pools to travel from Chicago and Detroit.

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The union has announced it is in the process of setting up a fund for the support of Ray's wife Linda and their four children. Checks should be made out to Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1043 and earmarked for the Ray Phillips Memorial Fund. The Partisan Defense Committee has made a donation and urges readers of *Workers Vanguard* to do likewise. Send to: Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1043, c/o Richard Scott, Financial Secretary, 1538 Payne Ave., Cleveland, OH 44114.

No Surrender–Tear Up the Sellout Contract!

Beat Greyhound! For a National Transport Strike!

Despite company and cop violence and bureaucratic sabotage, striking Greyhound workers of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) along with thousands of active supporters throughout the labor movement have shown plenty of willingness to fight. In Philadelphia on November 29 a caravan of Teamsters in fifteen 40-foot semis, dozens of cars and one horse-drawn carriage blocked the Greyhound station at the height of the morning rush hour. There were mass labor rallies in New York, Boston and San Francisco. But union officials have limited picket lines and diverted militant picketers from stopping buses.

And now ATU leaders, in connivance with the AFL-CIO tops and federal mediators, are trying to shove a horrendous contract (including a 15 percent *cut* in wages and benefits) down the throats of the ranks. The deal, virtually identical to one rejected by a 96 percent margin two weeks ago, would retain scabs "in order of seniority." And there will be plenty of openings for them, because there's no provision for amnesty for strikers facing criminal and federal charges. If this goes through, the bloody murderers of Ray Phillips will get away with firings and huge pay cuts, and all labor will be weakened. ATU members: tear up Greyhound's surrender terms and vote it down! A central demand of any settlement must be to rehire all strikers with no disciplines! No more sellouts: for elected strike committees to select a new national bargaining council! ATU strikers must forge links with Teamsters, longshoremen, transit workers, rail and airline workers. For mass picketing to stop the buses! For a national transport strike!

In San Francisco it was evident that the 1,500 Bay Area trade unionists who rallied December 3 wanted militant action, not impotent protest. According to an account in the December 9 "Longshore-Warehouse Militant":

> "In S.F., December 3, the bureaucrats tried the same story on over 1500 very militant unionists who rallied in support of the Greyhound strikers. After over an hour of boring 'we're with you 100 percent' speeches union members, who were ready to shut it down, marched down Market Street to the Greyhound Terminal, chanting 'On Strike! Shut it Down!' However, the long-winded bureaucrats were nowhere to be seen when the angry unionists tried to get into the locked terminal. Whenever it looked like something militant would happen, the bureaucrats jumped in to 'control' the situation. But in spite of pleas by various union 'leaders' to disperse, the angry union members continued to demonstrate, shutting down traffic for nearly two hours, shouting 'No More PATCO's!' and 'Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!' The bureaucrats wanted to protest, but the workers wanted to fight! They know that if Greyhound's union busting isn't defeated they will be next."

In San Francisco, where the industrial unions were forged out of the powerful general strike in 1934, sentiment for labor solidarity is particularly strong. So the bureaucrats *talk* more militant there. ILWU top Jimmy Herman claims he's for a port shutdown "if called upon"—while doing everything possible to make sure that no one calls upon him. No longshoreman takes Herman seriously in his oft-repeated threat, as he has consistently repressed strike action against the bosses and lines up his union behind Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. His real role was revealed when he personally interposed himself to help disperse picketers who sought to blockade the SF Greyhound terminal on December 3.

The real fighters for class-struggle action have been the Spartacist League and class-struggle caucuses in the unions such as the Militant Action

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NOTICE
Workers Vanguard skips a week in December.
Our next issue will be dated January 6.

Blacks, Labor Need a Workers Party!

Jesse Jackson: Front Man for the Racist Democrats

Jesse Jackson is part of the problem of racist reaction, not part of the solution. Black people in America's ghettos are suffering as never before. Anything seems better than continuing under the whip of Reagan racism. Black lives are on the line, and there is an increasing understanding that it means struggle or die. But Jesse Jackson is not part of that struggle. His role is to stop black struggle before it starts. His campaign is not about getting anything for black people, it is about helping the Democrats take away even more.

Jackson is a shill in Walter Mondale's game. The way the scenario goes: Mondale gets the presidency, Jackson gets to strut around the Democratic convention talking in rhyme and soaking up the media, and the black masses get more of the same...shit. After voting for Reagan's-war-and-starvation budgets, the Democrats are trying to sell the same cutback-takeback-rollback politics all over again. We say: Don't buy Jesse Jackson! We need to fight back, to bring Reagan down with labor/black action!

It was the black vote which elected Jimmy ("ethnic purity") Carter in 1976. In 1980, after four years of racist cutbacks, black people stayed away from the polls in record numbers. Now the Democrats badly need the black vote to elect Carter's VP. They figure they need 25 percent more black voters particularly in the South to tip the electoral balance in favor of Mondale. But they know blacks aren't going to register in big numbers for "Fritz."

So Jackson's job is to try to convince black people that the Democratic Party can be made to work for them rather than in the interests of the racist capitalist system. When Jesse Jackson singsongs "There's a freedom train a comin', but you got to register to ride," he's selling the Democratic ticket—from the Dixiecrats to the Northern liberals who knifed busing as soon as it was a question of integrating schools in *their* districts.

Womack/UPI

Jesse Jackson glad-hands George "Segregation Forever" Wallace, in attempt to sell Dixiecrats to blacks: "There appears, among the Democrats, to be a general theme of redemption and reconciliation."

—Jesse Jackson, 1983

The Democratic bigwigs want to reconcile black voters to the racist Dixiecrats as part of their "Southern strategy." So there was Jesse Jackson last spring hugging George ("Segregation Forever") Wallace in the Montgomery, Alabama state house—the cradle of the old slavocracy—and whooping: "The South can rise again!" Jesse Jackson will do anything.

"Our time has come," says Jackson over and over again. But is it time for struggle? Not according to this demagogue for the Democrats. In the heat of the struggle for busing Jackson made his position clear while racist mobs stoned black school kids on the streets of Boston and burned buses in Michigan. The *Chicago Tribune* (19 May 1974) exposed Jackson's hostility to busing: "Neither blacks nor whites really want integration, the Rev. Jesse Jackson says, and the time has come to abandon the fight to establish a racially integrated society."

Since the days of Franklin Roosevelt black votes have been used to elect Democrats. And what do black Americans have to show for it? Devastating unemployment which attacks every aspect of social life like a cancer, increasing segregation and more "separate but unequal" legislation, some of the most miserable ghettos in the world ravaged by cop terror, and wars which take our children as cannon fodder. And it keeps getting worse.

Conditions for black people in America have become so hellish that sectors of the ruling class fear an explosion of black anger, anything from ghetto upheavals to industrial action by black workers. The Democrats want to exploit this sentiment to get their man in the White House in '84. But to appeal to impoverished blacks with their backs to the wall, they need someone with the image of an anti-establishment maverick, someone like Jesse Jackson. He calls up memories of the '60s civil rights struggles in order to deny their relevance today—to say that blacks should get what they can by other means, by leverage and maneuvering within the Democratic Party, if only they will give Jackson the electoral clout he needs to bargain with.

To head off the potential for explosive struggles against black oppression, Jesse Jackson is trying to drain black anger in a presidential protest vote. Thus his campaign is an *attack* on the mass militant struggles of the '60s. Speaking recently at a community college in Manhattan, Jackson told black and Latino students:

> "You cannot serve the age of those who sat in, you cannot serve the age of those who rode the flaming buses, you cannot serve the age of those who fought the Vietnam War....
>
> "We need not explode through riots as we had to in '63 to be heard.... We can use the ballot to bring about change and transition through elections and not bloody revolution."

The fact is the gains of the civil rights movement, minimal as those gains were, were made only because hundreds of thousands of blacks occupied segregated restaurants, stores and public facilities, organized bus boycotts and rent strikes.

Food stamps, Medicaid, CETA and the rest were funneled into the ghettos because the white rulers feared social explosion in their cities. But it was nowhere near enough. So they bought off a layer of black hustlers—first as poverty pimps and then as "black elected officials," the so-called BEOs—to act as overseers for America's 20th century urban plantations. That was the end of the phony "war on poverty." So now they cynically declare ketchup a vegetable, cancel lunches for black school kids to pay for MX missiles, while the Ku Klux Klan lynches in Mobile and a racist Orange County cop can shoot a five-year-old black child, Patrick Mason, in his own home and then get a lifetime pension as a bounty.

Black liberation will not come from voting for the racist, capitalist Democratic Party. That will only lead to another defeat. Power for the black masses will come from militant *class* struggles like last year's November 27 Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the KKK from parading in the nation's

U.S. Rulers Fear Black Militancy

We reprint below some remarks on the Jesse Jackson candidacy made by an SL spokesman at the forum "The Class Struggle and the Spartacist League" in New York City on December 9.

It's no secret that blacks have been under attack, especially under Reagan and even before. But it's also no secret, especially to the ruling class, that blacks in this country are not helpless victims. Anybody who lived through the '60s knows that the mass struggles of black people ripped up this country. Not always in ways that were in the interests of blacks. It's not such a good idea to smash all the stores in the ghetto. But black people in the '60s ripped up this country! So what we used to call the white power structure is a little frightened of black militancy; they know that in most industries—auto, steel, the docks, transit—there are a lot of black workers who could shut this country down.

But if you're going to attack blacks in this country, you can't just do it with guys like New York's despicable racist mayor Ed Koch, who got run out of Harlem [at hearings on police brutality last July]. If Ed Koch was mayor of Detroit, the blacks would burn down the Renaissance Center and would be taking over all the auto plants. If Ed Koch was mayor of Washington, D.C., which is 70 percent black, Reagan would really need all those [dump trucks] they're bringing into the White House.

So at the same time that you get all these attacks on the black masses, you also get the election of all these black mayors, these black front men whom blacks have illusions in and can identify with. The cops protecting the Greyhound scabs in New York are Koch's cops. But not in Chicago. In Chicago they're Harold Washington's cops, in Detroit they're Coleman Young's cops, in Washington they're the cops of Marion Barry, who like Jackson used to be a big civil rights activist.

Blacks *know* that Reagan is their enemy, they *know* that Ed Koch is their enemy, they *know* that George Wallace, whom Jackson embraced, is their enemy. The really insidious enemies of black struggle, the enemies within, are the Coleman Youngs, Harold Washingtons and Jesse Jacksons. The struggle against the black Democrats as well as the openly racist white Democrats is critical to black liberation and finishing the Civil War in this country.

capital. Black demagogues like Jackson must be defeated politically by a class-struggle labor movement that links the ghetto to the factory and makes the cause of black freedom and working-class internationalism its own.

Jesse Jackson: All-Purpose Capitalist Agent

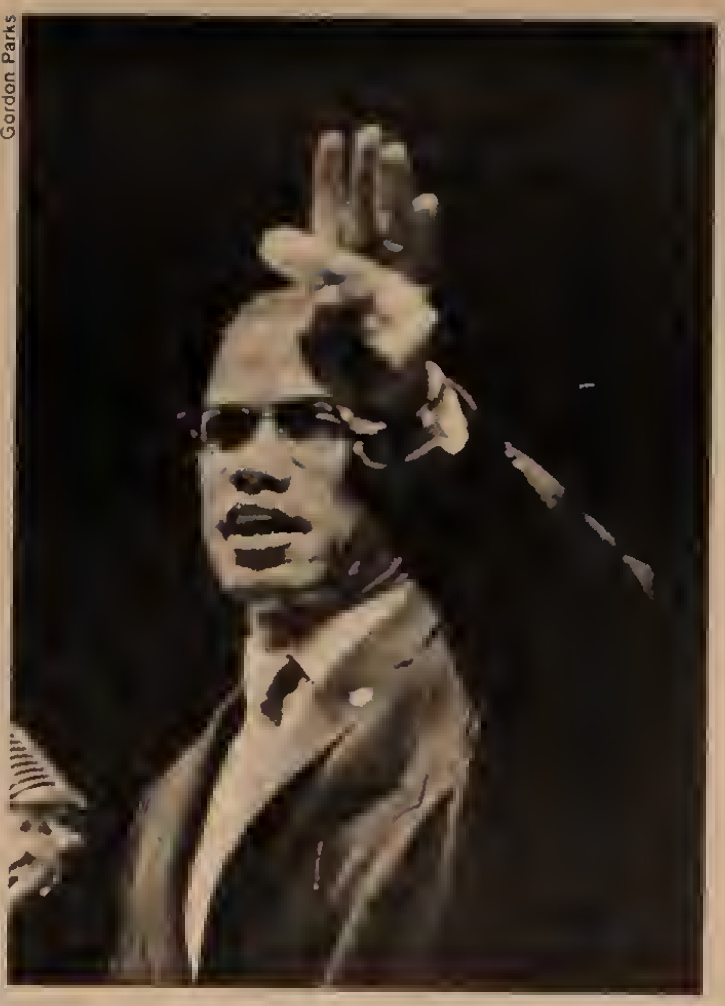
Jesse Jackson is a well-known item in the black community. In his Chicago base of operations he has been the black front man for everyone from Coca-Cola to the Uncola, for the giant white corporations and the small parasitic ghetto businesses—all for a price. Jackson has gone to the Near East where he kissed Arafat in expectation of some Arab bucks. Now he comes out for U.S. "strategic cooperation" with Israel to kill Palestinians. And he is opposed to unilateral withdrawal of U.S. troops from Lebanon.

On a tour of racist South Africa in 1979, Jackson infuriated black power militants when he met with Chief Buthelezi, government-appointed head of the Zulu "bantustan" (those desolate concentration camps for dispossessed blacks which are a principal institution of apartheid). Jackson also praised Pieter Kornhof, South Africa's minister for "Black Affairs" (equivalent to Hitler's minister of "Jewish Affairs," Adolph Eichmann) as a "courageous man" for some cosmetic "reforms" of apartheid. A leader of the Soweto black ghetto denounced Jackson as a "diabolical Western agent"; another militant remarked that what was needed was "a Black Panther, not a black preacher."

Most importantly, Jackson shares fundamental political agreement with both capitalist parties on the central question of this period: the anti-Soviet war drive. Recently grandstanding at the Berlin Wall, Jackson sounded for all the world like a PR man for NATO headquarters. He told black GIs on Reagan's front lines in Germany, "If the American conventional forces were to pull out of Europe, that wall would begin to walk. The Iron Curtain would begin to shift" (*Village Voice*, 4 October). Many blacks do not weep for Reagan's and Mondale's *and Jackson's* favorite union, Solidarność, in part because they see that Polish workers eat a lot more meat than Harlem residents. Quite a few believe that if "the wall" did move to the west of the Newark ghetto or Chicago's South Side they'd be a lot better off.

In the 1960s even the right wing of the civil rights movement felt compelled to pay lip service to the struggle of black workers. Martin Luther King was assassinated in Memphis where he was leading demonstrations of striking black sanitation workers. Today BEOs from Andrew Young to Harold Washington are the black face of a Democratic machine that pretends to be a "friend of labor" on the campaign trail and delivers takebacks and strikebreaking when elected. But Jackson represents a more sinister kind of black politician exemplified also by Brooklyn's Albert Vann and Rev. Herbert Daughtry, demagogues who led a capitalist onslaught against the unions in the 1968 NYC teachers strike. They exploit the dangerous racial polarization engendered by massive black poverty and unemployment combined with the indifference and discriminating job-trusting on the part of the American labor bureaucracy. It's the same game Nazi-lover Henry Ford played in conjunction with Detroit black preachers: using blacks as scabs to break the unions.

Gordon Parks



"When you keep the Democrats in power, you're keeping the Dixiecrats in power."
—Malcolm X, 1964

In the "Rainbow Coalition" there is no room for unions as Jesse Jackson sells himself to the Henry Fords of today's corporate America. During the 1980 Chicago firemen's strike, Jackson tried to lead a strikebreaking back-to-work movement; when that fizzled he went to work for then-mayor Jane Byrne as negotiator for the city. Jackson attacks organized labor for not providing jobs for blacks. But his main target has been the *55 percent black* Chicago Teachers Union (CTU). His enemy is the *integrated* labor movement. In both the 1976 and 1983 CTU strikes, Jackson attempted to organize "alternate" scab schools and sued the union, claiming the strike was against the black community. Fortunately, these racially explosive union-busting antics flopped. Had they not, in the streets of Chicago blacks and labor would have drowned in the ensuing bloodshed.

Jackson even attacks the lowest paid and therefore mostly black workers. Echoing Reagan, Jackson told "Meet the Press" in 1978 that extending the minimum wage to teenagers meant "for many millions of young black and brown teenagers in small marginal businesses they simply missed job opportunities." But there are some folks who draw a government paycheck that Jackson does have sympathy for: prison guards! When the screws at Cook County Jail got the "blue flu" in 1980, Jackson acted as their negotiator, helping them organize picket lines and turning PUSH headquarters over for their meeting hall.

There is one issue that Jackson does see eye-to-eye with the AFL-CIO tops as well as Mondale and George Wallace: protectionism. When Jackson was down at the Alabama state house praising "Jeff" Davis, he also played to racist protectionist sentiments (which find support not only among whites but even among many black workers), railing at "Honda and Toyota, Suzuki and Yamaha, Sony and Panasonic, being unloaded at the docks and replacing Buick and Chrysler in the American market" (*Washington Post*, 25 May). Protectionism breeds imperialist war abroad and race war at home. For American workers, black and white, the main enemy is right here in the U.S. of A.

"Black Power" and the Black Mayors

"Voting: The New Black Power" reads the front page of the *New York Times Magazine* (27 November). The talk of "black power" at the voting booth has become deafening especially since the election of Harold Washington in Chicago. But blacks swing almost no weight in the Democratic Party, and these days mainstream Democrats don't even bother to make promises. Even in purely parliamentary terms, blacks are virtually unrepresented. More than a century after the Civil War there are no black senators, no black governors; there's not about to be a black president and everybody knows it. Not since the period of radical Reconstruction after the Civil War have black Americans wielded any real power in government.

What has the election of the BEOs done for the black masses? Just look at America's "inner cities." From Atlanta to Los Angeles these black Democrats preside over the murderous work of the racist cops who terrorize ghetto streets. Richard Hatcher, one of the first black mayors, oversees Gary, Indiana—one-time U.S. Steeltown, now practically a ghost town. What about Newark, which has had a black mayor for almost a decade and a half? Ever since he got into office (with the aid of Prudential Insurance Co.) and tried to break the 1970 teachers strike, Mayor Kenneth Gibson has administered the devastation of Newark, now officially the poorest big city in the country. Or Detroit, where Coleman Young broke the strike of the mainly black sanitation workers in order to welcome the 1980 Republican convention that nominated Ronald Reagan; where this black traitor rubs elbows with Henry Ford II and cynically proclaims a "Renaissance" while the auto plants are bulldozed. Is that "black power"?

Jackson's campaign was launched from the successful voter registration drive which helped elect Harold Washington in Chicago. Unlike Washington, Jackson isn't running to win. In part because Washington had a chance to get elected, his campaign and election were met with a fierce racist backlash. When this racist mobilization threatened to prevent him from assuming the normal prerogatives of elective office, we defended his democratic rights. But amid the euphoria and illusions generated by his campaign and electoral victory, we told the truth: "Harold Washington Will Betray Black Chicago," was the headline in *Workers Vanguard*. And that betrayal of black aspirations in Chicago has started already. Layoffs of black and white city workers have taken place with more to come. Washington has made his pact with the rulers of Segregation City: there will be no busing, no attempt to desegregate housing. Racist cops terrorize the South Side ghetto just as before.

The BEOs are making it *on the backs of the black masses*. The creation of a somewhat wider petty bourgeoisie since the civil rights movement and the devastating attacks on the vast majority of black people go hand in hand. No wonder this totally phony "New Black Power" is hailed by the capitalist class, even its most conservative voices. The *Wall Street Journal* (28 November) met the Jackson campaign with a lead editorial titled "Je$$e for Pre$ident," opining that:

> "... Mr. Jackson's candidacy is another sign of the black community moving into the political mainstream. And this, as we noted recently in discussing the rise of black mayors, bodes well not only for blacks but for the society generally."

Jesse and the Left: On the Road to Mondale

Unlike the black masses, the reformist left has no illusions about Jackson—they're building illusions. They are cynically supporting him and other black Democrats (Harold Washington in Chicago) as the easiest road into the anti-Reagan popular front. And for that they're more than willing to do the hustle with Jesse, peddling this "black capitalist" operator as a "challenge" to the capitalist system.

The most fervent builders of a "1984 all people's electoral front to defeat Reagan and all the anti-labor, racist anti-people Reaganites" are, of course, the ultra-reformist Stalinists of the Communist Party (CP). At its recent convention in Cleveland, CP superstar Angela Davis talked of "the historic candidacy of Rev. Jesse Jackson," while the party announced it would not field its own candidates until *after* the Democratic primaries. But the CP, which is so craven that it even chases after the likes of Mondale, worries:

> "Some progressives are opposed to the Rev. Jesse Jackson's candidacy for the Democratic Party's nomination for the presidency because they fear such a candidacy might split the anti-Reagan front."

Not to worry, argues the CP, "it will strengthen, not detract from, the anti-Reagan front" because "his base of support, the Black community, represents a crucial component of the emerging independent political front." Translated into English, the CP is saying, truthfully, that Jackson is a stalking horse for Mondale.

The Communist Party has been

continued on page 8

Washington Post

Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982—5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization, initiated and principally organized by the Spartacist League, stops KKK from marching in the nation's capital.

Jesse Jackson...

(continued from page 7)

playing, and losing, this shell game for a long time—ever since FDR's New Deal in the 1930s. For the sake of unity with the "anti-fascist people's front" (read, the racist Democratic Party) in the Second World War the CP even *opposed* the struggle against Jim Crow—for example, sabotaging the 1941 March on Washington movement against segregation in the armed forces and war industries. Despite its all-out support to U.S. imperialism in WWII (including cheering the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki), during the Cold War witchhunt under the liberal Democrat Truman its members were purged, hounded and imprisoned. But these Stalinists never learn. Today they are embracing Mondale, protégé of the vicious witchhunter Hubert Humphrey. And they push Jesse Jackson, who says integration is unimportant as he embraces George Wallace.

While the CP and Michael Harrington's social democrats (DSA) come right out and say that Jackson is a Mondale vote-getter, no less cynical fake-lefts like Jerry Tung's ex-Maoist CWP have gone whole-hog for the Jackson candidacy pretending that "the movement" is somehow a challenge to "the system" from within. Nonsense. The "Rainbow Coalition" is what the Democratic Party has been about since Roosevelt's New Deal coalition. The Democrats have been the predominant party of American capitalism in the modern era precisely because they have been able to tie organized labor, the ethnic minorities and various middle-class liberal constituencies to imperialism and the existing social order. Historically it has been the war party of American capitalism because it can mobilize broader popular support than the Republicans, widely recognized as a party of big business interests. Jackson's function is to help restore the Democratic Party to its accustomed position by winning back blacks disaffected during the wretched Carter/Mondale years.

The ex-Trotskyist and now explicitly *anti*-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), meanwhile, is trying to get as close to the Jackson campaign as it can without formally endorsing it. While publishing some critical material on Jackson for the record and entering a formal disclaimer, the SWP advocates "*intervening* in the movement he seeks to use to renovate the Democratic Party" (*Militant*, 11 November [emphasis in original]). Not *opposing* Jackson's candidacy, mind you, just "intervening" in it, calling on Jackson to "break with the Democratic party and run as an independent." The SWP would like to use as the vehicle for this charade the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), a stillborn coalition of "black unelected officials" which has never run a candidate independent of the twin capitalist parties and which will no doubt end up supporting Jackson just as they did Harold Washington.

WV Photo

Jackson hustles the black vote for the Democrats at August 27 rally in Washington, D.C.

Marxists, who fight for the revolutionary independence of the working class and oppressed minorities from the capitalist parties, can sometimes use the tactic of *critical support*, calling for votes to a candidate who on key issues echoes the demands and interests of the workers and ghetto masses. When SNCC militants formed the Lowndes County, Alabama Black Panther Party in 1965-66, the Spartacist League greeted this as "a step forward inasmuch as it was consciously organized *in opposition to* the Democratic Party" ("Black and Red," *Spartacist* No. 10, May-June 1967). The better-known Black Panther Party based in Oakland, California was another expression of black militancy, and when the Panthers ran Huey Newton, Bobby Seale and Kathleen Cleaver as candidates in 1968 California elections, the SL called for votes to them (but *not* to their running mates of the petty-bourgeois Peace and Freedom Party). However, just to list such examples of independent black political action vividly counterposes them to Jesse Jackson—yesterday's Mr. Black Capitalist and today's doormat for Mondale who is running *against* black struggle and *for* the racist Democrats.

For the past several years the American left has been moving to the right, especially under the pressure of the anti-Soviet war drive. The Jackson campaign is a further and important shift toward the reintegration of the left into the historically dominant party of American imperialism. Twenty years ago under the impact of the mass civil rights struggles and escalating imperialist war in Vietnam, a generation of young radicals, black and white, broke with the party of John F. Kennedy, Hubert Humphrey and George Wallace. Unfortunately most of those who talked of building a "Marxist-Leninist" party were trapped in the dead ends of Maoism-Stalinism and black nationalism. Today many of these same radicals, long become cynical, have returned to the party of Teddy Kennedy, Walter Mondale and Wallace.

"A Booker T. Washington in Bell-Bottoms"

Jesse Jackson is widely known among blacks—including many who support his campaign—as a hustler. Racists like Chicago's Democratic alderman "Fast Eddie" Vrdolyak say the same. Vrdolyak no doubt prefers the big-time swindlers—white capitalist politicians like the "independently wealthy" Rockefellers and Kennedys, who made their fortunes by starving and exploiting whole *continents* and thus don't depend on handouts. But capitalism in the United States is white racist to the core. There aren't going to be any black Rockefellers. That is why "Mr. Black Capitalism" isn't even a bona fide capitalist, he's a *broker* for white capitalist corporations in their exploitation of the ghetto. A critical mid-'70s biography of Jackson remarked:

> "To the establishment press he served a functional purpose. After the 1968 rioting, there were people dying, and even more impressive, $10 million worth of white property had been destroyed.... The white establishment needed a neutralizer for the ardent rhetoric of burn, baby, burn. What they needed was a Booker T. Washington in bell-bottoms...who could out rap H. Rap Brown, but someone with more orderly oratory who could lead the militants away from the onslaught of property to another front. If Jackson wanted to boycott forty A&P stores in the ghetto, so what? There were 400 of them in and around the Chicago area.... Jackson offered an alternative the whites could live with."
>
> —Barbara Reynolds, *Jesse Jackson: The Man, the Movement, the Myth* (1975)

The comparison to Booker T. Washington is an important and revealing one. For Jesse Jackson is not the first "Mr. Black Capitalism." That title belongs to Booker T. Washington who emerged as the most influential proponent of black accommodation to the racist *status quo* in the late nineteenth century. His movement was born in the wreckage of the political counterrevolution which defeated Reconstruction. With the Compromise of 1877, the Democrats and Republicans stripped black Americans of all the rights they had won under Reconstruction while the Ku Klux Klan emerged as the terrorist arm to keep them down. Yet Booker T. Washington and the tiny elite stratum of black middle-class professional men responded to the enforcement of vicious Jim Crow segregation as though it were a positive, exploitable development for black people.

At the heart of Booker T. Washington's movement was the idea of a separate black capitalist development in America. His National Negro Business League filled convention rooms across the land extolling the great opportunities and successes of black business. By supplying the needs of the ghetto, they argued, the black businessmen would get rich and the black masses would achieve equality, despite the evident barriers of racism. Useful to the segregationists and the capitalist establishment, Washington sat on the podium with Teddy Roosevelt himself. Capitalism, Washington claimed, knew no color line. Of course the truth was quite the opposite. From Booker T. to Jesse J., black business has been utterly insignificant in the American economy.

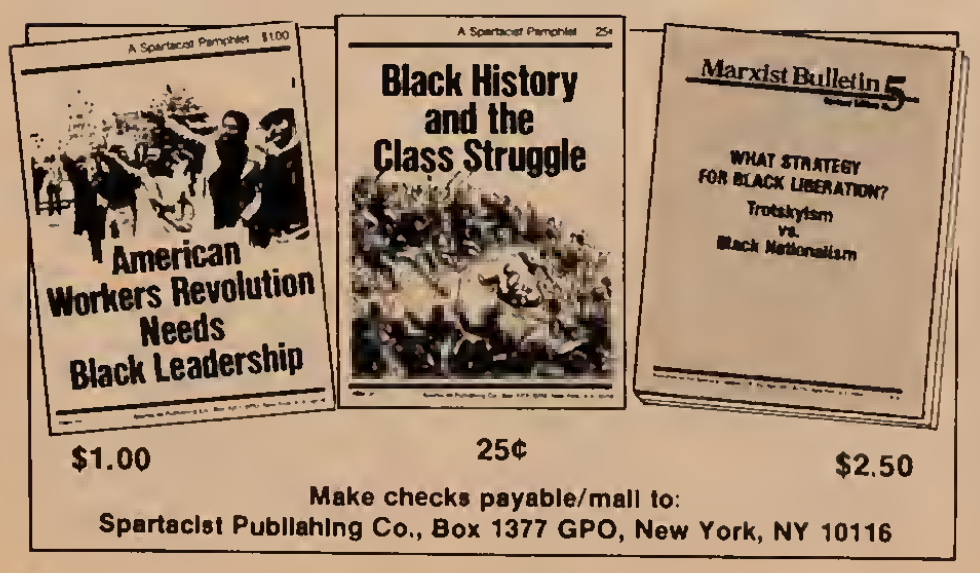
These fantasies of black capitalist success in America are the product of a black middle-class elite which is trapped in racist America. This small but visible group tries to escape identification with the black masses in order to identify with the white capitalist class. In the words of black sociologist E. Franklin Frazier, these "black bourgeois" live in a "world of make believe." In his trenchant analysis, *Black Bourgeoisie* (1957), Frazier rips through the pretensions, lies, delusions, escapism and desperate futile craving for bourgeois acceptance by this black middle-class elite which lives off crumbs and philanthropy while it spits upon the aspirations of the black masses.

Booker T. Washington preached a brand of social and economic moral uplift for the black masses. And Jesse Jackson is indeed the continuation and degeneration of that miserable tradition of accommodationist make-believe. One hears the echoes of Booker T. Washington set to a rap beat as Jackson tours the ghetto schools of this country. "Up with hope—down with dope," "Learn, baby, learn" not "Burn, baby, burn"—Jackson's self-help message, like Washington's a century ago, is that through individual effort blacks can overcome the barriers of racism. This denies the fundamentally social character of racism and capitalism, and in effect blames blacks for the lack of opportunity in this racist land, for everything from drugs to crime to illiteracy.

Jackson's answer to the lousy schools which don't teach, the hospitals which don't cure, the unlivable housing? You can be a big success just like me. Like Booker T. Washington, Jackson offers himself as the example of up-from-civil-rights bootstrap moralism: "From the outhouse to the state house!" "I am somebody!" chants Jackson. "Always respect me, never neglect me! Give me mine!" Me, me, me. Just as the National Negro Business League pushed the lie that blacks could become successful black Rockefellers if they just tried hard enough, Jackson tells them they can be president. The real message, then and now, is: the system works, why don't you?

But the myth of "black capitalism" can't be sold in the ghettos today, so

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!



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Coca-Cola's Man in the Ghetto

I Have a Scheme

Big Red

Jesse Jackson celebrates 1982 "covenant" with Uncola (Seven-Up) boss Edward Frantel.

Jesse Jackson first came to public prominence in 1966 when Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) came to Chicago to campaign for integrated housing. "Segregation City" was to be the test case for bringing the civil rights movement North. Instead it turned out to be the death of the movement, which had no answer to the mass unemployment, desperate poverty and *de facto* segregation of the Northern ghettos—conditions deeply rooted in American capitalism which could not be solved with a new civil rights bill.

With the racists in the streets of Cicero and Marquette Park and entrenched in Boss Daley's Democratic city hall, King signed the toothless Palmer House agreement and called off a scheduled open housing march. With a paper accord in his pocket, the liberal black preachers left town. As Andrew Young explained, "None of us wanted to spend another day in Chicago. We wanted to go home to the South to familiar terrain." Jackson was left in charge of SCLC's Operation Breadbasket.

Jesse Jackson's conclusion from the defeat of the liberal-led movement was to abandon the struggle for integration and equality. Instead he sought to get his "cut" together with the rest of the parasites who live off the ghetto. His slogan then was not black power but "green power." And since then Jackson has spent most of the past decade and a half organizing various "black capitalism" scams. While his People United to Save Humanity (PUSH) has collected millions of dollars over the years, the main beneficiaries of his schemes have not been the black masses, but those who grease Jackson's palm.

Jackson is Coca-Cola's man in the ghetto, and just about every other multi-billion multinational's. For the right price J.J. pushes black people to buy everything from Kentucky Fried Chicken to Avon cosmetics to Quaker oatmeal. "Burger King is helping business take on a new complexion," boasts the hamburger chain of its new "relationship" with Jackson. These loudly publicized multi-million dollar "covenants" or "trade agreements" with giant corporations, like the $34 million PUSH deal with Coca-Cola in 1981, or the $10 million deal with Heublein/Kentucky Fried Chicken in 1982 are the core of Jackson's economic program.

"Cut us in," Jackson demanded of A&P executives back in the '60s when as head of Operation Breadbasket he first began to boycott supermarkets, demanding the owners stock goods of black producers on the shelves. And "cut us in" is what Jackson and PUSH are all about—"us" being the black businessmen who lead a parasitical existence feeding off the ghettos. For the $500 a year they kick into PUSH's "International Trade Bureau" these black auto dealers, insurance agents, undertakers, advertising firms, radio stations, etc. get their "cut" of the "covenants" Jackson brokers for. What blacks *don't* get through PUSH is jobs or housing or integrated schools.

Although he started out pushing "black products," Jesse Jackson soon stepped up from small-time outfits such as Johnson beauty products or Joe Louis Milk to brokering the big deals such as "convincing" Coke (under threat of boycott) to increase its black bottling franchisers and black-owned distributors and put more of its profits in black-owned banks. For the Coca-Cola capitalists, of course, it's plain good business. And the poverty pimps get taken care of too. For instance, the $250,000 Coke promised to various black organizations as part of the deal (*Chicago Daily Defender*, 10 August 1981).

Putting the arm on the "private sector" has become more important for Jackson of late, since federal funding of poverty operations like his Chicago-based PUSH have been drying up. This summer, no doubt linked to Reagan's own electoral purposes, the U.S. government began a politically motivated audit of the nearly $4 million worth of federal grants to PUSH over the years. Meanwhile the giant St. Louis-based Anheuser-Busch brewery decided it could face down Jackson's publicity barrage. When Jackson came to town to put the squeeze on Bud, the black *St. Louis Sentinel* wrote that his "kickback approach" amounted to a "shakedown." Jackson slapped them with a $3 million libel suit, but withdrew it when asked to produce PUSH's financial records in court. After a year of boycott, he and Anheuser-Busch reached an informal "compromise."

In all of the "covenants" Jackson has brokered (which, if you believe his figures, amounts to many millions of dollars and dozens of agreements with leading corporations), the number of jobs for black working people is minuscule. It's like playing three-card monte. Noah Robinson, Jackson's half-brother and former associate at Breadbasket described the Operation fairly honestly:

> "We used to throw out figures like we got 400 jobs worth $4 million or something like that, but it's a safe bet nobody could vouch for more than 100 jobs because we were moving too fast to check."

And as Jackson's critical biographer, Barbara Reynolds, described PUSH, "either as an oversight or intentionally, jobs for the black worker are being deemphasized, a pattern traceable in pacts from 1968 to the present. Dollar value for jobs in the General Foods pact is about 1/100th in comparison to benefits for black firms" (*Jesse Jackson: The Man, The Movement, The Myth* [1975]).

Just as for years Jackson has brokered the black dollar for the white capitalist, today he brokers the black vote for the racist capitalist Democratic Party.

Jackson is selling the myth of "black power" through the Democratic Party. And just as the black accommodationists of Booker T. Washington's day accepted and presumed a market exclusively of blacks to exploit for black entrepreneurism, Jackson's brand of political accommodation embraces segregation to broker the black vote. And it is on this issue that Jackson helps to disorganize the most basic struggles of the black masses for equality. That is one reason why Jackson has no problem embracing the arch-segregationist George Wallace, or going down to a Norfolk, Virginia busing march last May to proclaim, "I am not in town marching for desegregation. I am marching for the voter registration boost."

Jesse Jackson combines the worst aspects of the tradition of petty-bourgeois accommodationism. E. Franklin Frazier describes the accommodationist black politician who "may even mobilize the masses to vote against their economic interests":

> "In his role as leader, the Negro politician attempts to accommodate the demands of the Negro masses to his personal interests which are tied up with the political machines. He may secure the appointment of a few middle-class Negroes to positions in the municipal government. But when it comes to the fundamental interests of the Negro masses as regards employment, housing, and health, his position is determined by the political machine which represents the propertied classes of the white community."
>
> —*Black Bourgeoisie*

At bottom it is unfair to the man from Tuskegee to compare him to the PUSHer. Both Washington and Jackson responded to important defeats: the demise of radical Reconstruction and the defeat of the civil rights movement. Both drew pessimistic conclusions. But in Washington's day the black population was overwhelmingly rural, still lorded over by the old plantation masters of the antebellum South. Today it is located in the heart of the Northern cities, at the center of American industry.

The same capitalist forces which created enough of a black ghetto market for Jesse Jackson to broker for Coca-Cola and Burger King, also created a black proletariat. This provides the basis for united class struggle, for *revolutionary integrationism*, which is key in the fight for black liberation. Jesse Jackson's so-called "Freedom Train" for the Democrats diverts the black masses from their tremendous potential power in the class struggle.

American Workers Revolution Needs Black Leadership

Never before has the choice facing black America been more sharply posed between struggle and accommodation. The path of accommodation, Jackson-style, runs through Democratic Party electoralism. And it is directly counterposed to the militant labor and black struggle which is so desperately needed.

The horror of conditions for black people today makes it absolutely clear that Jackson's electoral small change is a cruel hoax. It is actually worse for the black masses today than at the height of the Great Depression. Look at the ghettos. Look at the way blacks live and die. Infant mortality rates rival Third World countries. A black male in American cities has only a three-out-of-five chance to make it to age 25. This gives him less chance than a combat soldier in World War II. The impotent BEOs couldn't begin to crack this oppression even if they wanted to, which they don't.

The lack of jobs and continued slashing of even minimal social services continue to rip away at the social fabric in the ghetto. Over the past 20 years more and more black families have been driven below the poverty line. Expensive studies are done to "prove" that the meager welfare system has eroded the "work ethic" among black people. And from Daniel Moynihan to Jesse Jackson, the bourgeois politicians blame the black family itself for the ravages of ghetto poverty. No wonder there are so many one-parent black families headed by women: the *New York Times* (20 November) cites the catastrophic statistic that "*fewer than half of adult black men in the country have jobs*" (our emphasis).

Nothing short of socialist revolution can end the misery thrust upon capitalism's reserve army of the unemployed, which in the U.S. is overwhelmingly black and increasingly Latin. The fight against massive layoffs must be met with massive labor action which brings the ghetto unemployed into the struggle. Organize the unorganized! For sit-downs not soup lines!

Separate but equal will never be equal in this racist capitalist society. Ghetto schools are turning out functionally illiterate black youth at an alarming rate. While chanting "learn, baby, learn" to black kids in prison-like schools, Jesse Jackson has turned his back on struggles for integration and quality education. The Trotskyists fight for labor/black defense to defend busing against racist mobs! Extend busing into the suburbs!

Rising Klan terror, just like cutbacks on social programs and takebacks for the unions, are a reflection of the economic crisis and the anti-Soviet war drive. The racist killers must be met with the power of labor/black mobilizations. What we need is the kind of action that stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. on November 27 last year. The Spartacist League initiated and was the principal organizer of the 5,000-strong overwhelmingly black and working-class Labor/Black Mobilization which prevented the racist terrorists from marching through the capital. That successful mobilization—which was opposed by the BEOs—saved black lives from the firebombers and cross-burners and lynchers. Jackson on the other hand is the candidate of the August 27 "answer" to such struggle: an empty celebration of defeat whose "I Have a Dream" rhetoric was for a Democrat in the White House in '84.

Whenever and wherever blacks need to struggle for their own survival the BEOs are there to tell them: don't fight, register Democratic. When Jackson went to the cradle of the Confederacy to embrace racist George Wallace, he deliberately ignored Montgomery's racist frame-up of the courageous Taylor family. "Now is not the time to explode" was his stock answer. But the

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Give Black D.C. the Vote!

WASHINGTON, D.C.—"So much for democracy in D.C." That was a 22 November *Washington Post* editorial comment on recent Reagan administration moves to eliminate any shred of "home rule" for the nation's capital. The White House is working hand in glove with Congress to keep basic voting rights out of the hands of D.C.'s 70 percent black population. In particular the administration is claiming that proposed D.C. legislation lowering minimum prison sentences would threaten the safety of government executives, foreign officials, tourists and U.S. property in Washington. Ronald Reagan wants some of that old plantation justice down on the Potomac River.

On September 6 the Washington city council voted unanimously to prohibit city investments in corporations doing business with racist South Africa. Although dozens of city and state governments as well as universities have adopted this liberal moralistic measure, which does nothing to concretely aid the struggle of blacks to smash the murderous apartheid state, the city council vote immediately brought "strong warnings from Capitol Hill that passage of the measure could open up a Pandora's Box of controversy over [D.C.] home rule itself" (*Washington Post*, 7 September). The American ruling class does not like black Washington "talking back" to U.S. allies like white supremacist South Africa.

This outrageous bit of blackmail shows the government's historic contempt for the people of this black city, who do the real work—at miserably low wages—to keep the capital (and the tourist attractions) running. As far back as 1831, the city council approved White House architect James Hoban's resolution to abolish the slave trade in the District, only to be struck down by the courts the following year. "One man, one vote" has never applied to the center of the "free world." According to a 1978 Library of Congress study, out of 115 countries with elected national legislatures, the U.S. is *alone* in denying representation to the citizens of its capital city. Only since 1961 have D.C. voters been able to vote for president. Ten years later, D.C. got *one, non-voting* "delegate" in Congress. In 1973 came the phony "Home Rule Act." While the new charter created an elected mayor and city council, it made their every act, from legislation to the budget and taxation, subject to Congressional veto. Now, since a Supreme Court ruling in June striking down Congressional vetoes, the Justice Department has sought to increase White House control over its fiefdom by proposing that any changes in the District's criminal code be affirmatively approved by both Houses, as well as by the president.

Of course, when Mayor Marion Barry sets his cops on black workers and youth mobilized against the KKK, his masters on Pennsylvania Avenue nod their approval. But when the city council makes even a gesture against the U.S. "free world" allies in white-ruled South Africa, then down comes the hammer. As revolutionaries, we do not support liberal divestment schemes. To divest the securities of firms doing business with South Africa has no effect at all on the fight against apartheid, while it serves to prettify U.S. capitalist imperialism. Reagan's America is a far greater enemy of mankind than its junior partner in the anti-Soviet war drive, Botha's South Africa. However, black people in D.C. and elsewhere have the right to express their hatred for the apartheid police state, even if they choose a misguided way to do so.

We oppose the blatantly undemocratic denial of voting rights in D.C. The Spartacist League supports the D.C. Voting Rights Amendment, which would give Washington two senators and one Congressman, with votes. It's no surprise that the amendment seems headed for defeat like the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) for women. In this period of right-wing reaction, voting rights for blacks are under attack, from D.C. to the Deep South.

But we warn Washington blacks that Democrats like D.C. delegate Walter Fauntroy, who faithfully serve in Reagan's war on the urban poor, are the enemies within of black liberation. It was Fauntroy who took the lead in attacking the SL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization which brought out the best black militants in Washington and stopped the Klan from marching in the capital on 27 November 1982. In contrast to the August 27 crawl for the Democrats, this successful action showed the way forward in D.C. and throughout the country. Finish the Civil War! Black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

Jesse Jackson...

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defense of the Taylors—who disarmed racist nightriders attacking their home—helps to defend every black in the South against racist terror. And that defense demands massive labor/black mobilizations from Detroit to Montgomery.

The black question in the U.S. is the question of revolution. The liberal integrationism of the civil rights movement was doomed to failure as soon as it went North and came smack up against the economic reality of black oppression in capitalist America. Today black defeatism is represented by Jesse Jackson and the BEOs as "black power." When the call for "black power" was first sounded by young SNCC civil rights activists in the mid-'60s, it was raised against the liberalism and accommodationism then represented by Martin Luther King, but it quickly degenerated into black nationalist utopianism. What was needed then and now was a leadership which could mobilize real power, organizing the struggle against black oppression on a *class* basis. It would have meant enlisting the unions to bring the fight for black equality to the Northern cities, but that required a struggle against the pro-capitalist pro-Democratic Party misleaders of labor who blocked the struggle against racism.

The black ghetto masses can get power only as part of a struggle for workers revolution in the U.S. When 200,000 blacks took up arms in the Civil War which ended slavery, that was black power. And the promise of black equality for which blacks fought in the Civil War must not be betrayed, as it was when radical Reconstruction was killed. A proletarian revolution is necessary to make good on the debt of black equality. Finish the Civil War—Forward to a workers state!

Because black America can only answer its problems with revolutionary solutions, the future black leaders will not be Democratic BEOs or ghetto hustlers like Jesse Jackson. They will be socialist revolutionaries, forged in the political fight against the Jesse Jacksons and his reformist "left" cheerleaders. The American workers revolution needs black leadership! Join the Spartacist League! ■

Martin Luther King's Blood on His Shirt?

Jesse Jackson's Disgusting Lie

When Jesse Jackson sat down to iced tea and pecan rolls with George Wallace, the man who stood on the Alabama capitol steps vowing "Segregation Forever," it turned the stomach of every race-conscious black person in America. Jackson was the man whom *Playboy* (November 1969) had proclaimed "the fiery heir apparent to Martin Luther King." But as King's closest associates will tell you, vividly remembering how Jackson capitalized on the racist murder, J.J. is capable of *anything*.

On April 4, 1968 King was assassinated by a sniper's bullet as he stood on the balcony of the Lorraine Motel in Memphis, where he had gone to support a sanitation men's strike. As an article in the *Washington Post* (31 July) recounted:

> "Within a few days of King's assassination, reports began circulating that Jesse Jackson said he was on the balcony of the Lorraine Motel with King when he was shot, that he held the dying man, that he wore his blood on his shirt.
>
> "The Chicago Defender, a black newspaper, reported on April 8, 1968, that 'Jackson, whose face appeared drawn, talked briefly with newsmen about the moments just before and after the shooting occurred. He said he rushed to Dr. King's side immediately, but got no response when he asked "Doc, can you hear me?"'
>
> "A year later, in an interview with Jackson, Playboy magazine said: 'He was talking to King on the porch of the Lorraine Motel in Memphis when the fatal shot was fired and cradled the dying man in his arms.'
>
> "The Washington Post reported: 'He was the man standing next to the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. when Dr. King was gunned down on a Memphis balcony in 1968.'
>
> "Those who were present do not recall the events that way.
>
> "'I never saw him near the balcony,' says Hosea Williams, then a voter registration project director for King, and now a Georgia state legislator. 'The first person who got to King was Ralph Abernathy, the second was Andy Young, the third was an African journalist. I was the fourth person. Dr. King was taken to the hospital and then came the announcement that he was dead. Jesse was out there in the yard telling the press, "I was the last man in the world to be with Rev. King before he was shot and I spoke to him last." I just jumped on Jess physically because he was telling lies. I lost my cool. I started beating on him.'
>
> "'That evening we called a meeting, to pledge our support to Dr. King. Jesse claimed he was sick. The next morning he showed up on the "Today" show telling the same story. He used the death of Dr. King to suit himself'."

Wide World

Jesse Jackson, Martin Luther King, Ralph Abernathy in Memphis on the eve of King's assassination.

Barbara Reynolds, Jesse Jackson's critical biographer, noted that "Jackson had returned to Chicago in flames." On the west side ghetto buildings, street lights, businesses went up in smoke as angry blacks vented their outrage at the hideous assassination of America's best known black leader. Mayor Richard Daley ordered the police to "shoot to kill" any rioter. That night Jackson attended a King "memorial session" of the city council (the racist bourgeois politicians who had blocked MLK's every effort to achieve open housing in "Segregation City" and who practically ran the liberal civil rights leader out of town) to plead for calm: "I am calling for nonviolence... put your rocks down, put your bottles down" (Barbara Reynolds, *Jesse Jackson: The Man, the Movement, the Myth* [1975]).

Jesse Jackson is always looking out for Number One. He wants to cover himself with the blood of King's martyrdom and the mantle of the civil rights movement, in order to oppose struggle today. As Chauncey Eskridge, King's attorney, remarked, "Jackson's appearance at Chicago's City Council with that blood on his shirt was not only deception but sacrilege."

Class Struggle Sharpens...

(continued from page 2)

ington, D.C.—and we stopped them. We stopped them by building mass labor/black mobilizations against their race-hate parades.

Not everything we touch turns to gold. We've lost a few. There's the Keith Anwar case, a steel worker brother in Chicago's Inland plant who respected the lines of another striking local [and was fired for it]. There was a broad layer of support for that case; they raised thousands of dollars to take it to the NLRB. And the NLRB, in fact, came up with the decision that they had wrongly fired this man. But because the company and government were both fighting this case, a U.S. Appeals Court overturned that decision.

To revive the traditions of the labor movement, that picket lines mean don't cross, that's basically what our campaign in the transit union has been. There's a certain opening there now because Arnold Cherry, who formerly ran as an opponent of [TWU Local 100 president] John Lawe, has now caved in. He wanted a post. What Cherry has done is a lot of redbaiting and anti-communism. But everybody knows that the Transport Workers Union was built by the Communist Party. The main thing that guy has done, just like the main thing Lawe has done, is to go out and hustle votes for the Democratic Party. This is the party of Koch, the racist strikebreaker who loves to hate us. This is the party of Cuomo who has brought us CIA spymaster Kiley to run the subways. What these people in the unions [Lawe and Cherry] represent is that kind of politics.

We don't think this is going to be settled by an election. It's going to be settled by struggles. Reagan is bringing the war home and he's got a big stick for everybody, whether it's the ATU or the people in El Salvador or the Palestinians.

Defend the Soviet Union!

They are tripping on their "Grenada high" now. The problem is that while they're tripping, they might just get us into a war that blows us all sky-high. We just had a trip by [Israeli prime minister] Shamir to this country, which was basically a green light to Israel to go ahead in the Middle East. They signed a U.S.-Israel strategic pact, which was explicitly stated as an alliance against Soviet interests in the Near East. You have joint war plans against Syria by Israel and the United States. So the Near East is one of the trip-wire places for World War III right now.

We believe the Soviet Union should be defended because it embodies the gains of the first successful workers revolution. It's the industrial and military powerhouse which holds imperialist countries like the United States at bay. Cuba wouldn't be here today if the Soviets weren't there and had nuclear armaments. Vietnam wouldn't be here today.

Contrary to all the things you read in the papers, the problem with the Stalinist leadership [of the Soviet Union] is *not* that they foment "red revolution" all over the globe. The problem is they conciliate the imperialists, thinking that we can all live happily together, meanwhile sacrificing everybody else's revolution for their own little interests.

But there is something in Russia despite this fact—the gains of that revolution, the collectivized economy—that has to be defended by workers there and workers in this country. Basically, it's the same problem you've got with the unions. We want to get rid of the leaders over in the Soviet Union just like we want to get rid of the [union] leaders in this country. But you don't throw the baby out with the bath water.

Everybody saw "The Day After" or heard about it. They scared the hell out of people, rightly so, because while you're watching it on TV, they're putting the missiles in Britain and Germany. And these guys will do it. These characters in the Reagan administration really think you can win a limited nuclear war.

Everybody's talking about the "Vietnam syndrome." One of the reasons why is because the U.S. lost. So they can be beaten. The Vietnamese beat the U.S. on the battlefield. What was important about Vietnam within this country was that you saw wide layers of the population go into opposition to the war. It started with the students, but it happened in the armed forces, too, and in the end many of the unions. At the same time you had tremendous inflation and big strike waves. One of the things the Spartacist League fought for at the time was labor political strikes against the war. And had that dragged on longer, you would have seen the possibility for labor political strikes against the war in this country.

It's better to get them from within. If we end up in a nuclear war, it's curtains. You have to have a workers party that can organize the opposition that exists out there to war. We're not talking about paper resolutions and windbag speeches. When they want to send military goods to Lebanon, the transport workers don't load them. When they want to send military goods to El Salvador, they don't move. That's the kind of *actions* that labor unions can take that can actually help deter war.

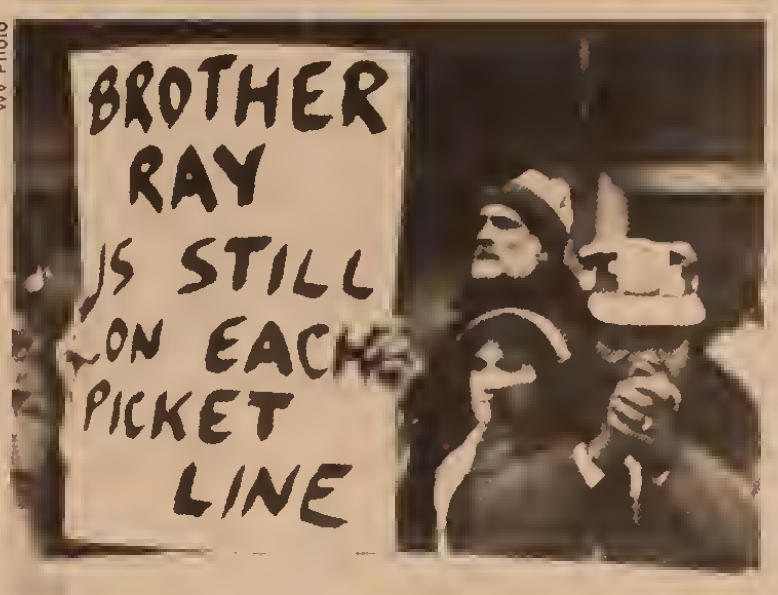
What you need is a party to organize that working-class opposition. It's got to be an integrated party and it's got to fight around the kind of issues we've talked about here tonight—defense against racist terror, defense of the picket line—on an anti-capitalist program. And that's what the Spartacist League—though few in number—has shown itself dedicated to doing. ■

Ray Phillips: Labor Martyr...

(continued from page 5)

Drivers from as far away as Richmond, Chattanooga and even San Francisco signed the register and filled the small church to overflowing, packing the aisles, an auxiliary room and even the vestibule. Hundreds of proletarian voices joined in the singing of the hymn "Amazing Grace." Although a purely religious ceremony, it was a dignified workers' memorial to a comrade fallen in combat. The ATU had sent a letter to Greyhound warning them against any hypocritical shows of concern at the funeral. Over a hundred baskets of flowers were received from all over the country and even Toronto. There were so many flowers that the overflow was dumped in front of the Greyhound terminal here—put on the doorstep as a reminder of who was responsible for the murder.

On the heels of this brutal murder, Peter Stone, an official from Ray's Local 1043, went on TV to denounce the atrocity. He called on organized labor to "shut this country down." Mobilizing to bring victory to the cause Ray Phillips died for would be the only fitting tribute to this man. Years ago the martyred IWW hero Joe Hill, facing death at the hands of the labor haters, told his followers: "Don't mourn—Organize!" For Ray Phillips; for Bay Area picket line militants Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, facing years in jail; for thousands of others targetted in the class war, vindication will come only when labor arouses and mobilizes its millions to militant and victorious struggle. Striking workers throughout this country defending their picket lines will not forget the murder of Ray Phillips! Down with the sellout contract! For a nationwide transport strike! Bust the union-busters! Victory to the ATU! ■



Cleveland Greyhound workers remember Ray Phillips.

Beat Greyhound...

(continued from page 5)

Caucus in the CWA and the Militant Caucus in the ILWU. Our slogans—"On Strike, Shut It Down!" and "Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!"—were handscrawled on the back of official ATU signs and taken up in chants by the marchers on December 3.

The bureaucrats have enlisted the support of the fake "left" in setting up a phony strike support committee. Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and its endless string of expellees, the Communist Party, the Workers World Party and others collect food and money, parrot the bureaucrats' line for a consumer boycott, etc.—*anything but* enforce the picket line and stop the scabs! At the meeting prior to the December 3 rally, for instance, SWP supporter Don Harmon of Department Store Clerks Local 1100 made the main proposal for a "peaceful" rally and march. Needless to say, no floor discussion was allowed.

The bureaucrats' waterboys were clearly upset that the December 3 march got "out of hand," so at the December 5 strike support meeting Seymour Kramer, an official in the UTU, called for more "monitors" to police the pickets at the upcoming rallies. Meanwhile Harmon officially put off considering the general strike idea until January! At the next rally on December 10, ex-SWP supporter Jeff Mackler (now a supporter of "Socialist Action") helped police the crowd for the cops and bureaucrats as a line of goons kept the crowd well away from the terminal. Striking workers afterwards told *WV* that bureaucrats were smearing the SL and its supporters as "rabble rousers." Well, we're proud that we are recognized as the fighters for class-struggle action. We say: Picket lines mean don't cross! Shut down transport—Not one bus! Not one train! Not one plane! ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Ann Arbor
c/o SYL
P.O. Box 8364
Ann Arbor, MI 48107

Atlanta
Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

Berkeley/Oakland
P.O. Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 835-1535

Boston
Box 840, Central Station
Cambridge, MA 02139
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Chicago
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Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 427-0003

Cleveland
Box 91954
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 621-5138

Detroit
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(313) 961-1680

Los Angeles
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Los Feliz Station
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Madison
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Madison, WI 53701

New York
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Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013
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Norfolk
P.O. Box 1972
Main P.O.
Norfolk, VA 23501

San Francisco
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.
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Washington, D.C. 20013
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Toronto
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SUBJECT INDEX

Workers Vanguard—14 January to 16 December 1983 (Issues Nos. 321-344)

GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 1983, from issue No. 321 (14 January) through the end-of-the-year issue No. 344 (16 December). During this time, *WV* was published biweekly.
- The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series; corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.
- Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:

  U.S. Hands Off Grenada!, #334, 15 July (12, 10)

  means the headline of the article, issue No. 334, 15 July 1983, beginning on page 12 and continuing on page 10.
- No entry is listed twice; refer to cross references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross references are of two types: those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words "see also" are related articles. Subject heads in cross references are separated by a semi-colon, while subcategories of subject heads are separated by a comma. Thus:

  Cold War—See **U.S.: International Relations, Military Action; West Germany.**

  means that articles on Cold War can be found by going to the subject head **UNITED STATES** and looking under the subcategories **International Relations** and **Military Action** and by going to the subject head **WEST GERMANY.**
- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person.
- Entries relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not necessarily under any other subject heading. Unless listed separately for some unusual reason, all foreign political organizations are listed under appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.
- Specific defense cases (e.g., Dennis Brutus) will be found under **CIVIL LIBERTIES: Cases.** Articles pertaining to the civil liberties of the Spartacist League will be found under **CIVIL LIBERTIES: SL.** Articles which deal with the intersection of American blacks with the U.S. legal system (e.g., the Taylor family defense) are listed under **CIVIL RIGHTS**, while general articles on the black question are listed under **BLACK QUESTION.**
- Articles on world politics or U.S. foreign policy will be found under **U.S.: International Relations.** Articles which deal with acts of war involving the U.S. will be found under **U.S.: Military Action.**
- Abbreviations used in entries are:

C	Correction	S:	Series
L	Letter	Sup:	Supplement
R.	Review		

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TONI RANDELL

8 November 1943—12 February 1982

This volume of *Workers Vanguard* is dedicated to the memory of our comrade Toni Randell, who died of cancer on 12 February 1982. A ten-year cadre of the Spartacist League, she was a founder of the Partisan Defense Committee and member of the Central Control Commission. Toni compiled the index for the first two volumes of *WV*, taking as a general guide Hal Draper's index of *Labor Action* (newspaper of the Independent Socialist League).

In 1980 the indexing of *WV* was resumed by comrades Elizabeth Kendall and Joel Salant, with the assistance of the *WV* comp department. The indexes of the next 12 volumes of *WV* and the first volume of our theoretical journal *Spartacist* were all modeled on comrade Toni's initial work.

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